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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Undermining Self-Government

VOTERS everywhere continue to freeze mandatory expenditures into city charters and state constitutions and limit the use of certain taxes and fees to specific purposes.

This habit began with early efforts to make certain that sufficient funds were set aside for the proper operation of the schools. And everybody favors good education.

The process goes endlessly on and on. In state after state the voters decide that taxes and fees collected from motorists shall be used only for highway improvement. And everybody favors good roads.

It is argued that such and such a percentage of public revenues shall be spent for parks and playgrounds, or for libraries, or for old-age assistance, or for whatever happens to be agitating some articulate pressure group at the moment.

The results don't very often make much sense. This year when the general fund in Wisconsin had a surplus of $6,000,000 the state highway fund had a balance of $36,100,000, or nearly $12 for each man, woman and child. That would build a lot of roads in a state that isn't exactly a wilderness in this respect.

It is preposterous to say that anyone can guess today how much or how little will be needed for roads five, ten or twenty years from now in Wisconsin or anywhere else, or how much will be needed to operate schools, take care of parks and playgrounds or for any other purpose. Even if the dreamers who see everyone in his private plane in the near future are wrong, the purposes for which public money is spent today are quite different from the purposes of a generation ago. And in the atomic age the world is moving at a faster clip than ever before.

Only a few years ago cities, counties, states and the nation learned that there are times when emergencies make it necessary to spend every available cent on something which was not foreseen—for the elemental job of keeping people from starving—and that then roads and much else are of secondary importance.

The road to responsible citizenship and competent self-government is not followed by locking up public money and throwing away the key. By this process the voters say:

"We have no confidence in our ability to elect legislators and city councilmen who will act wisely to carry out our wishes. So we'll put the money beyond their control."

A legislative body without power of the purse is impotent. It is merely going through the motions, not actually performing the functions for which it exists. What is desperately needed is action that will raise our legislative bodies in public esteem. Making them helpless to attack and solve future problems and to use judgment in apportioning public funds is not that kind of action.

Public Money Laboratory

THERE are encouraging signs that cities, counties and other jurisdictions are entering this postwar period with their eyes open and their hands firmly clutching their wallets. The memory of financial difficulties which followed the last war and boom is, it is to be hoped, still sufficiently fresh to warn them to put brakes on spending orgies, reckless borrowing and sloppy budgeting.

Officials, civic leaders and experts responded to the call by New York's State Comptroller Frank C. Moore to a two-day session[1] on local government services and finances. They were gravely concerned and eager to listen to the solemn warnings of the nationally known experts who discussed many aspects of what will be expected of government in the foreseeable future—AND what the bill is likely to be and how it will be paid.

It was clear that few informed observers expect citizens to diminish their demands for new and better services, that the outward movement of population from our cities will continue with its intensification of municipal revenue and operating problems, that ways must be found to pay for city services without adding to the burden on real estate, and that it will take heroic action to curb the temptation to incur too much debt.

The several hundred serious, responsible persons who attended the conference had very much on their minds the warning the state comptroller had sounded in his invitation:

"Each of our great wars has been followed by a period of rapid, unplanned expansion of municipal services, culminating in acute fiscal difficulties. This period, in turn, has been followed by a much longer one in which our municipalities have starved essential services as they struggled to regain financial strength. When success seemed almost within their grasp, another great war occurred and the unfortunate cycle was repeated.

"This time, we propose to do our utmost in New York State to avoid a similar cycle, and this conference has been called as an initial step in that effort."

Valuable as were the discussions at the meeting, which was a constructive piece of pioneering and probably unique, a single conference will not, of course, cure the multitude of fiscal ills or go very far toward solving the many difficult problems which face municipalities. Nor is it the only constructive effort being made. In the same state the comptroller is chairman of a Commission on Municipal Revenue and Real Estate Taxes which has already come forward with constructive recommendations[2] and is continuing to prepare plans to place municipal financial affairs on a sound basis.

From such laboratory work in the wealthiest and most populous state patterns and solutions should emerge which will help cities and states everywhere.

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[1] See page 39, this issue.

[2] See the REVIEW, May 1945, page 259.

New Exodus to Suburbs Near

Outward flow, only briefly halted, will accentuate perils of suburban expansion and central decay; need seen for greater controls and recognition of single economic unit.

By **PHILIP H. CORNICK***

ONE of the greatest shifts of population in the history of New York State is about to begin. Uncertainties about building costs now hold it back. Variations in local zoning ordinances and delays in clearing up the clouded land titles which remain as a heritage of the boom twenties will affect the direction and extent of the flow. But a normal and desirable flow which is potentially destructive impends.

In order that we may arrive at a common understanding of certain characteristics of one type of flow—that from center to suburbs in the hundreds of urban areas of the state—picture a large scale relief map showing the natural and man-made channels along which urban populations tend to flow. On this superimpose the political boundaries of cities, towns and villages, as well as certain three-dimensional symbols to indicate the widely varying densities of population per square mile within them. Those densities range from zero to about 150,000. The approximate average density per square mile in the cities is about 11,500, in the villages 1,500, in the remainder of the state only about 40.[1]

Many, no doubt, have seen workmen, engaged in road repair, knock the hoops and staves off a barrel of tar. If the weather wasn't too cold, the contents of the barrel settled slowly down at the center, while the base spread outward. As the heat of the day increased the rate of flow also increased. It tended to flow fastest and farthest along certain channels. Drawing an artificial line around the contents of the barrel, comparable in physical characteristics to a municipal boundary, would do nothing to impede the flow.

Because we are interested in flows across municipal boundaries within our urban areas, let us superimpose on our imaginary map a lot of barrels of tar, adjusted in size not to the populations of individual cities, villages and suburban towns, but to those of the urban areas of which they are a part. The largest barrel would be that representing the population of the tri-state metropolitan

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*Mr. Cornick has been with the Institute of Public Administration, formerly the Bureau of Municipal Research (New York City) since 1919. He has made numerous studies for legislative committees and survey commissions in New York, New Jersey, South Carolina and elsewhere, and for charter commissions in St. Louis, Pittsburgh and other cities. Mr. Cornick was director of research for the Special Commission on Real Estate Taxation and Related Matters appointed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1943 and wrote its report published in 1945. He is author of *Problems Created by Premature Subdivision of Urban Lands in Selected Metropolitan Districts in the State of New York* and of numerous other reports resulting from his surveys.

[1] Report of New York State Planning Council to Governor Lehman, Albany. N. Y., January 27, 1938, page 254.

district centering on New York City. The second largest would be placed on Buffalo. Those two would be connected by a fairly continuous row of smaller barrels, stretching along the Hudson-Mohawk Barge Canal trade route. The largest barrel outside this so-called "L" belt would be at Binghamton. Hundreds of smaller barrels would be scattered around wherever smaller cities and villages lie.

Past City Growth

Contrary to widely held impressions the outward flow of urban populations has been accelerating for much more than a century. Careful studies of American cities in general indicate that the effects of this outward flow were masked by over-all statistics because the outlying areas into which the flow took place were later annexed to the cities in which the flow had originated. The fact that some cities now have areas a hundred times as great as those with which they started serves to indicate the extent of this flow. Other studies reveal that inside these cities with expanding boundaries densities per square mile decreased first inside their original boundaries, next inside the areas first annexed, and so on.[2] Today, the outer boundaries of many large central cities have been static for decades, but the outward flow and the declining densities in progressively larger areas within them continue.

As a result, many of these central cities experienced over-all declines in population between 1930 and 1940. While most of the urban areas within which they lie continued to increase in population, 31 of the nation's 93 cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1930 lost in size in the ten years thereafter. Seven of these large cities lie in New York State. One of them, Yonkers, benefited by the outward flow from New York City. Of the six central cities three—Rochester, Syracuse and Utica—declined in population although their metropolitan districts as a whole continued to grow.

Armed with these facts concerning the similarities of flows of tar and of urban populations, let us turn our attention again to our imaginary map of the state. When the danger of Indians had become a thing of the past, and our early settlements felt free to remove protective walls and barricades, they in effect knocked the hoops and staves off their urban populations, and the flow began.

Figuratively speaking, the weather was still too cold for much of a flow. The great majority of urban residents worked long hours for scant pay, and had no means of transportation except their own legs. They had no choice but to live within the shortest possible distance of their jobs. While those conditions continued their effect on rate of outward flow was comparable to that of a cold day on the flow of tar. Every subsequent increase in wages, every shortening of the working day, and every improvement in the facilities for cheap and rapid mass or individual transportation has increased the rate of flow. The economic climate affecting this outward flow has been getting warmer and warmer for decades, and gives every evidence of continuing to do so.

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[2] R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*. New York, 1933. (See especially tables on pages 336-342).

Even if we ignore increases of population because of an excess of births over deaths and immigration from foreign countries, this analogy has at least two important defects. Tar flows outward only and every part of the flow resembles every other part. Detailed studies of population shifts, on the other hand, reveal the existence of both inward and outward flows not only among the distinct parts of an urban area but also among widely separated urban areas and between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, the individuals and family units which make up a population group differ widely from one another and are not all equally responsive to the forces which lead to shifts in location.

The second of these differences is reserved for later comment. With respect to the first, it is worth noting that only eleven of the 90 largest cities in the United States for which the necessary detail is available gained by internal migration between 1935 and 1940. Ten of the cities which grew by excess of inflow over outflow are central cities in large urban areas lying well south of a line connecting the southern boundaries of Pennsylvania and Oregon. The eleventh city in this group is Yonkers, an important residential suburb of New York City.[3]

As has already been indicated, the boundaries of the central cities have themselves been moved outward, repeatedly in some instances, to reintegrate with the population of the original central cities those segments which had spilled out over earlier boundaries. In other instances, new municipalities were incorporated to provide the services and improvements needed by the rapidly growing urban populations of those sections.

Differences in Powers

In those days a clear-cut line of demarcation existed between the powers granted by the legislature to the incorporated cities and villages on the one hand and to the unincorporated towns on the other. The latter, covering the greater part of the state's area, were designed for the purpose of providing the small number of services needed by a scattered rural population—a purpose which those units have long served adequately throughout the greater part of the state. The cities, on the other hand, had been created to provide the much more numerous, costly, and technically involved services and improvements which were needed where large numbers of people congregated in small areas. The villages constituted an intermediate type, and were created originally to provide for small concentrations of populations residing in towns those necessary services and improvements of an urban character which the towns had not been empowered to provide.

For reasons too complex for analysis in this brief paper, major annexations to most of our cities ceased just when the economic climate was reaching a stage in which the outward flow of urban populations was becoming more and more rapid. At the same time new incorporations of cities and villages fell off notably, especially in the outlying sections of several of the state's large urban areas where the outward flow was greatest. Much of the flow, therefore, was into the areas of towns designed primarily for government in rural areas and poorly adapted in form or function to serve the needs of their growing urban populations.

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[3] Census Bureau, *Internal Migration, 1935-1940.* Washington, D. C., 1943, page 25.

The legislature endeavored to bridge the gap by authorizing local property owners in such towns to establish *ad hoc* districts to provide water supply systems, sanitary sewer and disposal systems, storm sewer systems, paved streets, sidewalks and parkways, parks and playgrounds, garbage incinerators, fire departments, and police and fire alarm systems—districts operating without internal controls, without relation to overlapping or adjacent districts, and only loosely appended to the towns in which they operated.

Too Much, Too Soon

The effects of this policy in the boom twenties were devastating. Unlike the allies in the early years of World War II, the suburban towns did not provide "too little and too late." They went to the other extreme and provided too much and too soon—ten times as many building sites as were needed by the inflowing population, onerous general and special levies for unused and unneeded public improvements, debts per capita far in excess of the levels reached in our central cities, accumulated unpaid taxes two and a half times as high as a current year's levy, tens of thousands of vacant lots hopelessly swamped by arrears.[4]

The suburban towns were not alone in this madness. New York City in the undeveloped sections of its outlying boroughs, most notably in Staten Island, Syracuse in the extensive areas it had annexed while the boom was getting under way, and Yonkers in the large sparsely populated areas lying inside its static boundaries—all went to extravagant lengths in providing too much and too soon for the outward flows of population.

Since the collapse of that boom the legislature has made notable efforts to tighten up its municipal codes. The town law has been revised; the special districts have been tied more closely into the improved structure of town governments and have been subjected to more rigid controls by the state. Under the leadership of the former State Planning Council, planning laws which had previously authorized controls only over the quality of lots in new subdivisions were amended to permit planning boards in cities, towns and villages to impose restrictions designed to limit also the quantity of new subdivisions.

All these amendments constitute long steps in the right direction. Much more remains to be done before the impending great outward flow of urban population sets in. My reasons for this opinion rest in part on the feeling that the steps already taken do not go nearly far enough, in part on the second of the two defects in the comparison of flow of tar with flow of population.

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[4] New York State Planning Council Report, pages 276-277.

Every cubic inch of tar in a barrel is very much like every other, and all parts of the flow are similar in character. Individual units of population, on the other hand, differ widely from one another in age, race, cultural background and economic status; family units in size and in age distribution. While they live in the central city they tend to form homogeneous clusters, the very rich in one or more sections, the middle classes in others, the very poor in still others. As long as they all live within one unit of local taxation, no great fiscal problems emerge from this separation. The trouble begins with the highly selective nature of the outward flow.

Segregation of Wealth

The rich tend to flow in greatest proportion to their numbers and settle in exclusive suburban tax districts of their own. The rest of the selective flow extends downward only about as far as the lower middle class—the people who live in $4,000 to $7,000 homes or in modest suburban apartments, and who sometimes congregate in school districts with little to tax except the homes of their residents. The very poor show less tendency to move and are saddled with increasingly onerous shares of the costs of providing the services and improvements essential not only to their own health, welfare and safety but also to those of their former fellow-citizens, who still spend most of their waking hours making a living in the central city but who now sleep and pay their taxes in a suburb and—in presidential years—even vote there. The normal tendency of people of similar characteristics to live in close proximity to one another raises up unprecedented new problems now that our urban populations, whether in Port Jervis, let us say, or in New York City, are spreading out selectively over urban areas made up of from three to 300 independent electoral and taxing units.

The well-to-do residents of some of the numerous small tax districts in the suburban areas, a few of them little larger than postage stamps, have for the time being successfully insulated themselves against political upheavals and costs of local government, both in central city and in less prosperous suburbs. Several of them have done outstanding jobs in running their own local affairs.

Two major questions remain. Can they insulate themselves also against progressive decay in the central city on whose economic adequacy their own survival depends? If not, what new governmental mechanisms are necessary to permit reharnessing for common purposes the political, economic and administrative capacities of all those who, in spite of the outward flow, still remain inseparable parts of one economic urban unit?

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before conference on Local Government Services, 1945-1955, at Albany, New York, under sponsorship of the New York State Department of Audit and Control.

Housecleaning Time for Cities

Substantial progress made during the war toward putting municipal fiscal affairs in order; but serious problems ahead leave no margin for blundering, outmoded methods.

By **FREDERICK L. BIRD***

MOST of the local governments in New York, as in the other states, made very measurable financial progress during the war. They were unable, because of the restrictive system under which they operate, to build up large surpluses like the state government; but they succeeded in reducing their debts, clearing up large tax arrearages, strengthening their current accounts and discontinuing the makeshift bond refunding and relief borrowing methods that were a heritage of the depression.

Here is what happened in an important sample of the state's municipalities—the twelve cities, exclusive of New York City, of over 50,000 population. From the close of 1939 through 1944 they reduced their year-end property tax delinquency from an average of 6.6 per cent to an average of 3.1 per cent; they reduced their net debts 26 per cent in the aggregate; and they improved the cash position of their current accounts by a total of over $12,000,000. At the same time the increase in their combined property tax levies from 1939 to 1945 was limited to 2.1 per cent.

These were financial gains of substantial proportions; they were shared in greater or less degree by all the cities in the group; and they are fairly representative of what was accomplished by local governments throughout the state. But this record of achievement fails to disclose the whole story. Ten of these twelve cities at the end of last year still had debt loads that were considerably above average for United States cities of over 50,000 population; the current account balance sheets of half of them still showed cash deficits, which was something rather unique among American cities; and, as in virtually all American cities, the very restrained rise in the tax levy must be explained in part by deferred maintenance and other forms of wartime non-spending.

These wartime gains, in other words, did not place local governments in a state of comfortable affluence, with unlimited reserves of borrowing and spending power. They merely regained, or partially regained, the financial equilibrium which some of them began losing years before the advent of the great depression. This achievement gives them a fleeting opportunity, however, to rid themselves of any past fiscal policies that were weak or dan-

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gerous, and to adopt sound principles of finance in the postwar period that not only will hold these gains but will add to them.

Local governments cannot afford to miss this opportunity, because they need to be financially stable if they wish to hold their prerogatives of self-government through the perplexing period into which we are now moving. And it is bound to be a perplexing period for all types of local government. For example, most of the cities in the state except suburban cities virtually stopped growing after 1930. Even to hold their own, economically, they have a job of rehabilitation which will tax both their ingenuity and resources. We are anticipating, to be sure, a residential building boom of several years' duration; but it is quite probable that this will bring a further shifting of population, tending to reduce taxable values in our central cities and at the same time to create urban financial responsibilities in what are now semi-rural areas. It seems worth while to keep in mind, in this connection, that some of our municipalities are still seriously handicapped by the results of the unsound financial principles which they followed in the last building boom.

Recent experience emphasizes that consistently balanced budgets are the veritable keystone of municipal financial stability, but that a few unbalanced budgets may cause financial damage which will take several years to repair. A balanced budget, however, is not merely one which adds up to the same totals on both sides. Most of them do that. What is needed is a budget in which there is no fiction or imagination or trick bookkeeping in the revenue estimate, and in which all the expenditures properly chargeable to the current year are incorporated in the appropriations. If all the local governments in the state were to make next year's budgets on this basis, it would mark a reassuring beginning in postwar municipal finance, but it would necessitate changes of policy in some places.

Cash or Accrual Basis

With respect to the estimating of revenues, there is some difference of opinion throughout the country as to whether the property tax should be estimated on a cash basis, that is, on the basis of anticipated actual collections of current and delinquent taxes during the year, or on an accrual basis, that is, treating the full current levy as revenue in the expectation that it all will be collected eventually. The cash basis method, now followed by Rochester and a few other municipalities in the state, has a number of advantages, among them the elimination of the cost of borrowing against delinquent taxes, and its suitability as a statewide system seems worth consideration. The accrual system, properly safeguarded, is entirely workable; but it has one by-product which tends to weaken budgets—the practice of using, for budget balancing, so-called surplus which, in fact, is only paper surplus. A sound amendment to budgetary policy in the state would be the restriction of the use of surplus in budget balancing to cash surplus.

Policies of cost deferment, methods of postponing to next year, or for several years, the payment of items which are properly classified as current expense, have no place in safe principles of local government finance. They merely deceive the taxpayer as to the actual cost of government, inflate future tax rates, and consume borrowing power which should be conserved for major improvement purposes. Recent practice in the state has included, variously, sale of bonds to fund accumulated operating deficits, continuance of the sale of relief bonds long after the period of real emergency had passed, refunding of maturing bonds to the extent that bond retirement from current revenues was subnormal, use of bonds to finance minor, steadily recurrent capital outlays which should be financed directly through the budget or by temporary certificates of indebtedness, and bond issues for routine repair jobs even in the current year. Such practices prompt the suggestion that a minimum pay-as-you-go policy for the postwar period should be pay-as-you-go for current expenses.

Budget balancing along these lines is one of the very best safeguards of financial stability, but it is far from easy for officials to accomplish when, on the one hand, the popular step is to reduce the tax rate and, on the other hand, expenses, particularly for welfare, tend to reach their highest point when the productivity of the rather narrowly restricted local revenue system is at its lowest point. The report last year of the New York State Commission on Municipal Revenues and Reduction of Real Estate Taxes not only gave full recognition to the implications of this latter dilemma but offered a practical solution in the proposal to replace the sharing of fluctuating state taxes with stable grants and to limit local responsibility for financing unemployment relief. It is difficult to see how local government financial stability can be long maintained without the adoption of these proposals or their adequate equivalent.

Capital Undertakings

The question of safe relationship between fiscal capacity and the obligations undertaken can be reviewed every year with respect to current operating expenses, with some opportunity for making adjustments, if necessary; but when long-range commitments are made for large capital undertakings a municipality is obligating itself for fixed charges that may run for a generation or more. It is a sound principle of local government finance, therefore, that postwar physical improvements undertaken should follow a carefully worked out capital program, that the program should take full account of the community's prospective fiscal capacity, and that a long-range financial plan should be an integral part of the capital plan.

Some communities may be in the fortunate position of having only routine capital requirements which, with careful planning, they can finance from current revenues and, it may be added, they should finance in that manner so long as the nation and the community maintain a good degree of prosperity. But the majority of communities are not so favored, and some of these more typical municipalities may find even their more pressing needs encroaching on the outer margins of fiscal capacity. This fact alone argues for the adoption of a long-range capital program prior to the undertaking of any large postwar capital projects. All projects to be financed should be a part of this program, and they should be given priorities in the order of their basic necessity. Conflicts of opinion are bound to arise over relative importance or need, which is one of the main reasons for adopting a program and for having it extend over a period of five years as a minimum and, tentatively at least, over a considerably longer period. The deliberation called for helps to avoid the demands of pressure groups, the sudden inspirations of promoters and the neglect of vital projects, and aids in concentrating on necessary municipal objectives.

Fiscal Capacity

If this program is really a sound, workable program, and not just a visionary projection of things hoped for, it, or at least that portion of it designed for local financing, will be aligned to the community's prospective fiscal capacity. But determining fiscal capacity means something more than computing legal borrowing margin because New York, like many other states, is rather generous in its grant of borrowing power to local governments. The system of overlapping local governments, outside New York City, which accounts for this would place in an unhappy predicament a taxpayer who happened to live at one and the same time in a village, a town, a school district and a county, all of which used their full borrowing prerogatives. Thus the planning and measuring of fiscal capacity by any local government need to take into account the over-all picture, present and prospective. The situation, in fact, calls for interlocal government consultation and collaboration until such time as we can get rid of redundant local units.

The real job of determining fiscal capacity rests in estimating what the budgets of the next five or ten years can contribute to capital outlay. In the making of this estimate such factors need to be taken into consideration as the size of the service charge for present debt, the amount and rate of its annual reduction, the probable trend of taxable valuation, the prospects for increasing or decreasing operating expense, and the margin, if any, for increasing taxes without overburdening the taxpayers. Not to be overlooked, moreover, are the possible special sources of revenue which are available, or can be made available, for the financing of self-liquidating projects. A study of this kind by any one local government must extend also to an analysis of the finances of the overlapping local units of government.

Equipped with a rough estimate of what it can afford to spend for capital purposes over the next decade, a municipality is in a better position to decide on the extent to which it should use this money for service on new debt and on the extent to which it should do direct pay-as-you-go financing. The decision cannot be made entirely on theoretical considerations of desirability, however, because present financial status, limitations of prospective resources, urgency of capital requirements and other factors create special situations which each municipality must work out for itself. It is a vitally important principle for sound postwar finance, however, that each situation should be met not on the basis of expediency but by a long-range financial plan designed to keep a municipality financially strong if it has already achieved that status, or to point steadily in the direction of greater stability where it is needed.

Long-term borrowing should, in any event, be confined to the financing of major and essential improvements of long utility and to serious emergency requirements. Whether pay-as-you-go financing of capital improvements ever can, or should entirely, replace bond financing for major and infrequently recurring projects is highly questionable, but it deserves greater use in the postwar period than it has received in previous periods of high construction activity. At a minimum, this method of financing should be applied to the many capital requirements which are steadily recurrent in nature and call for routine capital outlay which varies little from year to year. Municipalities which are in a favorable position to undertake more extensive pay-as-you-go programs, because they have good debt structures with rapidly declining annual service charges, should be encouraged to do so, particularly during the years of the anticipated postwar replacement boom. Such a policy is not only anti-inflationary, but it gives a flexibility to budgets which helps to cushion local government finance against business depressions.

One highly improper special use of long-term borrowing calls for comment because of its possible recurrence on a large scale in the postwar period. This is the use of bond issues to finance improvements in new land subdivisions in such manner as virtually to constitute the lending of public credit for private speculative purposes. The consequences to some of our suburban areas in the 1930's from the pursuit of this policy in the 1920's should be sufficient warning that adequate safeguards should be provided and invoked, in the form of efficient zoning and subdivision control, not only in municipalities but in semi-rural areas lying in the path of urban expansion, before excessive debt or the potentialities for excessive debt are created by the coming building boom.

Reducing Costs

Somewhere, in a discussion of principles of sound local government finance in the next decade, there should be something about reducing the cost of government. Actually, the cost of local government is likely to move considerably upward without much delay. This is discouraging, to say the least, particularly at a time when the national debt and national taxes have closed in with their superior demands until it is no longer a relatively easy matter for munici-

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Wanted: Municipal Statesmen

Steady expansion of municipal activities and services while revenues remain restricted creates complex fiscal problem and challenges political limitations and habits.

By CARL H. CHATTERS*

LOCAL governments have financial difficulties because their activities have been growing in number while their revenues have been restricted as to source and amount. The increased activities have tended to make some local governments more able than others to finance services from local revenues. As local governments have been required to render more services, the pattern of government has also become more complex and thus demands are made for financial assistance from the national and state governments to the local governments.

Dr. C. E. Merriam has stated that "we are faced by three important questions in city finances: (1) What is the urban area under modern conditions? (2) What are urban functions under modern conditions? (3) What part of the national or local income should be allocated to cities under modern conditions?" What is the urban area, what is the job of the city, and how much money should it have? This poses the question in the broadest and clearest manner.

The financial problems of local governments are created by the multiplicity of their activities, the unequal economic resources of the various governmental units, the overlapping powers and privileges of local units, and the difficulty of controlling expenditures under a democratic system of government. As life in all its aspects has become more complex, the financial problems of local government have likewise become involved in a baffling combination of social, economic and political causes.

Two important problems then emerge: (1) How can the state or nation make grants, share taxes, or delegate taxing authority to local governments so that money will be available to them according to their needs? (2) Should there be equal opportunity for local services when the various units differ so greatly in their economic ability?

Specific Problems

Here are the specific financial problems of local government as they now appear.

1. Local governments must meet greatly increased costs of labor, material, services and equipment.

2. Public construction has been curtailed for fifteen years. Present

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costs are probably 25 per cent to 50 per cent higher than 1929 prices. Thus more dollars are required for the same volume of work at a time when many public works are vitally needed.

3. Several new or expanded services face local governments. Airport expenditures will be large for both construction and operation. Veterans' information centers are springing up and living memorials such as recreation halls will require capital and operating funds. Housing will be greatly expanded. No matter whether the housing is public or private, it can be built only by construction of sewers, streets, water mains, sidewalks and other facilities.

4. Returning veterans, who are absent from local government service on military leave, will be coming back to their old jobs and increasing local payrolls. In their absence wages and salaries were increased but revenues could remain fairly static because total employment was less and capital expenditures were greatly reduced. Now the local governments will pay more people and they must also reinstate capital expenditures. While more money will be needed the local governments may expect to encounter falling tax collections, some general unemployment, and a somewhat hostile public.

5. The redevelopment of blighted areas is the number one question in hundreds of cities. It seems as difficult as lifting one's self by his own boot straps. Yet cities cannot prosper nor finance themselves when the property with the highest value becomes worthless.

6. The increasing volume of exemptions from the real estate tax will plague the cities. These exemptions alone go far toward making the property tax inadequate and unfair.

7. The central cities in metropolitan areas subsidize their own competition. The central city provides the highways by which citizens escape to suburbs; it usually gives service to surrounding areas or individuals at a nominal rate while charging its own citizens the full cost; and it usually provides hospitals for a larger area than its own. People move outside the cities to have lower taxes. In many cases the rural or unincorporated areas can have lower taxes because they get part of their services from the central city and part of their money from state-distributed revenues.

8. Local governments face long term commitments for debt, pensions and vital services. The financial and service demands are quite inflexible while the revenue system generally yields decreasing income to local governments when needs are greatest.

9. Local governments generally are unable to pay salaries large enough to attract and keep the technical and administrative personnel required. The smaller units of government generally suffer more than the more populous units from lack of technical advice.

10. Many states, by constitution or statute, place drastic limits on local government taxation. Some of these states then give large subsidies to one or more local functions such as schools while rendering no

compensating assistance to other activities. The cities which are the centers of wealth and bear the lion's share of the service burdens are unable to tax the wealth which exists in their midst. The total cost of government at all levels would probably be reduced if local governments had broader taxing powers so that state and federal assistance would not be so greatly demanded. The question arises, "How can local governments reach the local income or local wealth to finance local services?"

11. The local governments have assumed services which cannot be properly financed by the present methods of public finance. The entire highway system inside the cities and the cost of traffic installations and traffic control have been financed from local property taxes, general and special, while motor vehicle revenues were usually spent outside the cities. Property tax revenues have been used to finance health and welfare activities when this tax is no suitable base for those purposes. The truth is that the sum total of local government activities has grown in nature and extent while the local revenue system has generally remained static.

Intergovernmental Problems

To bring local revenue problems into sharper focus, they may be classified by groups such as social, economic and political.

Nearly all financial problems of local government must be solved within a framework which we usually call intergovernmental fiscal relations. A mere listing of items here reveals the problems:

1. How shall the federal government distribute financial aid for housing, roads, airports and social services?

2. Do state and federal grants encourage more or less local spending?

3. What results from state grants and state-shared taxes?

4. At what point should the state limit the kind and amount of taxes that localities may levy?

5. State supervision of local financial matters may be a blessing or a curse. What are the proper limits for state supervision, state auditing and state advice?

6. Many states fix by state statute the salaries of local employees or officials. Why?

7. The problems caused by several governmental units occupying the same geographic area are next discussed.

In most states the pattern of local government is complex because the city, county, township, school district and various special districts may be levying taxes on the same property. Usually there is no central authority to make a rational allocation of revenues in such cases. There is lack of unified financial planning among the units which occupy the same area, frequently there are two or more separate valuations of property, there may be duplication of services, and there certainly are conflicting claims for the revenue that is available. While the number of small school districts has been declining, the number of special purpose authorities has been greatly increasing.

Thus at the local level there is competition among units of government occupying the same area and there is also competition among the departments, services or functions within a single governmental unit. Would it be rational to have a single governmental unit to levy all taxes and perform all services in a given geographic area, no matter how large or how small it may be? Maybe not, but it is worth thinking about.

Economic Problems

Many local government finance problems are economic in nature. The governmental unit may be rich or poor, small or large, diversified or specialized, residential or industrial, and growing, static or declining. The legally constituted area of the city may include, but too frequently excludes, the industries and areas which constitute the economic area of the city. Within a given state and surely within the nation the needs may be in one community and the economic resources in another. Within a given city there are demands for extension of services to areas where they cannot be economically justified. Debt problems arise too when the economic base of a community is misjudged or ignored.

The revenue system heretofore available to cities has ignored the economic ability of some cities to meet their own needs if they are given enough authority. The local revenue system is such that revenues shrink when needs expand. Also debts are usually incurred when prices are high; the debts are inflexible and no provision is made to levy taxes and pay or refund debts when money is plentiful or interest rates are low.

Local government frequently appears to have been organized and financed without regard to economic resources or economic changes. But the application of economic laws implies a rational approach to local finance problems. Are we politically and socially ready for this approach?

Social Problems

Changing social conditions have done more than anything else to bring about the present problems of local government. Some of these changes are:

1. Free public education;
2. The automobile and thus requirements for highways, bridges, sewers, traffic lights, traffic police and general mobility of people;
3. Care of the aged, the sick, the widows, the orphans, the blind, the unemployed, the former soldier and the expectant mother;
4. Retirement plans for public employees;
5. Extension of recreational facilities, public housing, public health centers and public hospitals.

Many of these social changes come directly from the changing pattern of industry, its growth, its specialization, its centralization and the impersonal character of the management.

Finally, there are some local financial problems which are political problems. The whole realm of intergovernmental fiscal problems must be solved or aggravated by

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How Will Cities Get the Money?

Since property tax is unable to bear entire burden of costs of municipal government, other taxes should be made available; sales, income, utilities levies suggested.

By **PAUL STUDENSKI***

NEW YORK State, along with the rest of the nation, according to all indications, is set for a great and somewhat inflationary expansion of business activity for the next five years or so. What will happen after that no one knows. But the likelihood is that at some time there will be a sharp depression. If this be true, then our municipalities will likewise pass through a more or less prolonged period of expansion of activities and finances to be followed by a period of contraction.

Municipalities will be compelled during the period of expansion to extend considerably those facilities and activities which businessmen consider to be most essential to their operations, such as the improvement of streets and boulevards, traffic control and suppression of crime. They will be required similarly to extend services in which other pressure groups are interested, such as education, recreation, public housing, health protection, hospitals and social welfare. Municipal expenditures under these conditions will increase. They will also grow larger because of the salary increases and higher costs of materials and supplies which will be inevitable. Revenues of the municipalities may readily become insufficient during this period to meet increased expenditures.

It would be most unfortunate if municipalities were to endeavor to procure most of their additional requirements during this period from property taxes. These taxes are too heavy already and exercise a deleterious effect on the ownership and improvement of property. They should be made less burdensome, rather than more so.

The state should provide to the localities additional specific aids and general allocations from shared taxes. This method of amplifying municipal revenue resources is desirable for at least three reasons: First, it will make available to the localities the proceeds of revenues which are closely related to business activity and incomes and which the state alone can raise successfully. Second, it can make the additional revenue available to the municipalities in accordance with their respective needs, and inversely rather than proportionately to their respective fiscal capacities. Even the poorest municipalities will be able thereunder to maintain certain minimum educational

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and other social services. Third, the increase in state aids and shared taxes, besides helping municipalities to defray their additional expenditures, will afford some relief to real estate.

The state has already made a significant start in the direction of such an extension and improvement of its assistance. In 1945 it revised upward the formula of its aid to education and provided for a greater measure of equalization. It has set the Moore Commisison and a special Governor's Committee to work on a comprehensive revision of the rest of the state's assistances. This revision is aimed not only at an increase of the aggregate amounts of these assistances but also at a more advantageous distribution of them among various purposes and at a more equitable apportionment of them among different municipalities.

Another announced objective is to stabilize the annual allocations from shared taxes so as to add firmness and balance to the finances of the municipalities over periods of years. It is to be hoped that this program will be fully and satisfactorily evolved and will be approved by the legislature during the 1946 session.

The state should not attempt, however, to expand these assistances to a point where they would supply to the localities the greater portion of their required additional funds. This would only encourage wasteful expenditures and weaken local self-government. It could never hope through such assistances to take care of special local needs. Only the municipalities themselves could do this through the exercise of their own taxing powers.

The greater portion of the needed moneys should come from local sources. The taxing powers of the municipalities should be broadened so that they may procure these funds in the needed measure and by the use of taxes, other than the real estate tax, best suited to their particular conditions. These powers should be granted to them not temporarily but permanently.

Broaden Local Tax Powers

Any municipality, large or small, acting under such broadened taxing powers, should be able to administer successfully taxes on electric light, gas and telephone bills, theater admissions and gross receipts from business, and to derive substantial revenues therefrom.

New York City has demonstrated its ability to administer effectively a sales tax. It should be permitted, if it so desires, to increase the rate of this levy from one to two per cent—the rate at which the tax was imposed a few years ago—and to use the additional proceeds for whatever purpose it deems best, whether this be subway improvements, subsidies to public housing and slum clearance, or the support of the general city budget. Other large cities in the state, such as Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, and aggregations of contiguous medium-sized cities, such as Binghamton, Endicott and Johnson City, should be able to administer a local sales tax almost as effectively as New York City. They should be allowed to do so if they wish.

All large cities should be capable of administering a tax on income from salaries and wages such as the one now being levied in Philadelphia, or a tax on the occupants of buildings, based on their actual or imputed rents. Both of these taxes possess the virtue of reaching directly practically every gainfully employed citizen in the locality. They are, therefore, better calculated to drive home the realization of the ultimate costs of any proposed large increases in municipal expenditures than the property tax which applies directly only to those citizens who own real estate. The tax on incomes from salaries and wages has the additional advantage over the property tax of reaching the persons who work in the city but reside in the suburbs and who rightfully should make some contributions to the support of the city's services.

Both these taxes are as administrable on a local basis as the property tax. Before attempting, therefore, to raise additional revenue from the real estate tax, our larger cities might well consider the advisability of introducing as a supplement thereto either the sales tax (or an additional rate thereof) or one or the other of the aforementioned two levies.

Some municipal officials may not welcome the proposed extension of the taxing powers of their municipalities. They may not wish to be placed in a position where they must either oppose requests for additional expenditures or recommend the imposition of new taxes to finance them. But let us hope that the number of such officials will not be large—that most officials will be glad to have the state vest additional taxing powers in their municipalities and will unflinchingly accept the responsibility to guard these powers against illegitimate or wasteful use.

Borrowing a Source of Revenue

Another source open to municipalities for procuring additional resources is borrowing. Most of our municipalities have been forced by circumstances during the past ten to fifteen years to reduce their debts. They have built up, as a consequence, a substantial margin of unused debt-incurring power by this time. It would be most unwise for these municipalities, however, to use more than a portion of this debt-incurring power during the forthcoming period of expansion. They should endeavor to conserve a substantial portion of it to meet the emergencies of the succeeding period of contraction. They should restrict their borrowings, in the main, to revenue-producing undertakings.

Some municipalities, such as Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, are seriously considering starting permanently on a 100 per cent pay-as-you-go plan. They would like to become completely debt free in the course of time. Whether they will actually venture on this program, and adhere to it, remains to be seen. Most of our municipalities will be doing well if they follow a partial pay-as-you-go plan, involving the financing of only a portion of their capital outlays directly from taxes.

One way for municipalities to avoid piling up large debts during periods of expansion, which it might be difficult for them to service during subsequent depressions, is to restrict their borrowings for non-revenue producing improvements to relatively short terms, say ten to twenty years.

At the same time provision should be made by the municipalities for the achievement of some flexibility in their debt retirement policies. During periods of prosperity the municipalities may well afford to amortize or redeem bonds rapidly, but during periods of depression they should be allowed to do so more slowly. They should accordingly either reserve to themselves the right during periods of depression to extend the maturities of bonds which run for relatively short terms for an additional period of, say, five years, or they should voluntarily during periods of prosperity further accelerate the rate of retirement of such bonds so that during periods of depression they may be able correspondingly to decelerate the rate.

An Example

There may be some objection from the bond market to the first-mentioned method of achieving flexibility in municipal debt retirements. But there could be none, in my opinion, to the second proposed method. To insure against the possibility of unjustified deferments of appropriations to sinking funds under this method, any such deferments could be made subject to the authorization by the comptroller of the state.

Here is an example of the operation of this plan. A municipality venturing on an improvement having a life of, say, 30 years, would finance it by the issuance of bonds running for terms of fifteen years (one to fifteen in the case of serial issues) and callable after five years. Taking advantage of favorable conditions, however, it would proceed to amortize or redeem these bonds over a shorter period, say ten years. Accordingly, if these are sinking fund bonds it would correspondingly increase its amortization payments forthwith, while if they are serial bonds it would begin to double up on its annual redemptions during the sixth year of the issue.

If, then, at any time during the ten-year period in the case of the sinking fund bonds, or between the sixth and tenth year in the case of the serial issues, business conditions should become reversed, precipitating a crisis in municipal finance, the municipality could revert to the fifteen-year term for which the bonds were originally issued. It could suspend for two or three years any further amortization or redemption payments on them, resuming the payments after that at a slower rate appropriate to the fifteen-year term of issue. The municipality would thus secure some measure of financial relief from the heavy debt payments which otherwise would have been required of it because of such issues.

The adoption of some such plan of flexible debt retirements would, in my opinion, be highly beneficial to the municipalities. The customary type of a callable bond is all right. But it does not contain within it the seeds of an organized flexible debt retirement. This plan attempts to fill the gap. It is recommended to the earnest consideration of the municipalities as an alternative to a 100 per cent pay-as-you-go plan.

To summarize, municipal finances should be planned at this time not only with a view to the requirements of the period of expansion immediately ahead but also with a view to those of the probable subsequent contraction. Increases in property assessments and in the rates of property taxes should be avoided so far as possible. State assistances to the localities should be increased. They should be distributed more advantageously among various objectives and apportioned more equitably among the different municipalities, and the amounts of allocations from shared taxes should be made more stable. Taxing powers of the localities should be broadened. The localities should exercise these powers in meeting their peculiar needs as they deem best. Borrowing should be employed by the municipalities during the next few years mainly for revenue-producing projects, and only sparsely and for relatively short terms for other purposes. Debt retirement policies should be flexible. In the observance of these principles, I believe, lies the future solvency and prosperity of municipal finance.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before conference on Local Government Services, 1945-1955, at Albany, New York, under sponsorship of New York State Department of Audit and Control.

WANTED: MUNICIPAL STATESMEN

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considerations political in their nature such as the urban-rural conflict, the federal-state-local relationship, the city-county-town-school discussion and even the battle of the First Ward against the Second Ward.

Political Problems

There are more serious and immediate political problems. Just plain political considerations have frequently decided the distribution of state aid or state-shared taxes. Political considerations in a democracy create the urge to spend and to refrain from taxing. Political considerations are largely responsible for the multiple units of government serving a single area—that is, political considerations prevent the elimination of unnecessary units. Political considerations dictate the boundaries of cities so that the legal city and the economic city are not the same. Political considerations make it difficult for local governments to keep trained financial staff members and to plan a sound program of local finance. Political considerations make it difficult at times to organize the financial activities of a single city so that it can be clearly determined who is responsible for the city's finances, who exercises control over expenditures and who enforces the collection of revenues. Nearly all these political considerations are inherent in our democratic scheme of government with a distribution of powers and responsibilities to many levels of government.

The fiscal problems of local government are challenging. Their solution will be found only through the highest degree of fiscal statesmanship.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before conference on Local Government Services, 1945-1955, at Albany, New York, under sponsorship of New York State Department of Audit and Control.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Housing Crisis Plagues All Government Levels

Remedies Are Sought in Cities, States and Nation

THE lag—or virtual cessation—in housing construction over many years, combined with the return of millions of war veterans and the migrations of war workers and their families, has raised the housing problem to a primary position throughout the nation. The federal government, the states and many cities are struggling to find both quick and lasting solutions to the need—not merely of good housing in ample quantity but, in many localities, of any houses at all for large numbers of veterans and migrants.

Mayors of many cities attending the annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors in New York City, December 10, 11 and 12, agreed that the provision of additional housing is the most pressing problem facing municipalities today. President Truman, in a message to the conference calling for municipal cooperation with the federal government in many programs during the reconversion period, said that a major responsibility which must be met is housing—"housing for veterans, public housing, assistance to home owners and elimination of slums and blighted areas." The chief recommendations of the committee on legislation, headed by Mayor Walter Chandler of Memphis, called for release by the federal government, including the War and Navy Departments, of building materials needed for new houses, and for a definite federal policy on assisting cities with public works.

The mayors unanimously adopted a resolution calling on Congress to appropriate $190,000,000 to enable the National Housing Agency to make 100,000 surplus temporary housing units in various parts of the country available to communities for the use of returning servicemen and the families of those not yet discharged—and to give control of the houses to the municipalities. On the same day John B. Blandford, National Housing Administrator, promised that the NHA would if authorized carry out this emergency program with the utmost speed. He urged federal and local cooperation to get the maximum use of existing civilian housing for veterans' needs, production of 500,000 new houses in 1946, and comprehensive housing legislation to provide permanent solutions. He stated that the nation faces a deficit of housing accommodations for three million people by the end of 1946.

Further resolutions on housing adopted by the mayors conference included approval of extending federal rent control beyond July 1, endorsement of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, and changing OPA regulations to encourage home sharing in the housing crisis.

On December 12 President Truman announced approval of a program for speedy release of surplus housing units and building materials for veterans and their families, immediate establishment of priorities of building materials for single and multiple dwelling units costing $10,000 or less, and legislation authorizing ceiling prices to be set for old and new housing.

A nation-wide Associated Press survey, results of which were made public in December, indicated housing scarcities in all sections of the country.

Immediate housing needs in twelve cities, large and small, based on estimates of required housing units by public officials and real estate men, were cited as samples: Chicago, 100,000; Detroit, 30,000; Washington, 25,000; Houston, 21,200; Kansas City, Missouri, 19,000; Denver, 15,000; Omaha, 5,000; Nashville, 4,000; Atlanta, 2,500; Topeka, 1,250; Danbury, Connecticut, 500; and Jefferson City, Missouri, 400.

New York Program

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York estimated that 250,000 housing units are needed in that state alone. On December 10 he, together with the heads of six state agencies, took steps to speed up the conversion of military housing installations in New York City into emergency dwelling units for some 10,000 people. It was agreed that the normal processes of careful scrutiny and approvals be minimized to avoid delay. The state budget director arranged for immediate allocation of approved funds and the commissioner of standards and purchase undertook to accept bids by telephone instead of by the usual slower processes; he would also have a man on the job itself, as would also the superintendent of public works, the attorney-general and the comptroller, in the effort to meet emergencies swiftly and to do in days what would otherwise take weeks or months.

In New York City in December the Citizens Housing Council proposed a long-term program to help in the present emergency and to eliminate the city's slums by the end of a ten-year period. It takes the estimate of the New York City Housing Authority that 500,000 families in New York live in substandard housing. That agency produced 17,040 apartments for low-income families in ten years and plans to care for 18,000 more in the next few years. The *New York Times* commented editorially on December 7:

"The council has decided that federal and state aid will not be sufficient to rehouse this city's low-grade-housing population in less than a century or so. It believes that the city must take the initiative, plan slum clearance on a huge scale, relate the planning with public uses of land, and at the same time encourage and control private housing enterprises.

"The council proposes that the city take responsibility for 250,000 dwellings, which could be erected at a cost of about $1,675,000,000. It is thought that this sum could be borrowed for a maximum period of 45 years at an interest rate of 2 per cent, or a little less. The subsidy which the city would be expected to pay would be about equal to the interest, or something like $134 a family a year. Beginning at $3,000,000 a year it would rise, as construction proceeded, to $33,500,000 in the tenth year. The subsidy plus earnings would retire the bonds by the 45th year. To meet the payments the council would use the proceeds of the 1 per cent sales tax. . . .

"The council's plan ought to have the most careful scrutiny. The burden of proof will be on those who say it can't be carried out, and even more on those who say it ought not to be."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

At least 28 cities and towns adopted the council-manager plan in 1945 and have been added to the official list of the International City Managers' Association. They are located in fifteen states, with one (Drummondville) in the province of Quebec, Canada. Maine and Texas each added six: Rockland, Old Town, Fairfield, Orient, Dyer Brook and Reed Plantation, in Maine, and Corpus Christi, McAllen, Burnet, Lamesa, Pittsburg and Raymondville in Texas. Kansas added two: Independence and Liberal. Vermont added the town of Chester and the village of the same name. The other additions were each in separate states: Brookfield, Illinois; Brookfield, Missouri; Burlington, North Carolina; Carey, Ohio; Chester, South Carolina; Corbin, Kentucky; Gatlinburg, Tennessee; Key West, Florida; Lynwood, California; State College, Pennsylvania; and Vassar, Michigan. All of these adoptions have been previously noted in the REVIEW except those in Lynwood, California, and Chester (village), Vermont.

At a meeting of the **Hartford (Connecticut)** Charter Commission on November 30, consideration of the manager plan was urged by Mayor Mortenson and three former mayors of Hartford. They also agreed that the present common council of twenty members, five elected at large and fifteen from wards, should be replaced by a smaller body elected at large. Three other former mayors who were invited to the meeting did not appear.

According to the **Pittsfield (Massachusetts)** Taxpayers' Association, revision of that city's charter is favored by various elements, with considerable sentiment for the council-manager plan, although the present government there is not charged with dishonesty or corruption.

Interest in the council-manager plan for **Ottawa, Kansas,** where it has been discussed over a period of years, was stimulated by an address on November 6 by L. P. Cookingham, manager of Kansas City, Missouri, at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce. He explained the principles and workings of the plan to an audience of some 200. The *Ottawa Herald* commended the plan editorially.

At a special election in **Sheridan, Wyoming,** on October 30, a proposition to adopt the manager plan was defeated, 1,108 to 794. A companion referendum as to mode of election of the council if the manager plan were approved resulted in 480 votes for election at large, 526 for election by wards, and 347 for a combination of both.

A campaign for adoption of the manager plan is under way in **Ennis, Texas.**

Petitions for a referendum election on the manager plan have been circulated in **Carrizo Springs, Texas,** and more signatures than required are reported to have been obtained.

In **Tucumcari, New Mexico,** a petition for popular vote on adoption of the manager plan has been presented to the city council, with prospects for an early election.

A citizens' committee in **Santa Ana, California,** is making a study of the charter.

Thirty-four **Texas** managers held an annual meeting in Austin on November 5, in connection with the convention of the League of Texas Municipalities.

Many Cities Provide Veterans' Information Centers

Information centers for veterans have been established in at least half of the cities of more than 50,000 population and in approximately a third of the cities between 25,000 and 50,000, the International City Managers' Association reports on the basis of a survey of centers in cities of more than 25,000 population. The centers are financed entirely by the city in about a third of the cities reporting, by the local community fund or war chest in another third, and by the city and county or jointly by public and private agencies in the remaining third.

These centers act chiefly as central

clearing houses of information and counselling for veterans.

In about half of nearly 150 cities reporting on the services rendered such services are limited to information and referral, while half provide additional services. Many centers aid veterans in preparing and filing papers, claims and applications, by which they obtain pensions, allotments and other rights and benefits. Only a few do job placement work, although approximately four out of five provide some vocational guidance service—often by referral to the proper agency.

Establishment of local information centers has been stimulated by state programs in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan and New York, and by the veterans' service committee formed at state and local levels as the result of Order No. 1 of the Retraining and Re-employment Administration of May 17, 1944, these committees being made up of representatives of the Veterans' Administration, Selective Service System, and the United States Employment Service.

Fire Protection Beyond Municipal Limits

In Pennsylvania 169 municipalities between 5,000 and 25,000 population are reported to be providing fire protection beyond their own corporate limits. Of these, 125 make no charge to the areas served; 44 municipalities make some charges. The charges are either annual, hourly, a fixed charge per fire, or a charge based on assessed valuations. A fixed charge based on the assessed value of real property in the areas protected distributes the cost of fire protection most fairly among all users.

First New England Municipal Report Contest

At the 21st annual conference of the New England Council, in Boston on November 16, awards for good municipal reports were granted to ten New England communities. This was the first New England Municipal Report Competition, according to *The New England Townsman*, which notes that the 1945 Maine Town Report Competition had also been held, with eight primary and sixteen secondary awards granted, and that three Maine towns were among the ten receiving awards in the New England contest, Maine thus leading the other states.

The Tarrytowns Weigh Consolidation Gain

Advantages of combining the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, New York, into a single city were stressed at a forum discussion on November 30, with little opposition argument. One government would be eliminated for each community by the consolidation, inasmuch as in New York State the town (township) government functions in a village as well as the village government, whereas a city is independent of the town. A better school setup was also envisaged, and it was asserted that additional tax sources would be available to a city government.

New Publications of Kansas Municipalities League

Eight bulletins dealing with various phases of local government were compiled and published by the League of Kansas Municipalities in 1945 with a view to aiding local government officials.

Handbook for the Mayor of the City of the Third Class, Mayor and Council Form of Government, is the first publication under the league's new three-year research program in local government. It applies to the 500 cities of the third class and is the first of a series of handbooks for public officials

—mayors of second-class cities, county commissioners and school boards, among others.

Other publications include: *1944 Kansas Tax Rate Book*—a compilation of city, city school and county tax rates effective for 589 cities and 105 counties, including assessments, debt, etc.; 1944 city-owned electric, water and gas reports; *1945-1946 Kansas Directory of Public Officials*—federal, state, city, county, school and township officers; *Status of County Unit Road System; Kansas Governmental Calendar*, compiled by Albert B. Martin, general attorney, for state, county, city, school and other governmental units; *Instruction in State and Local Government Offered by Kansas Colleges; 1945 Supplement to the Handbook for Kansas Public Improvements*, also compiled by Mr. Martin.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Director*
League of Kansas Municipalities

Street-Lighting Data Obtained from 51 Cities

A recent survey of municipal street-lighting practices, by the American Public Works Association, covers 51 cities with a total population of 24,650,000. Seventeen are over 300,000 population; seven are between 100,000 and 300,000; and the other 27 have a population of less than 100,000.

Total street mileage reported by the 51 cities is 34,800, with 29,100 miles lighted; and a total of 676,000 street lights in service of which 48 per cent are municipally owned. Municipalities operate and maintain 259,000 street lights; private utilities or contractors, 417,000. Electrical energy is supplied by the municipality for 8 per cent of the street lights reported. One large and six small municipalities own and operate their own generating equipment. Of 48 that have alleys, 26 light all or part of the alleys. Much other data on lighting practice was obtained.

Redistricting Completed for Missouri Senate

On October 18, 1945, the Missouri Redistricting Commission filed its order for a division of Missouri into 34 new senatorial districts, the first revision since 1901. Under the plan the city of St. Louis will have seven senators instead of six, St. Louis County will have two instead of sharing one with two other counties, and Jackson County (Kansas City) will have four instead of two. These districts must be laid out by the Board of Elections Commissioners of the city of St. Louis and by the county courts (county board) in Jackson and St. Louis Counties.

The new districts will give sixteen senators to predominantly urban counties, though Jasper (Joplin) must share its senator with three smaller counties. The other eighteen are from rural districts.

The new districts are convenient, composed of contiguous territory, and fairly equal in population since no county could be divided. No district varies as much as 25 per cent from the quotient obtained by dividing the total population of the state by 34. No district has fewer than 83,435 residents nor more than 139,141, whereas the old districts varied from less than 50,000 to over 320,000.

It is claimed that the 21 new districts already fixed by the commission are equally divided politically, nine being normally Democratic, nine normally Republican, and three doubtful. Consequently, either party will have a fair chance to obtain a majority in any election. Since 1901 the Senate has had only two Republican majorities, in 1921-22 and 1945-46 respectively, although the Republicans carried the state for president five times and elected five governors during the same period.

The commission consisted of five Democrats and five Republicans appointed by the governor from lists of ten Democrats and ten Republicans furnished by the respective state committees, as provided in the new constitution. After some five months' deliberation the members agreed unanimously on 21 districts and the assignment of thirteen to the three largest units as indicated above.

If the commission had not redistricted within six months state senators would have been elected at large in 1946, following which a new commission would be appointed in like manner and with like effect. Having elected congressmen at large in 1932, the convention thought such a penalty would compel redistricting. Anyway, the scheme worked.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW
University of Missouri

Maryland High Court Approves Voluntary Check-off

On November 28, 1945, the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled on a lower court decision holding invalid a contract between the Department of Public Works of that city and the Municipal Chauffeurs, Helpers and Garage Employees Local Union (A. F. of L.). This contract prescribed the closed shop and compulsory check-off, or deduction of union dues from employees' pay. In disapproving these provisions the lower court stated, however, that a "purely voluntary" check-off is permissible. Mugford and Byrd, taxpayer plaintiffs, carried the latter point to the Court of Appeals, which in sustaining the lower court noted also that as the ruling declaring the contract invalid had not been appealed by the defendants (the city and the union) it was the law of the case. The court said that if a city employee voluntarily asks the central payroll bureau to deduct union dues from his wages, reserving his right to discontinue such payments, the city could permit it. However, the court took occasion to emphasize that the city authorities cannot delegate or abdicate their continuing discretion as to hours, wages and working conditions.

An editorial writer in the *Baltimore Sun* of December 2 noted that the union (with a new contract) flourishes despite the ostensible legal prohibition of the closed shop, the compulsory check-off and the right to strike.

Congress Facilitates Federal Reorganization

The compromise bill to enable the President to reorganize and consolidate the executive establishment was approved by the Senate on December 13, by a vote of 48 to 23, after the House of Representatives had unanimously accepted the bill as revised in joint conference.

The exemptions, which fluctuated at various stages of the bill's consideration, finally included the civil functions of the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the General Accounting Office, and the Controller General, which were completely excluded from the bill's reorganization provisions. The latter two are direct agencies of Congress. Exempted, except that functions, agencies and personnel may be transferred to them, are the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, National Mediation Board, National Railroad Adjustment Board and Railroad Retirement Board.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Communications Commission, Tariff Commission and Veterans Administration were also exempted, but only to the extent that if reorganized they must be dealt with separately and under plans that affect no other agency.

Researcher's Digest

GRA Holds Annual Conference

Governmental Problems and Citizen Action Discussed

LESLIE M. GRAVLIN, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, was re-elected president of the **Governmental Research Association** at its national conference held December 13, 14 and 15 at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Michigan.

Carl P. Herbert, director of the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research, was elected vice president to succeed Loren B. Miller, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

Chosen as trustees were: Alvin A. Burger, research director of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; Welles A. Gray, Citizens National Committee, Washington, D. C.; Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation; Alfred Smith, director of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research; Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans.

The trustees re-elected Mr. Burger as treasurer and G. Gordon Tegnell as secretary.

State-local relationships, state constitutional revision, federal financial problems and citizens' concern with local government were discussed by speakers who included the following: John F. Sly, director, the Princeton Surveys and consultant of the Governmental Research Association; William Anderson, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota; Harold L. Henderson, executive director, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research; John A. Perkins, Political Science Department, University of Michigan; Harvey Walker, Ohio State University; B. E. Hutchinson, vice president, Chrysler Corporation; Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, who addressed the conference dinner meeting by telephone when his plane was grounded by a snowstorm; John E. Bebout, director, Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research; Charlton F. Chute, director of research, Missouri Legislative Research Committee; Howard Volgenau, manager, Governmental Affairs Department, United States Chamber of Commerce; Maxwell E. McDowell, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; and Lent D. Upson, dean, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University.

Philadelphia Debt

Philadelphia's Debt Limit (31 pages) has been prepared by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** for the Philadelphia Development Committee. The report discusses Philadelphia's debt limit, which is now 10 per cent of the last assessed valuation of taxable property, and the question of whether it should be changed to a percentage of the average of the last ten annual assessed valuations of taxable real estate only. A proposed constitutional amendment is set forth in the report which would give Philadelphia a more stable debt limit, one which would rise less sharply in periods of boom and fall less abruptly in times of depression. William C. Beyer, director of the bureau, prepared the text. W. W. Jeanes, under the direction of Robert J. Patterson, the bureau's chief accountant, prepared tables and charts.

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Massachusetts Proposals

Three timely publications have been issued by the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Inc.**, of which Norman MacDonald is executive director. *Municipal Law Changes Made by the Massachusetts Legislature 1945* (20 pages) divides the new legislation into eight general topics—changes affecting municipal employees, city and town clerks, elections, municipal finance, public welfare, schools, taxation and miscellaneous, with appropriate subdivisions under each; *Proposal for the Establishment of a Department of Commerce and Development in Massachusetts,* which has been submitted to the Special Commission Relative to Establishing a State Department of Commerce created by the 1945 legislature; *Adoption by Reference—A Proposal to Facilitate Building Code Preparation and Revision in Massachusetts Communities,* prepared for the Recess Commission on Safety of Persons in Buildings, created by the 1943 legislature and revived by the 1945 body.

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Pay-As-You-Go

In its *Newsletter* for November the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** advocated a pay-as-you-go plan for Pittsburgh "even if it means tax increases." The *Newsletter* also discusses "city finances in the light of state action—or lack of it," says the introduction of Leslie J. Reese, vice president.

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Milwaukee Purchasing

Albert Pleydell, commissioner of purchase of the city of New York, is author of *City of Milwaukee's Storehouses and Storerooms*—a Report to the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** (43 pages). Norman N. Gill, executive director of the bureau, announces that citizen governmental research bureaus may receive a copy of the report without charge; to others it is a dollar.

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Seattle Reports

The **Seattle Municipal League for Governmental Research** has issued two new reports: *Seattle Schools Aid in Veteran Adjustment* (2 pages), prepared by John C. Bollens, the league's research director, and *Management of Our City Owned Utilities* (4 pages), a report to the Special utilities Management Committee. A third study, *Report on New City Charter* (8 pages), is treated more extensively on page 31 of this issue. C. A. Crosser is executive secretary of the league.

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Coordinating Public Works

A Public Works Review Board, with representation of federal, state, county and municipal agencies, has been proposed by Dr. George W. Bemis, author of *Coordinated Public Works for Metropolitan Los Angeles* (25 pages, ten cents). The publication has been issued by the **John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation**. "The creation of a new administrative agency to coordinate the execution of major programs of public construction within metropolitan areas is essential if the mistakes of the past are to be avoided and if the more difficult problems of the immediate future are to be handled effectively," warns the author in his conclusions. "The proposed board would provide the Los Angeles area with the necessary working machinery for the coordination of a variety of programs in the general interest of the public to be served."

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Nebraska Education Problems

The **Nebraska Legislative Council** has published *Educational Problems in Nebraska* as its Report No. 28. Roger V. Shumate, director of research, comments in the preface that "its purposes are to describe briefly the most immediate problems which confront the public schools in Nebraska, to indicate some of the steps now being taken to meet these problems, and to summarize the proposed solutions which are most frequently encountered."

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Seattle League Supports New Charter

Plans Active Campaign to Secure Adoption in March

BASING its action on a report of its Governmental Research Committee, the Board of Trustees of the **Seattle Municipal League,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, has adopted a resolution endorsing the proposed revised charter for Seattle submitted by the Freeholders' Charter Commission. Date of the election is March 12.[1]

The resolution states that the league will "vigorously support the charter and through its appropriate committees will promote an educational campaign." It recommends also that "all civic and other groups hold one or more meetings during the next four months to consider the new charter and to officially endorse it, to familiarize their members with its merits and benefits, and to urge them to cast their ballots approving it."

While the research committee which made the report concludes that no basic changes have been made in the city's governmental setup, it feels that the new charter contains a number of changes which it believes of vital importance.

Adoption of the charter will be the league's No. 1 job until election day. "Wrapped up in this document," says the *Seattle Municipal News* editorially, "are about a half dozen improvements in our city's governmental machinery for which the league and other groups have been clamoring for years. Here is an unparalleled opportunity to enact them all into city law by one action."

A special committee to integrate league action has been appointed by President Lawrence Bates. The organization's Town Criers Committee is getting its speaking campaign under way and asking for volunteers.

Corpus Christi Citizens Protest Manager Appointment

Indignant that the first city council under a new council-manager plan charter appointed a manager without previous managerial experience, despite pre-election pledges to the contrary, citizens of Corpus Christi have organized a **Better Government League.** Immediately after appointment of the new manager the Citizens Council, composed of some 75 prominent business and professional men, organized a mass meeting in protest of the City Council's action. Three meetings were held and at the last the Citizens Council recommended to the 500 citizens present that the new City Council be recalled and that a recommended slate of five outstanding civic-minded business men, who had offered themselves as candidates, be submitted to the electorate.

Since the City Council refused to resign, the Better Government League—organized to carry out the plans laid down by the mass meetings—went into action. Petitions were prepared asking for the recall of the mayor and all councilmen and sufficient signatures have been secured to force an election.

R. R. Henry of Corpus Christi, who reports on the matter, comments that there are two hopeful signs in the recall movement: (1) the Better Government League is organized for continuous and permanent functioning; (2) the candidates on the proposed ticket backed by the league are such as could be secured only at such a time as this.

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[1] For provisions of the proposed charter see "Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter," the REVIEW, December 1945, p. 569.

Why Don't People Get Excited?

This pertinent question on why people don't vote is the subject of a discussion presented by the **Cleveland Citizens League** in *Greater Cleveland*. "The Optimistic View" is given by Ralph Kelly in a story reprinted from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. "Another Slant" comes from the editor of *Greater Cleveland*, John E. Bebout, secretary of the Cleveland league.

Mr. Kelly comments that "there is hardly a city in the country which has had a municipal campaign which created the heat and clamor of the days before the war." He feels that perhaps municipal politics are changing, that municipal government has improved "so astoundingly in the last decade" that corrupt big city administrations are now the exception rather than the rule. He suggests that if municipal campaigns can be kept quiet for a time it may be possible to present the real issues to the public "rather than the concoction of personality clashes, irrelevant nonsense and plain mullarkey which are usually held out in municipalities to represent 'the issues.' The issue is plainly not between groups of people in any given city," he suggests, "but between a city and other units of government, principally the state, which maintain for their own benefit the archaic belief that this is not an urban country, and that cities are a temporary excrescence which must occasionally be given emergency-clinic treatment."

Mr. Bebout agrees with Mr. Kelly that indifference to elections is partly due to widespread improvement in the morals of city politics, but points out that "the great danger in non-voting in such contests is the habit of inattention or indifference to local public affairs which it engenders." He agrees with Mr. Kelly that home rule for municipalities plays an important part in the picture, that one of the issues—which cannot be answered by candidates—is "where is the money coming from?"

"With few exceptions, no satisfactory answer to this question can be found by the exercise of home rule powers within the municipality. In most states, the big problem is to persuade a rural-minded legislature that city government is worthy of the necessary financing. This, plus the system of federal grants, makes the first need of many cities not a good chief administrator, but a good ambassador, lobbyist or supersalesman in the state and national capitols."

"There is, of course," Mr. Bebout cites, "always one theoretically valid issue in any city election, namely, 'Who is the best man?' Aside from the difficulty of making that issue exciting, however, all experience indicates that the best men simply are not attracted to contests that must depend largely on unreal issues. In our opinion, considering the handicaps imposed on leadership, initiative, and intelligence in public office, Cleveland and most other cities have better public officials than they deserve today. It is also our opinion that unless those or still better officials are given a better framework in which to operate, democracy will suffer a decay at the grass roots, which will ultimately destroy it as an organizing principle of government in the state, the nation and the world."

When Is a War Not a War?

"Do you remember the last time you heard an air raid siren?" asks the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy**, Harry K. Butcher, secretary, in its *Civic Affairs*. Despite the fact that the U. S. government long ago announced that all danger from air attacks was over, that the governor of Pennsylvania has disbanded the O. C. D., and that Philadelphia's mayor ordered the dismantling and sale of air raid sirens, the committee finds that, as of October 15, there were twenty employees still on the public payroll under the Philadelphia Council of Defense and that thirteen employees listed under "Requirements Arising out of the National Emergency"—guards to protect water works, bridges, etc.—are still collecting salaries. In fact, says the committee, prior to VE Day eleven persons were on this payroll, between VE and VJ Days the number increased to twelve, but after VJ Day the thirteenth appeared! As of November 21, the payroll was increased from thirteen to sixteen! "The war is over," says the committee. "There is no longer any danger from attacks by air or by enemy agents. The mere presence of these men on the payroll shows how costly may be the failure to elect to public office those who can be trusted to do an honest and conscientious job without being constantly watched and prodded from the outside."

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Wanted: Citizen Action

"What can mere citizens do for the next city administration?" inquires William H. Allen, director of the **Institute for Public Service of New York City** in his November-December bulletin. In answer Dr. Allen suggests in part: "We can help it do its own best for the whole city; we can be constant reminders of pre-election promises; we can reiterate that education of NYC adults about their city government is a major need; we can agree that if NYC doesn't make democracy work, it is unreasonable to expect it to work in Axis lands, China, India, etc., or USA; we can admit that if any one of us doesn't do his share that share just won't be done; we can start now supporting alert, nonpartisan, constructive fact-finding and truth-telling about our city government's needs and deeds."

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Public Opinion Poll

At a recent luncheon of the **Chicago City Club** Dr. Warren P. Çortelyou conducted a "People's Opinion Poll" on a series of live public questions submitted by City Club committees and individual members. Dr. Cortelyou, chairman of the Department of Chemistry at Roosevelt College, has invented an electrical voting machine which enables each individual in a gathering to vote secretly and simultaneously on any proposition and to read the total result immediately on a meter. Questions submitted covered a variety of public problems—labor, highways, civil service, public health, voting machines, Missouri Valley Authority, etc.

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Annual Report

The **Civic Federation of Chicago** has issued a report on its activities for the year ending September 1945. The report lists titles of 29 publications issued during the year and gives an outline summary of 1944-1945 activities. Douglas Sutherland is executive secretary of the federation; Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary.

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Bridgeport's Merit System

"Bridgeport (Connecticut) is to be congratulated on being one of our leading cities to install the merit system," says Charles G. Morris, president of the **Connecticut Merit System Association** on the tenth anniversary of that city's use of the system.

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"The Laggard Citizen"

"If the majority will not vote, the majority cannot rule," concludes the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** in an article entitled "The Laggard Citizen," published in *City*

Problems. Illustrating its comments is a cartoon showing "the minority who do vote" putting "the majority who do not vote" through its paces. "Golly!" says the "majority," "I'm making a trained seal of myself!" The bureau points out that New Orleans' record of public voting has been miserably poor, that not more than 60 of each 100 white adults ever go to the polls, even in highly contested elections.

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Know Your State

Coupled with a radio broadcast on the subject the **Connecticut League of Women Voters** is publishing each month in *The Connecticut Voter* one of a series of articles on "Know Your State." The series began in September and will run for nine issues. Covered are the governor and general assembly, social welfare, community planning and housing, industrial relations, fair employment practices, election laws and merit system, minor and juvenile courts, taxation and education.

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Better Health for Georgia

The **Georgia League of Women Voters,** concerned with the health of the state, has reprinted a series of articles from the *Atlanta Constitution* discussing the present state of affairs and what should be done about it. "It has been repeatedly pointed out in these articles," says the last of the series, "Modern Science Can Relieve Most Common Ailments," "that the problem of Georgia's poor health is essentially a local and a citizen problem. . . . Better health for Georgians will be attained when enough citizens realize its importance actively enough to express themselves to the proper people."

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Help for the Teen Age

"Let's Have a Discussion!" is "a practical handbook on techniques of discussion for student use in clubs, classes and assemblies." It is a four-page leaflet issued by the **Junior Town Meeting League of Columbus, Ohio,** and may be purchased at one dollar per hundred. Pointers are given for small discussion groups, for large groups, for the chairman and for the speakers.

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Learning by Listening

Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, recently addressed the **Municipal Forum of New York** on "Trends in Municipal Finance in the Postwar Period." George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the New York Citizens Union, spoke before the **Snag Club** on "The Election Results and Their Effects on New York's Future." The **Town Hall Workshops** and the **New York League of Women Voters** cooperated in a workshop course on Citizenship in Action. Miss Pearl Bernstein, formerly secretry to the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment, was course leader.

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Debt in New Mexico

"Bonded Indebtedness of the State of New Mexico and Its Governmental Units" is the lead article in the November issue of *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* issued by the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico.** Rupert F. Asplund is secretary of the organization.

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Annual Meeting

The **Cleveland Citizens League** held its 48th annual meeting on December 10. Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counsellor for the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, who is making studies of the financial problems of governments in Greater Cleveland for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, addressed the luncheon on "Cleveland at the Crossroads."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Virginia Reports on Manager Counties

Study of Ten-year Use of the Plan Demonstrates Success

PROFESSOR George W. Spicer of the University of Virginia has written a very readable account of the experiences of the three Virginia counties that adopted the manager plan a decade ago. In *Ten Years of County Manager Government in Virginia*[1] Professor Spicer analyzes successively the records of Albemarle, Henrico and Arlington Counties. Since the remaining manager county in the state, Warwick, has been operating under the plan only since January 1, 1945, it is not included in the study.

The publication of this bulletin is an outgrowth of a series of community study and development "workshops" conducted by the Extension Division of the University of Virginia. These informal courses were conducted throughout the state for a period of several years, and they sought to bring together county officials, professional workers and other interested citizens. They raised such questions as: why people live in communities, why no two communities are just alike, what services people expect, and what constitute the most efficient means of performing such services. These problems led to a consideration of local government, and when it was revealed that evidence regarding experience under the county manager plan had not been collected, the Extension Division was requested to have such a study made.

Since the report is intended primarily for the guidance of the other Virginia counties, the optional forms act of 1932, under which such counties could elect to modernize their governments, is discussed in an introductory chapter. The results achieved by Albemarle and Henrico Counties through adoption of the options offered are described in considerable detail. Arlington County is considered only briefly because its government was established by a special law rather than under the optional forms act.

Professor Spicer concludes that the manager plan has proved, on the whole, to be highly successful in the three counties. He emphasizes that Arlington was the first county in the United States which by popular vote attempted to operate under a manager plan, and hence certain variations from a model plan had to be accepted. For example, the treasurer and commissioner of revenue remained elective officers. Despite these shortcomings, marked improvements are noted.

In the other two counties, Professor Spicer observed improvement in practically every aspect of their governments. Large savings were effected in financial administration simultaneously with the installation of improved practices. For purpose of contrast, Professor Spicer notes that in the state as a whole the costs of county financial administration increased during the period under consideration. Modern budget methods, central purchasing, uniform accounting, scientific assessment methods and other changes in the financial system were responsible for the better record of the manager counties. In regard to the direct services performed for the community, Professor Spicer notes great improvements in the educational systems, public health, public works, public welfare, law enforcement and other activities.

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[1] University of Virginia Extension Bulletin, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, Sept. 1, 1945, 94 pp.

Of special significance is the revelation in the report that the state is willing to decentralize those activities in which the counties are able to provide efficient administration. Thus greater local discretion in public health matters is permitted in the manager counties than in those counties retaining traditional governmental systems.

Similar decentralization is observed in public welfare administration in the manager counties. Much state centralization thus is occurring, not because the state is intrinsically the logical unit, but because counties have not seen fit to adapt their administrative machinery to meet present-day needs.

Professor Spicer closes his report with this timely warning: "If the citizens do not play their part, the price of such neglect will be the loss of local self-government to the counties and state assumption of local functions. Theirs is the choice, and in that choice lies the future of local self-government in the counties of Virginia."

California Counties Adopt Mutual Aid Law Enforcement

Under a new law enforcement plan adopted by the state of California 38 counties, as well as 162 cities, have voted to participate in improvement of law enforcement through mutual aid. Under the plan, the cooperating communities will be able to give assistance to one another in all emergencies involving their law enforcement agencies without the usual hindrances arising from jurisdictional boundaries.

Georgia County Manager Proposal Strikes Fire

At a joint meeting of the Fulton County, Georgia, commissioners and the county's delegation to the state legislature, called to discuss the proposed county manager plan, bitter words and recriminations were plentiful, but no progress was made toward better government for the region embracing the metropolitan area of Atlanta. Proponents speaking for the plan included the chairman of the board of commissioners and representatives of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and the Atlanta League of Women Voters. Opponents included representatives of several labor organizations and several county officeholders. The opponents used freely such terms as "vicious," "one-man czar" and "revolutionary change." The meeting eventually adjourned after having adopted only a resolution to "meet again soon."

The *Atlanta Constitution* is lending strong editorial support to the movement for a county manager charter. In its issue of December 7 it comments: "It is now, *The Constitution* assumes, obvious to all residents of Fulton County that our system of county government needs revision along the lines of economy and efficient, business-like government directed by an able, trained man who can give his whole time to the job of managing what is one of the largest corporations in the state—and the one with the most stockholders.

"Fulton County needs a county manager who would carry out the policies of government in a business-like manner, avoiding waste, duplication and dubious services. . . .

"Let's ask our legislature for enabling legislation in January so we may get started that same month by finding and appointing such a man."

Loudoun County, Virginia, Studies Manager Plan

The Better Government Club of Loudoun County, Virginia, is engaged in an educational program to inform the voters regarding local governmental problems. It is specifically interested in demonstrating the advantages of a proposed county manager plan. The club had submitted a petition bearing 600 signatures requesting a referendum on the plan, but the petition was later withdrawn because it was decided that the time was not propitious.

Hospitals in Rochester Area to Cooperate

Through sponsorship of the Commonwealth Fund, 23 hospitals in seven counties comprising the Rochester, New York, trading area will join in a cooperative effort to improve the medical and hospital service throughout the region. Counties in the experiment include Livingston, Monroe, Ontario, Orleans, Steuben, Wayne and Yates. The voluntary, cooperative activities of the hospitals will include joint purchasing, educational or teaching service by the urban hospitals extended to those in rural areas, exchange of interns and resident physicians, development of a consulting service in clinical and laboratory medicine and in hospital administration, and establishment of accepted standards of administration and operation in all the cooperating hospitals.

Florida County Buys Airport, Sells Lots, Loses Zoning Case

The Dade County, Florida, Commission, acting in its capacity as head of the county port authority, recently authorized the purchase of an airport from Pan American Airways for approximately $2,400,000. After two years of negotiation, the agreement becomes effective January 1, 1946. The port authority plans to acquire an army airfield nearby as soon as it is declared surplus by the federal government.

Dade County has begun to sell at public auction the several thousand lots recently foreclosed for delinquent taxes. Results have been highly satisfactory, since the total sales have amounted to double the assessed value of the property sold.

A zoning act of the county which had for its purpose the segregation of the races was set aside by a Florida circuit court as contrary to the provisions of the federal constitution.

Texas County Centralizes Road Administration

During the past several years Potter County, Texas, gradually has centralized its roads administration, according to *Better Roads*. Formerly the four precincts operated independently, but gradually they adopted pooling of men and machinery, county-wide purchasing and centralized budgets. Eventually all road and bridge construction activity was centralized under jurisdiction of the county engineer.

St. Louis County Studies Home Rule

Mind Your Business, a bulletin published by the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, has devoted a recent issue to the problems of St. Louis County and its need for governmental reform. St. Louis County, lying next to the city of St. Louis, contains 89 school districts, 56 municipalities, 34 sewer districts, and miscellaneous other jurisdictions, making a total of 188, each with the power to tax and issue bonds. The bulletin suggests that a home rule charter could provide the means of effecting improvements and economy in this area which is suffering from a surfeit of governments.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Fort Worth Voters Approve Postwar Plan

Comprehensive Program for Projects and Their Financing

FORT WORTH, Texas, where S. H. Bothwell is city manager, has formulated and secured voter approval for a postwar public improvement program which from a financial standpoint is one of the most impressive adopted by any large American city. An especially interesting feature of the program is that the city has planned in detail over the proposed ten-year construction period not only the projects to be undertaken but also the means of financing them.

The program calls for expenditures aggregating $25,335,300, including $5,904,000 for water and sanitary sewer system improvements and $19,431,300 for general city improvements. Of the total, $22,667,000 will come from the proceeds of bond issues and $2,668,300 funds already accumulated and from current revenues. The bonds to be issued include $1,876,000 voted in previous years and $20,800,000 approved at an election held October 2, 1945.

The program is laid out to place the bulk of the construction in the forepart of the proposed ten-year period. The first year total will be $2,570,050, of which $1,547,000 will come from bond proceeds. The second year the total will increase to $3,189,250, with $2,269,000 from bond proceeds. In the third year, improvements will aggregate $4,124,000, of which $3,905,000 will come from bonds, while in the fourth year the total will be $3,252,000, $3,061,000 from bond proceeds. The next two years improvement totals will hold at about $3,000,000 annually, derived mostly from bond proceeds, and thereafter the annual total will drop to the vicinity of $1,500,000, secured entirely from the sale of bonds.

Mississippi Court Upholds Local Road Reimbursement

A 1926 statute providing for reimbursement by the state to local units for the cost of highways built at local expense and later made a part of the state road system was upheld by the Mississippi State Supreme Court in a four-to-two decision handed down late in November. It is estimated that the decision may cost the state highway fund as much as eight million dollars if all local units entitled to reimbursement claim it.

The case was instituted by Hinds County, which brought action to force the State Highway Department to appraise parts of the present state highway which were built by the county at a cost of nearly half a million dollars prior to extension of the state system. The statute, first enacted in 1926, provides for the appraisal by the Highway Department of any paved highway or section built at local expense which later would have been constructed by the state as part of the state highway system. Under the law, the state is obligated to pay to the local unit the original cost, less wear and depreciation, or if bonds were issued it must pay semi-annually amounts sufficient to meet the principal and interest due.

Reimbursement by the state for locally financed highways later incorporated in state highway systems is not new, but a variety of means of financing such reimbursement are available. In Mississippi's neighbor, Arkansas, the state assumed a considerable volume of road district indebtedness by refunding it with state bonds. Texas in 1931 earmarked one cent of the gasoline tax for distribution to counties and road districts for payment of service on that portion of road and bridge debt incurred for facilities later made part of the state system. What method will be used in Mississippi is not yet evident, but it is noted that the highway fund is supported solely from highway revenues and has not in the past received appropriations from general state funds.

New York Officials Confer on Problems

A two-day conference on "Local Government Services in the Next Decade" was held in Albany, November 19-20, 1945, under the sponsorship of the New York State Department of Audit and Control, the division of the office of the state comptroller charged with supervision of local fiscal affairs.

Among the subjects considered by a large list of speakers and panel participants were general services, education, social services, public health, public works, population trends and fiscal problems. Speakers included Governor Thomas E. Dewey, State Comptroller Frank C. Moore, Philip H. Cornick of the Institute of Public Administration, Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research of Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., Paul Studenski, New York University, Mabel L. Walker, executive director of the Tax Institute, Harley L. Lutz, chief economist of the Tax Foundation, Inc., and officials of New York municipalities.[1]

Participants in the panels which guided discussion after each lecture included representatives of business, industry and real estate groups, the press, colleges, financial institutions and taxpayers' associations.

California Reserves Funds for General Debt

California's "general" bonded debt has been provided for by the last two legislatures, and the state now has set aside sufficient funds to meet requirements to final maturity. The 1943 legislature appropriated $16,945,499 to meet requirements from 1945 through 1949, while the 1945 legislature provided an additional $11,651,490 to meet general bond charges to the final payment in 1965. The funds came from the state's war-swollen current revenues, which were also used for tax reduction.

The state still has outstanding upwards of fifty million of bonds not in the general category, serviced from special earmarked income. These include highway bonds, veterans' farm and home building bonds, San Francisco harbor improvement bonds, and unemployment relief bonds.

Borrowing Costs Decline Again

Municipal borrowing costs, which rose following V-J Day but dropped during October, went still lower in November. *The Daily Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields for twenty representative issues was down to 1.51 per cent December 1, as compared with 1.46 per cent August 1 and 1.64 per cent on September 1, 1.72 per cent on October 1, and 1.56 per cent on November 1. The December 1, 1945, index was lower than any shown prior to March 1, 1945, but exceeded the lower level prevailing in the spring and summer which included the all-time low of 1.35 per cent on May 1.

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[1] For addresses of four of the speakers at this conference, see pages 4 to 22, this issue.

Saratoga Authority Case Ruling Argued

On December 4, 1945, the United States Supreme Court heard argument on the appeal of the Saratoga Spring Water Authority of the State of New York from the decision of the lower courts holding the authority liable for the federal excise tax on its sales of bottled water. A number of states filed briefs as *amicus curia* in support of the defense offered by New York that the authority as a state instrumentality was clothed with intergovernmental immunity.

While it is expected in some quarters that the court will sustain the tax on the basis of previous rulings (especially the South Carolina liquor monopoly case), there are some observers who believe it likely that the ruling of the lower courts might be upheld on a more sweeping basis, opening the way to federal taxation of all varieties of state and local proprietary enterprises, including toll bridges, municipal water, light and transit systems, etc.

Seattle Pension Fund in Distress

Seattle, Washington, has for some years had a deficit in its firemen's pension fund which has given concern to officials and citizens alike, but within recent months the situation has become acute and warrants to pensioners are now on an interest basis and accepted by the banks through special dispensation, according to the Seattle Municipal League.

For the first nine months of 1945 the fund had revenues of only about $288,000, but its expenditures were $408,000, or 141 per cent of its budget. The deficit increased from $93,938 on September 30, 1944, to $200,977 on September 30, 1945.

In contrast to the unsatisfactory condition of the firemen's pension fund, the police pension fund has a small surplus, which it increased during 1945 to $7,714 on September 30, 1945.

Baltimore Council Fails to Use New Taxing Powers

Although a special session of the Maryland General Assembly delegated to the city of Baltimore blanket power to levy new taxes in 1946 and 1947, the city made no use of that power to levy new taxes to balance its 1946 budget, which was the purpose for which the power was originally sought.

The balancing of the 1946 budget was accomplished instead by making more liberal estimates of revenue from present sources, by adding ten cents to the real estate and personal property tax rate, and by cutting the budget by $1,774,000. Cuts were principally in public works, public welfare and parks appropriations. In cutting appropriations for highways reconstruction and other maintenance items, the Council took the position that the program as proposed was probably broader than would be possible of accomplishment in view of the material and manpower situation.

The City Council did use its new temporary taxing power to revise transit company taxes by placing a 15 per cent tax on gross revenues of bus operations and raising from 3 to 9 per cent the existing tax on gross revenues of street car and trackless-trolley operations. These increased transit taxes were levied to cover paving etc. costs to the city and loss in present revenue due to a proposed 50 per cent conversion from street cars to busses. The company has announced withdrawal of its conversion plan, however, because it considers the new taxes excessive.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

British Labor Party and Local Politics

Recent Municipal Elections Bring National-Local Unity

THE final results in Britain's recent municipal elections will have far-reaching effects on local-national government relations. The swing to Labor evidenced in the general election of last July has been more than confirmed on a local basis. London, with a County Council already ruled by Labor, has given Labor majorities to 22 out of 28 borough councils. Over 60 provincial towns, including some of the most important centers, have been captured, while in Manchester and Birmingham Labor and anti-Labor parties are now almost evenly balanced. In a large number of other towns Labor has maintained its hold.[1]

The election's effect on national-local relations is at least twofold. Local politics are becoming more integrated with national politics. Although perhaps there is a similar trend on a smaller scale in the United States, nevertheless Britain is moving closer to the relationship that obtains between national and local politics in France as contrasted with that in the United States.

The early Labor movement served its political apprenticeship in the field of local government, and many of the Labor M.P.'s and Labor ministers have reached the House of Commons by way of local politics. Until the advent of the Labor party, political divisions in local authorities were on a very loose basis, many of the candidates standing as independents rather than as supporters of one of the national parties. Labor, however, has always regarded the capture of power in localities as part of its program. The elections just held show that this policy has now succeeded over a considerable part of the country.

One result of the Labor party's entry into the field of British local government has been to bring active trade unionists into municipal administration. Local Labor parties are replicas of the national party and include trade union and cooperative branches as well as individual members. Candidates for the local council are selected from nominations put forward by all sections of the party.

A second effect of the recent elections on national-local relations is to be found in the fact that much of the program of the Labor party is to be administered by localities. Three key aspects of this program are health services, housing and municipal ownership. Borough councils in large measure are responsible for the administration of all of these. Where the Labor party is in control of local councils, the central government can count on 100 per cent backing for all its plans, while even in other councils there is now almost certain to be a Labor minority ready to bring pressure on the dominant party.

For the first time everyone eligible to vote in parliamentary elections could cast a vote in the local elections. Previously there had been a taxpaying qualification for the latter.

Cities Help in French Reconstruction

Under general central supervision, the municipalities of France are reconstructing the physical plant of the nation and the localities destroyed during the war. Each municipality is being given much leaway in developing its own plans for housing, roads, gardens and public buildings.

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[1] See British Information Services Release of November 8, 1945, "Results of Britain's Local Elections," by Gordon Schaffer.

Although destruction was tremendous, reconstruction is proceeding at a rapid rate. Much of the progress made has been due to local officials who, although cut off from communication with the central government for some time in the early days of reconstruction, took the initiative to restore and maintain essential services. An example of this is the local bridge services in the various municipalities. During the first nine months of 1945 330 bridges were repaired, 3,200 temporary bridges erected, and 475 others put in an advanced state of preparation. In addition, many ferry boats have been operated in lieu of bridges not yet replaced. Total reconstruction of bridges and roads is likely to take six years, it is estimated.[1]

Local Governments Active in Britain's Housing Policy

Local authorities will have an important place in Britain's new housing policy, according to a speech by Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, in the House of Commons late in October. Local governments will be given power to requisition available living space in houses not fully utilized by their present occupants to ease the housing crisis in the short-run. Voluntary effort will be relied upon for the most part, but powers of compulsion will be held in reserve to be used where and when necessary.

The long-range housing program will emphasize the building of houses for the lower income group. In this respect local authorities will be the main instrument for carrying out the program. Land acquisition powers will be speeded by a bill to give local governments power to serve notice on owners of land for a period of fourteen days, and at the end of that time to enter on the land and use it while negotiations about its price are in progress.

Local authorities will be allowed to license private building of homes which cost no more than 1,200 or 1,300 pounds, but these licenses are to be granted only for the purpose of supplementing the main housing program and not for diverting building labor and materials that would otherwise flow to the public housing program. Mr. Bevan has warned the localities that if they exercise their licensing powers too generously, and fall behind in their own housing programs, he will suspend the power to issue licenses. Houses built under such a licensing scheme will be under price controls to prevent their being sold or resold speculatively.

Nationally, complete powers over housing are now centered in the Ministry of Health.[2]

Election in France

Only 60 per cent of the electorate voted in the cantonal elections held in September and October. In traditional French fashion the elections were dominated by national political parties, the Radical Socialist, Socialist and Communist parties winning most seats on the *departement* or general councils.

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Australian Local Governments

A series of five articles in the March 1945 issue of *Public Administration* (Australia) gives an excellent summary of the position of local government in Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, Western Australia and Queensland. A complete and authoritative review of local government in New South Wales is to be found in a reprint of a speech delivered by F. A. Bland, professor of public administration at Sydney University, at the school's Local Government Summer School last April, entitled "A Review of the Development of Local Government in New South Wales."

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[1] See *Municipal Journal,* October 5, 1945, p. 1997.

[2] See *Municipal Journal,* October 26, 1945, p. 2123.

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Community Centers

There is widespread interest in community centers in many parts of the world at the present time. Special attention to the centers as a postwar project has been shown in several municipalities in Britain and Australia.

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Woman Suffrage

Belgium women will be given the power to vote for the first time in elections scheduled for 1947.

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Indian Legislation

Provincial government legislation in India relative to local governments during 1944 was not extensive. Most of it dealt with such measures as extending the term of local councils because of the war, but in one or two cases the local franchise was extended or local powers increased. For example, in the Punjab the district boards were given full liberty to elect non-official chairmen, and in Sind the franchise for local board elections was widened.

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Insurance

New Zealand municipalities have established their own insurance systems to eliminate excessive insurance costs.

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Local Income Tax

Some mention is being made in England of the possibility of localities increasing their revenue by a local income tax, but it is generally viewed with disfavor by local tax officers as well as by the national government.

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Retirement

A requirement that local government employees pass a medical examination before being admitted into the retirement system of some English local governments has been attacked by *Local Government Service.*

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Planning

In New Zealand, nineteen regional planning councils have been set up and are now drawing plans for regional coordination of several aspects of local government activities.

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Housing

Sweeping housing legislation has been approved in New Zealand, giving the municipalities power to replan and improve decadent and overcrowded areas and to require individual owners to bring their houses up to a minimum standard.

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Full Employment

In considering the problem of how to achieve full employment, Great Britain is studying the position of local government in the national economy. By central control of local borrowing, planning and public works it is hoped that county and municipal government can contribute more directly to full employment.

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Canadian Police Agreement

The Canadian Association of Policemen has secured an agreement with the Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Board of Police Commissioners providing for maintenance of membership, the checkoff, sick leave benefits, hours of work and overtime, holidays, settlement of grievances and conciliation procedure. The Provincial Labor Relations Board helped settle differences between the two groups.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. in New York Prevents Landslide

Representative Councils in Toledo and Cincinnati

"THIS year's election of the New York City Council," said a public statement by the New York Citizens Union, "should be hailed as a significant demonstration of the value of P. R. in securing the full and equal representation of all voting citizens on which democratic institutions are supposed to rest. If it had not been for P. R. the City Council for the next four years[1] would have been almost or entirely Democratic, with little or no representation for anyone else."

With the Fusion forces of former years badly divided, the Democratic candidate for mayor, William O'Dwyer, swept in with a tremendous plurality and carried with him every candidate on the Democratic line of the voting machines except for the borough presidency of Richmond (Staten Island). For that office the Democrats made the mistake of nominating a former incumbent with an unsavory record that figured in the Seabury investigation; but otherwise, good, bad and indifferent candidates were swept in by the Democratic tide without discrimination, whether they were running for the whole city, for a borough or for a smaller municipal court district. Whereas the outgoing Board of Estimate (consisting of the mayor, comptroller, council president and the borough presidents, with weighted votes) had twelve Republican-Fusion votes and four Democratic, the new board will have fifteen Democratic votes and one Republican.

If it had not been for P. R. there is every reason to believe that the Democratic landslide would have engulfed the City Council also. Actually the new Council will consist of fourteen Democrats and nine others.

A special feature of New York's P. R. provisions is that the election quota stays constant at 75,000 and the number elected varies with the size of the vote, each borough electing at large one member for each full quota and an additional member for any remainder as large as 50,000. This provides an automatic reapportionment to the boroughs at each election. Because there was naturally a larger vote in a mayoralty year than in the "off-year" election two years ago, the total membership of the Council was increased by this year's election from 17 to 23.

With this increase in the Council's size every political group elected as many councilmen as it had the time before in every borough. In fact, all but one of the outgoing councilmen were re-elected, in striking contrast to the wholesale casualties in the other elections, which included the defeats of such outstanding public servants as Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick and Borough President Edgar J. Nathan, Jr., of Manhattan.

The moderate changes in the Council, reflecting but not exaggerating the shifts in public opinion, are shown in the first table on page 45.

As in every one of the four previous P. R. elections, minority representation was secured in every borough except Richmond, which is too small in population to deserve more than one member.

The results reflected the votes with remarkable accuracy. On the count of first choices the official Democratic

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[1] The term of the Council has just been increased from two years to four.

COUNCILMEN ELECTED

Party	*Brooklyn*		*Manhattan*		*The Bronx*		*Queens*		*Richmond*		*City*	
	1943	*1945*	*1943*	*1945*	*1943*	*1945*	*1943*	*1945*	*1943*	*1945*	*1943*	*1945*
Democratic	4	5	2	2	1	3	2	3	1	1	10	14
Republican	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	3
Am. Labor[a]	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Liberal[b]	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Communist	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total	6	8	4	5	3	5	3	4	1	1	17	23

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[a] The 1943 figures are for the "left wing" of the party, now in complete control of its machinery. One of the successful A. L. P. candidates this year was endorsed by the Democrats.

[b] The 1943 figures are for the "right wing" of the American Labor party, which withdrew to form the new Liberal party.

candidates had less than half the votes, but at that point there were a good many independent Democrats in the field also. When it was found that the independents did not have enough support to have a chance of election and they were declared defeated, many of their votes naturally transferred to official Democrats. On the deciding count at the end of the election the Democrats had 59 per cent of the votes and elected 61 per cent of the Council. The figures for all the parties are shown below.

Minority Representation

The presence of a substantial minority on the Council will make the majority more careful of its course for several reasons. The minority is large enough to serve as a reminder that it could easily become a majority next time if the Democrats made many serious missteps. The minority is large and able enough to supply telling criticism of any mistakes and focus public attention on them. Finally, any time the majority is tempted to take any step for partisan advantage at the expense of the rest of the people, any three of the best Democrats will be in a position to block it by joining, or threatening to join, the minority on that issue.

For a similar reason the majority cannot overlook the interests of the Bronx or Queens. Each of these boroughs will have three Democratic councilmen and, because the minority is

Party	*First Choice Votes*	*Votes on Deciding Count*[a]	*Councilmen Elected*
Democratic	753,505 (45%)	929,051 (59%)	14 (61%)
Republican	299,895 (18%)	239,826 (15%)	3 (13%)
American Labor	184,670 (11%)	165,427 (10%)	2 (9%)
Liberal	147,341 (9%)	103,253 (7%)	2 (9%)
Communist	122,625 (7%)	138,498 (9%)	2 (9%)
Others	185,007 (11%)	——	0
Totals	1,693,043	1,576,055	23

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[a] The deciding count was the tabulation of results on the basis of which the runner-up was declared defeated and before his ballots were transferred. These ballots were actually transferred this year only in Brooklyn.

fully represented, these three are a necessary part of the Democratic majority. Manhattan and Richmond have less than three Democratic councilmen apiece, but either would only have to win the help of one or two other Democrats to be in the same position. If the Democrats had most or all of the members, as they would have without P. R., they could afford to disregard the votes of any one borough.

Able Members Elected

The level of ability in the Council continues to rise. It has always been distinctly higher than in the old Board of Aldermen. Among the candidates recommended for election this year by the nonpartisan Citizens Union were five of the successful Democrats (two of them new), all three Republicans, both Liberals, and one of the two American Laborites.

Two of the Council's outstanding members, Minority Leader Genevieve B. Earle and Former Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs, were elected this year and two years ago as Republicans, but only after they had proved in the 1941 election their ability to be elected under P. R. without the party's official support.

Particularly instructive this year was the P. R. election in the Bronx, which caught up with Manhattan in number of councilmen. Two years ago the supposedly impregnable Bronx Democratic organization led by Edward J. Flynn lost its majority of P. R. votes and elected only one councilman out of three. This year it came back with three out of five, but only by nominating and electing a new candidate of wide independent appeal, Former Deputy Attorney General Bertha Schwartz, who had been head of the Bronx American Women's Voluntary Services and numerous other civic enterprises.

The two Bronx minority members will be Michael J. Quill, A. L. P., president of the C. I. O. Transport Workers' Union of America, who was re-elected at the head of the poll, and Ira J. Palestin, Liberal, a lawyer who replaces Councilwoman Gertrude Weil Klein. Mrs. Klein had been a diligent and useful member of the Council, but being a right-wing member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which went with the left wing when the American Labor party split, she was not endorsed this year either by the A. L. P. or by the Liberals. She made a good run, nevertheless, as an independent candidate of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, and when she went out assured the election of Mr. Palestin, also endorsed by the C. N. C., by the logical transfer of over 10,000 of her votes. Mr. Palestin started eighth and ended fifth.

A Free Choice for the Voters

The freedom with which a voter could give his first choice to Mrs. Klein, for example, knowing that he had a second choice to fall back on if she failed to get enough support, contrasted vividly with the dilemma many faced in the mayoralty election. A good part of those who favored Mayor LaGuardia's "No Deal" candidate for mayor, Council President Newbold Morris, would have ranked Mr. Morris first, Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Republican-Liberal-City Fusion candidate, second, and General William O'Dwyer, the Democratic candidate, third. But they had no preferential ballot for mayor and had to choose whether they would vote for their second choice as a practical matter, because he appeared to have a better chance of defeating O'Dwyer, or for their first choice even though to do so might merely divide the opposition to O'Dwyer and insure his election. Under P. R. any voter can safely vote his real wishes and there is no chance that he will get what he wants least by so doing.

A Large Effective Vote

The percentage of the marked ballots declared invalid was still disappointingly high, but it was slightly reduced in every borough except Richmond: in Brooklyn from 13.1 per cent to 12.2, in Manhattan from 13.4 per cent to 13.2, in the Bronx from 11.4 per cent to 10.3, in Queens from 10.5 per cent to 8.8 and in the whole city from 12 per cent to 11.3. The Richmond total, with only one to be chosen, rose from 2.6 per cent to 5.4.

In spite of the high invalid vote, interest in the Council race was such that in the Bronx and Richmond more valid votes were cast for councilmen than for borough president and in other boroughs the valid council vote was not far behind.

Of the 1,693,043 who did cast valid votes for Council 1,365,971, or 81 per cent, helped elect someone for whom they had voted and an unknown but considerable number of others saw some of their choices elected without needing their help.

Criticism and Support

In spite of the obvious advantages of P. R. in this year's election several of the newspapers came out editorially against it, as happened two years ago. The opposition was based chiefly on the re-election of the two Communists, but partly also on misunderstandings and partly on mere impatience with the slowness of the count. As for the Communists, no one contends that 9 per cent of the city's voters are Communists, but the fact remains that they had the astuteness to name two candidates who personally drew 9 per cent of the city's votes, enough on any fair basis to entitle them to election. Communist Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., a graduate of Amherst and Harvard Law School, was the leading Negro candidate and drew much of his support as a representative of the special needs of Harlem.

The *Herald-Tribune* printed a strong supporting editorial on December 10, which read in part as follows:

"As in the past, the system worked last month almost exactly as it was intended to do. In a year in which the Democrats swept every office in the city but one of those filled by the standard voting method (and would certainly have swept the Council also under the old system), they got only fourteen out of twenty-three council seats, or no more than a reasonable majority accurately reflecting their real voting strength. . . .

"The rewards of securing a fair minority representation in the Council have been very great. 'P. R.' has forced a much higher caliber of candidate on both minority and majority party machines. Minority representation in the Council has provided a valuable check on the municipal administration. . . .

"The case for P. R. as a piece of machinery which has actually worked, within its present setting, to improve materially our municipal government is a very strong one. The case against it, when not largely irrelevant, is so far unimpressive."

A Two-Party Division in Cincinnati

Cincinnati elected to its eleventh P.R. City Council November 6 five adherents of the old Republican organization which formerly ruled the city completely and four members of the City Charter Committee, the municipal good government party which 21 years ago successfully sponsored P.R. and city management. This repeats the municipal party division of the outgoing Council.

Although all nine members of the 1944-45 Council were candidates to succeed themselves, only seven survived the contest. Mrs. Elizabeth Cassatt Reid, former chairman of the Women's Division of the City Charter Committee and only woman ever elected in Cincinnati under P.R., despite a brilliant first-term record in Council and a spirited campaign finished tenth in the count and will be replaced January 1 by her Charter running-mate, Rollin H. Everett, veteran newspaperman and editor of the CIO weekly, *The Sun*. Charles E. Weber, Republican machine nominee who finished ninth two years ago, was this time a poor eleventh and will make way in the new Council for another Republican machine adherent, Gordon H. Scherer.

The remaining incumbents were reelected: the Charter group includes Albert D. Cash, Charter floor leader, Edward N. Waldvogel and Russell Wilson; the Republican machine group, Mayor James G. Stewart, Willis D. Gradison, Jesse Locker and John M. Molloy.

The balloting reflected the postwar let-down in civilian interest in public affairs. The total vote of 124,327 was only 595 more than the total in the city's only war-time P.R. election of 1943. The number of invalid votes declined appreciably for the second consecutive time, to 5,535 or 4.45 per cent, the lowest both numerically and percentage-wise since the first P.R. election (1925).

Charter Group Gains, Losses

For the Charter group, the election results had both heartening and disheartening features. On the gloomy side were the defeats of Mrs. Reid, noted above, and of Charles P. Taft, who resigned his post as director of the Office of Transport and Communications Policy in the Department of State at Washington to return to Cincinnati and make the race for Council.

On the bright side was the decisive continuation of the upswing in the Charter vote, which prior to 1943 had shown a steady decline from its original level in 1924. Low mark of the Charter strength now appears to have been reached in 1941, when the Charter proportion of total first-choice votes bottomed at 32 per cent. Two years ago the Charter percentage was 40.2; this year it was 44.2.

Another bright spot in the election from the Charter point of view was the continued cohesiveness of the Charter vote. Observers of past P.R. election counts in Cincinnati have never failed to be impressed by the superior showing of Charter candidates on second- and subsequent-choice transfers from candidates with a surplus and from eliminated candidates. In fact, maintenance of Charter candidates' second-choice superiority in combination with the upward trend of Charter first-choice votes is leading many to anticipate restoration of Charter control over the city's affairs in 1947.

Explanations for the defeat of Mrs. Reid and Mr. Taft were not difficult to arrive at.

Mrs. Reid, in particular, was the target of widespread and powerful opposition from associates and affiliates of the gas and electric company because of her sponsorship last December of a proposal to investigate the possibilities of municipal purchase of the gas and electric properties, with the result that endorsements given her two years ago were this time withheld.

Mr. Taft's defeat is being attributed in part to over-confidence among his friends and supporters. So universal was the assumption that nomination in Mr. Taft's case was tantamount to election that organization effort by Mr. Taft's associates was largely neglected until the closing days of the campaign.

Because of their relatively good

showing even in defeat both Mrs. Reid and Mr. Taft are already being urged by their friends to make the race again two years from now. It is being pointed out that with sufficient time to plan and execute a campaign there is every reason to believe that should they decide to run they would be successful.

To round out the statistics of the election, it should be noted that three so-called "independents" in the race polled a total of exactly one per cent of the valid first-choice vote (in other words Cincinnati now has a municipal two-party system under P.R.); 70.5 per cent of the voters voted first-choice for a winning candidate; and the election count was the shortest in Cincinnati's history, actual working time being approximately 52 hours, or two hours under the 1943 record.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Toledo's 1945 P. R. Election[1]

Toledo's 1945 P.R. election, the sixth under this system, resulted again in a remarkably accurate representation for the seven main areas of the city and also provided representation for the four most politically conscious groups that are not centered in one area, namely, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., those of Polish descent, and the Negroes. Furthermore, the election of a Democrat from North Toledo instead of a Republican and the election of an independent Democrat from the downtown area instead of a Republican make the new Council of five nominal Republicans and four nominal Democrats a more accurate reflection of the real strength of the two national parties in this city.

It is not realistic to refer to councilmanic candidates in this home town of Golden Rule Sam Jones as Republicans or Democrats, however, because Toledo voters have not voted on national party lines in city elections since the death of Jones over 40 years ago. For instance, the citizens of Polish descent, although more than 80 per cent Democratic in national and state elections, have elected and reelected five times to the city council a representative who is a Republican in national politics.

The outstanding feature of this election was the successful candidacy of the one Negro candidate, who received not only the largest vote ever cast by members of his race in a Toledo municipal election, but also received from one to a half dozen non-Negro first-choice votes in many precincts from every section of the city. Without these non-Negro votes he could not have been elected, because it takes one more than 10 per cent of the vote cast to elect a councilman under this system and the Negroes constitute less than 7 per cent of the population of Toledo. Mr. Simmons, the successful Negro candidate, was not only the best campaigner and organizer among his own group but he also contacted and inspired the vote of more people outside his own group than any other Negro candidate has done heretofore.

The other outstanding incident of this election was the action of the Republican executive committee in deciding about a month before election that they would not give organization support to any councilmanic candidate who would not pledge himself to vote only for Republicans when it came to appointments at the disposal of council. Apparently, they had specifically in mind the appointment of the mayor and vice mayor, because in the five councils elected by P.R. the nominal

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[1] The author of this article was one of the leaders in this year's successful defense of P. R. against a referendum attack reported in this department last month.

Republicans have had either six or seven votes out of the nine and yet they have selected either a mayor or a vice mayor who was a Democrat after every election except that of 1937.

The effect, if any, of this attempt to pledge Republican councilmanic candidates to vote only for Republican appointees was that Mayor Roulet and Councilman Lehman, who vigorously refused to pledge themselves, received more votes this year than in 1943. Two councilmen who presumably did take the pledge were defeated for re-election. (It is only fair to say that these two candidates were elected two years ago without a full quota.) Of the other three Republican councilmen, of whom two presumably pledged themselves and one did not, all three held their own and were re-elected. There are always many factors in any election, so that it is not easy to say that some one factor was decisive. But it is clear that the vigorous stand of Mayor Roulet and Councilman Lehman did not lose them any votes, and it is almost equally clear that the feeling on the part of the public that Bame and Millard did pledge themselves did not win them any votes.

To repeat, it is simply not realistic to speak of councilmen in Toledo as Republicans or Democrats, even though one or two councilmen may talk or vote on rare occasions as Democrats or as Republicans. The contrast between Toledo and Cincinnati in this respect is quite striking, in view of the fact that both cities elect their nine councilmen by P.R.

O. Garfield Jones
University of Toledo

HOUSECLEANING TIME FOR CITIES

(Continued from page 13)

palities to secure their desired share of the national income. It stresses, however, the importance of better financial management as a postwar objective.

The expression financial management is used here in its broadest sense, as applied not only to the local processes of accounting and budgeting and borrowing and formulation of general fiscal policies but to the fiscal regulations and restrictions in state constitutions and statutes, to state-local tax systems and to provisions for state supervision of local fiscal affairs. All along the line it will be necessary to concentrate on better administrative techniques, more intelligent and workable laws and more competent, energetic and economy-minded officials to help offset the effect of the higher cost of living on the cost of local government. Fortunately, there is abundant room for improvement, as demonstrated in the field of state supervision, for example, by the tremendous improvements effected by the State Comptroller's office in the past few years in auditing, provision of counseling service and putting a stop to unnecessary bond refunding by local governments. But there no longer remains any margin for financial blundering, for retention of outmoded methods and procedures, and for toleration of traditional political arrangements and perquisites if we wish continuance of our system of local self-government.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before conference on Local Government Services, 1945-1955, at Albany, New York, under sponsorship of the New York State Department of Audit and Control.

Books in Review

Citizenship and the New Day. By Parley Paul Womer. New York City, Abington-Cokesbury Press, 1945. 319 pp. $3.

Here is a penetrating study of the nature of citizenship in a democracy. The author starts with the assumption that the American republic and American democracy are dependent upon the competency of American citizens for their survival and strengthening. He further believes that the potentiality of normal citizens for participation in the activities of the community can be raised to civic competency through experience and education.

The study has two admirable characteristics. The author is careful to distinguish education and training of a "good citizen" from education for a "good life." The failure to do so has vitiated much writing in this field in the past. In addition, the study goes beyond much of our contemporary writing and isolates the elements and desired ends of the American citizenry. In Part II, entitled "The Idealistic Character of Citizenship," President Womer has come to grips with the central conflicts in the American scene. The titles of four of these chapters illuminate this point: Liberty and Responsibility, Equality of Rights, Fraternalism and Citizen Motivation, and Social Justice and Free Enterprise. The need for Americans to understand some of the fundamental dichotomies inherent in our present thinking is well illustrated.

What are the high lights of the study? The philosopher, sociologist, and political scientist will be attracted by the analysis in Part II mentioned above. The educator will certainly be drawn to the sharply focused discussion of education for citizenship. Chapter XIII, Values and Objectives, is especially well done. The author admits the schools have done well in educating for economic efficiency, for the invigoration of thinking, and the enrichment of personality, but calls the education of youth as individual citizens or collectively as a citizenry "woefully hit or miss." He conceives of "citizenship as the bond that unites a free people in the democratic state." From this there are implied "definite relationships, freedoms, responsibilities, attitudes, and demands vitally related to the welfare and proper functioning of the democratic state." Only on these elements can an educational program for citizenship be developed.

One more quotation will serve to show the nature of Professor Womer's argument:

> Obviously the function of citizenship in a democracy is so basically important that it must be discharged in some manner if the democratic state is to operate at all or, what is more, if it is to exist. But the adequate discharge of that function calls for a worthy understanding of the basic social and spiritual content of citizenship; for good will and control of selfish instincts; for reasoned as against prejudiced judgments and actions; for high standards of personal and social ethics; for a genuine and well proportioned sense of the enduring values represented in the great democratic postulates, liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, humanity; for a greater devotion to the "general welfare" than any other type of political association implies; for an intelligent grasp of the complex problems with which democratic society must deal; for a capacity to contribute to the thinking of a democratic community and thus to help to form the public opinion that is the motive power of democratic organization; and for a sufficient knowledge of the forms, functions, processes and procedures of demo-

> cratic government to qualify the citizen to form intelligent judgments and to participate effectively in the work of government. (Pp. 259-260.)

To this reader this is a comprehensive statement of the problem. The rest of the study is a brilliant and satisfying exposition of the problem stated above. Every worker in the field is indebted to the author for this fine production.

Palmer Howard,
Consultant in Citizenship
Bureau of Youth Services

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Agriculture

Agriculture — Greater Kansas City. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1945. 53 pp.

Airports

Airport Accounts. By Joseph M. Cunningham. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. 28 pp. $1.25.

A List of References on Airport Zoning. By Caroline Shillaber. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Authorities

A Selected List of References Relating to the Proposed Missouri Valley Authority. By Elizabeth M. Houston. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 2 pp.

Valley Authorities. Shall We Establish Regional Developments? Washington 6, D. C., National League of Women Voters, 1945. 20 pp. Ten cents.

Employment

Management's Responsibility Toward Stabilized Employment. By Richard R. Deupree. New York City, American Management Association, 1945. 15 pp.

Housing

Britain Faces Its Housing Emergency. Preliminary Report of National Committee on Housing Mission to Great Britain. New York 18, National Committee on Housing, Inc., 1945. 27 pp. 25 cents.

Labor

Government and Union - Employer Relations. An Analysis of Statutes and Administrative Regulations. By Leifur Magnusson. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. 36 pp. $1.

Labor Relations. By L. B. Schwellenback, etc. Council of State Governments, *State Government,* December 1945. 26 pp. 35 cents.

Local Government Officials

Ten Year Progress Report 1935-1945 —The Institute of Local Government. State College, Pennsylvania State College, 1945. 48 pp.

Purchasing

A Survey of Competitive Bidding Procedures. A Report for the Committee on Contracts. By Nelson Rosenbaum. Washington, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officials, 1945. 19 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Finance Department Organization. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1945. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Legal Problems Incident to Revenue Bond Financing. By David M. Wood. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1945. 15 pp. $2.

State Debt in 1945. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 16 pp.

Traffic

Highway Traffic Conference Proceedings. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, Inc., 1945. 139 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

Nominating Committee Named

In accordance with a decision of the Executive Committee of the League's Council on November 30, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, has appointed a nominating committee to report prior to the next National Conference on Government which has been tentatively scheduled for November 1946. Members of the committee are Frederick L. Bird, chairman, James W. Clise, Karl Detzer, Herbert Emmerich, Carl H. Pforzheimer and Richard S. Childs, *ex officio.* There has been no election of officers since the League's last conference in 1941. League officers were "frozen" as of that date, for the duration of the war and until a conference could be arranged, in accordance with a decision of the Council in January 1944.

* * *

Winant on Economic-Social Council

John G. Winant, United States ambassador to Great Britain and president of the National Municipal League, has been designated by President Truman as United States representative at the organization meetings of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Charter Guide Committee to Meet

The League's Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions will meet in New York on March 25 to discuss a preliminary draft of the document.[1]

* * *

New Honors for Murray Seasongood

Murray Seasongood, former League president, has received three new honors recently. He was appointed to the Commission of Code Revision by the governor of Ohio, was elected president of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, and was elected as an Assembly delegate to the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association.

* * *

Wyatt Named Housing Expediter

Wilson W. Wyatt, Jr., who recently completed his term as mayor of Louisville (a Louisville mayor cannot succeed himself), and a member of the Council of the League, has been named federal housing expediter "to break bottlenecks in building and to relieve shortages in supplies."

* * *

Dwight F. Davis Dies

Dwight F. Davis, an active member of the League for thirty years and a member of the Council from 1916 to 1919, died November 28 in Washington. Mr. Davis had a brilliant record successively as tennis champion, soldier, public servant and civic leader. He donated the Davis Tennis Cup for which international matches have been played for a generation, entered World War I as a private and emerged a colonel with the Distinguished Service Cross and two citations for bravery in action, served as Secretary of War and as Governor General of the Philippines.

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[1] For membership of the committee see the REVIEW, July 1945, p. 322.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Villain in the Housing Picture

WHEN WE are beset by a major misfortune like the current housing shortage there is an immediate escapist rush to find a villain to blame for the predicament—any experienced rabble-rouser is aware of the need of having a single villain. This time there appears to be no well defined villain, at least not one who is solely and entirely to blame.

Yet, we must identify the reasons for failure if we are to replace them with conditions which will bring success. It is said there is immediate need for at least five million housing units. Daily the situation is made more serious by the return from the armed forces of men who have married while in service or who wish to marry and who, for their own future well-being as well as that of the nation, must have an opportunity to set up a normal family life. The educational features of the G. I. bill of rights seem well on their way toward practical nullification by the lack of housing facilities on the campus, especially housing for the married veteran. Prices of homes, new and old, are getting beyond the reach of many who normally could afford them.

Perhaps it is over-simplification to say the reason we have too little housing is that no one has been building, or at least not enough to make much impression, for more than ten years. Going back to the time before the nation's productive capacity was turned to war, why did building of homes stop?

Could the landlord, big and little, with vacancies on his hands and with inadequate return on money already invested in housing, be fairly expected to build more? Could the building materials manufacturer be fairly accused of keeping prices higher than they should have been in the face of knowledge that such a practice would ruin his business? Could the entire blame be credibly assessed on the feather-bedding and other restrictive practices of the building trades which, after all, would hardly deliberately destroy their means of livelihood? Could the banker, looking over his lists of mortgages of doubtful value and remembering what had happened during the recent deflation, be blamed for a conservative approach toward new mortgages?

No, somehow the single villain doesn't seem to be skulking among these or other key groups any more than he might be found in Mr. Average Citizen whose yearning for his own home is a major one. Why, if as a practical matter he could have done so, didn't he build himself a house in the pre-war years? Why isn't he doing it now?

Surely there must be a basic, fundamental key to this log jam which might turn loose the needed flood of housing. Public housing can never more than scratch the surface. The key must be found which will make it possible for private enterprise to do the job. Reconditioning old abandoned housing doesn't appear to be a ready answer, either. As we contemplate the buildings of another age, many of which are still sturdy but obsolescent and not fit to live in as they are, too good to be torn down and still not worth modernizing, these thought-provoking words come to mind:

> We shall live to see the day, I trust . . . when no man shall build his house for posterity. Why should he? He might just as reasonably order a durable suit of clothes—leather, or gutta percha, or whatever else lasts longest—so that his great grandchildren should have the benefit of them, and cut precisely the same figure in the world that he himself does. If each generation were allowed and expected to build its own houses, that single change . . . would imply almost every reform which society is suffering for. I doubt whether even our public edifices . . . ought to be built of such permanent materials as stone or brick. It were better that they should crumble to ruin once in twenty years or thereabouts, as a hint to the people to examine and reform the institutions which they symbolize.[1]

Why are our ideas about buildings so inflexible? Why must a house "look like a house"? Does today's automobile look like the motor cars of 1900? Why must we make each public building more palatial and "permanent" than the last when almost all of those which were constructed within the early memory of people nearing their three score and ten are long since inadequate?

This would seem to be a good time to make a completely fresh approach to the whole question of what a house or a building of any kind should be, what it is for. We are certainly ripe for a new kind of thinking on the subject. Just as great wars and other emergencies challenge men to speed up the normal process of scientific development and invention, this should be the golden opportunity for those who have argued that houses which would be economical, yet ideal to work, sleep, eat and have fun in, could be built quickly—if men didn't put so many obstructions in the way.

The chief barriers are identified as antiquated building methods, irregular employment, outmoded local building codes, restrictive practices in the building industry and restraints imposed by labor.

Following Hawthorne's long neglected advice surely would stabilize employment, but first we would have to overcome the dead hand of the past as represented in the other restrictions.

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[1] Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The House of Seven Gables.*

Home Rule by Constitutional Fiat

New basic law increases latitude of Missouri cities in drafting charters, consolidating and cooperating with other governments; decreases danger of state encroachment.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN*

THE new Missouri constitution unshackles the municipalities of the "Show Me State" in a number of significant ways, and better, as well as more democratic, government should result. Such provisions as those allowing cooperation between cities, consolidation of certain city and county functions, pensions for city employees in certain sized municipalities, and others should facilitate efficiency; extension of home rule to twenty additional cities, elimination of state taxes on cities, greatly lessened tax rate limits, and similar provisions help push off the yoke of the state government and lodge more complete control of local government in the local electorate.

Although Missouri originated home rule for cities in 1875, it has lagged behind many other states in this respect in the intervening 70 years. The 1875 constitution contained two provisions for home rule: one was a special section for St. Louis, allowing it to separate from St. Louis County and frame its own charter; the second was a general provision allowing all cities of over 100,000 to frame and adopt their own charters. At the time of the adoption of the 1875 constitution there was no city in the latter category, St. Louis being the only city of over 100,000. St. Louis did, however, immediately take advantage of the special home rule provisions and frame and adopt a charter for its government. Kansas City came into the 100,000 category shortly thereafter, and it immediately framed and adopted its own charter under the general provision of the constitution allowing home rule for cities.

California in 1879 followed Missouri in providing for home rule for San Francisco and in 1887 extended home rule to all cities of more than 10,000 population. Nineteen of the states now provide home rule for at least some of their cities, and most of the provisions extend to more cities than did the 1875 Missouri constitution.

The new constitution retains the special provision for St. Louis but extends downward to 10,000 the category of cities eligible under the general provisions. This increases from two to 22 the number of cities in Missouri eligible to draw home rule charters. The new constitution not only extends to these 22 cities the right to draw their own charters, but its framers were cognizant of the encroachment of the state government upon the powers of the home rule cities under the old constitution and thus attempted to thwart such attempts by inserting the following provisions in the constitution: "No law shall be enacted creating or fixing the powers, duties, or compensation of any municipal office or employment, for any city framing or adopting its own charter under this or any previous constitution, and all such offices or employments heretofore created shall cease at the end of the terms of any present incumbents."

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New Charters Soon

Some interest in a home rule charter has already been expressed in University City (33,023), Missouri's sixth largest city, and it is entirely likely that a good many of the twenty cities made eligible for home rule by the new constitution will be operating under charters framed by themselves before many years pass.

In the field of governmental interrelationships there were three new provisions inserted in the new constitution. "Any municipality," the new document reads, "or political subdivision of this state may contract and cooperate with other municipalities or political subdivisions thereof, or with other states or their municipalities or political subdivisions, or with the United States, for the planning, development, construction, acquisition or operation of any public improvement or facility, or for a common service." It would seem that international relations is about the only thing denied a city under this provision. In St. Louis County, where cities are thicker than hops, and in some border situations, such as Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, it is hoped that this authority to cooperate and contract will alleviate some rather difficult jurisdictional problems. It is also possible that the Missouri Municipal League, greatly strengthened in recent years by the addition to its membership of both Kansas City and St. Louis, may want to work out contracts for common purchasing and perhaps other functions.

The second intergovernmental relationship provision is the one which authorizes the government of any city, town or village to "be consolidated or separated, in whole or in part, with or from that of the county or other political subdivision in which such city, town or village is situated."

The third intergovernmental relationship provision relates to the St. Louis City and St. Louis County problem. In 1875 St. Louis City rather gingerly carved out the cream of the then St. Louis County and divorced itself from the rural sections of the county, leaving that portion to shift for itself, under the provisions of the 1875 constitution. By 1900 the city had spread out over all the area it had included within its boundaries and was overflowing into the surrounding territory. By 1940 nearly 300,000 people lived in St. Louis County in numerous incorporated cities and towns and equally numerous unincorporated "urban" areas—all of which results in a serious metropolitan problem.

Two attempts were made in the twenties and thirties to get the city and the county back together so as to work out their problem as one government, but both plans were defeated by adverse votes in the county.

The old constitution provided the following three methods from which the people of the St. Louis area could choose in solving their problems: (1) consolidation of the territories and governments into one political subdivision under the municipal government of St. Louis; (2) extension of the county so as to embrace the territory of the city; and (3) enlargement of the territory of the city through annexation of part of the territory of the county.

Functional Consolidation

A fourth possible solution is added by the new constitution: the people of the area may establish a metropolitan district or districts for the administration of services common to the territory included. Such districts might, for example, be established to administer such functions as sewage disposal or parks. Because of the serious difficulties in the way of obtaining approval for a complete consolidation of the city and the county, it seems that "functional" consolidation may offer a more acceptable solution to this problem.

The new constitution made substantial changes in tax rate limits and debt limits on cities. Under the old constitution cities of 30,000 and over population had a maximum tax rate limit of $1 on $100 assessed valuation, cities of 10,001 to 29,999 had a limit of 60 cents, cities of 1,001 to 10,000 had a limit of 50 cents, and cities of 1,000 or less had a limit of 25 cents. Under the new constitution a uniform limit of $1 is set for all cities. However, the people of a city by a two-thirds majority and for a period of not longer than four years may raise this limit of $1 without limit unless one is established by the legislature. Still further, city councils when authorized by law may levy any additional amount as provided by the General Assembly for libraries, hospitals, public health, recreation grounds and museums. Obviously this is a great relaxation of constitutional tax rate limits for cities. However, according to data gathered by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, 33 of the 87 Missouri cities with a population of more than 2,500 levied taxes in 1943 in excess of the limits permitted by the state constitution for "city and town purposes." Even St. Joseph, Missouri's third city, was 3.5 cents over its constitutional limit in 1942. Thus, to some extent the increases contained in the new constitution merely legalize a situation which already existed.

Under the old constitution the debt limit for cities with a population of more than 75,000 was 10 per cent of the assessed valuation and for all other cities the limit was 5 per cent of the assessed valuation, except that cities of less than 30,000 inhabitants could borrow up to 10 per cent additional for the purchase or construction of utilities. The new constitution places all cities in the same category and allows 10 per cent for general purposes, 10 per cent for streets and sewers, and 10 per cent for waterworks, electric or other light plants—except that the total cannot exceed 20 per cent at any time.

Any city by a four-sevenths vote may issue negotiable interest-bearing revenue bonds for the purpose of purchasing or building any revenue-producing water, gas or electric light works, heating or power plants, or airports. One of the unknown quantities is whether or not this provision of the constitution, by enumerating certain revenue-bond purposes, prevents a city from issuing such bonds for other purposes. Kansas City, for example, already has outstanding revenue bonds for municipal markets. As the utility companies are very much interested in this provision of the constitution it is likely that the Supreme Court of the state will soon be forced to rule on the question.

The usual refunding provisions are contained in the new constitution except that refunding bonds cannot bear a rate of interest greater than the bonds which they refund. This may cause the cities trouble in a rising interest rate market.

Cities operating under home rule charters may enact ordinances providing for the clearance, replanning, reconstruction, redevelopment and rehabilitation of blighted, substandard or insanitary areas. This authority vests a considerable amount of power in the local authorities to deal with slum problems.

In St. Louis City all officers must be on a salary, thus eliminating the archaic fee system which has continued to apply to several municipal offices.

All cities are required to prepare annual budgets, file annual reports of their financial transactions, and be audited. Many Missouri cities have been making annual reports, but relatively few have prepared budgets, and still fewer have been audited. The state auditor must "establish appropriate systems of accounting for the political subdivisions of the state, supervise their budgeting systems, and audit their accounts as provided by law." This provision is still in the process of being interpreted. The principal question is whether or not cities are "political subdivisions of the state," and if so whether the state auditor is the only one that can audit them. The answer will make considerable difference in the operations of the state auditor's office and of the cities.

Municipal Pensions Authorized

The General Assembly may authorize any city to pension its policemen and firemen and may authorize any city of over 100,000 inhabitants to pension other employees.

The cities should benefit from several provisions of the new constitution relating to state aid, state taxes on municipalities, and the use of highway funds in cities. Under the provisions of the old constitution and laws, cities were required to pay state sales taxes on their purchases, but under the provisions of the new constitution "the general assembly shall not impose taxes upon counties or other political subdivisions." On the other hand, nothing in the constitution "shall prevent the enactment of general laws directing the payment of funds collected for state purposes to counties or other political subdivisions as state aid for local purposes." With this proviso in the constitution it is likely that state aid to local units will become a part of the state-local financing system in Missouri shortly.

Heretofore the state highway department has been prevented by statute from using any state highway funds in cities of over 2,500, but the new constitution authorizes the use of state funds for highways in cities and towns where they are "necessary as a continuation of any state or federal highway, or any connection therewith." The use of state funds is also authorized for any highway where such funds are required as a condition to the receipt of federal funds. These changes will give some relief to municipal finances and also will permit Missouri to match federal funds earmarked for use in cities.

In the new state property tax structure, intangibles must be taxed on the basis of income and the tax is to be collected by the state, but the returns from the tax are to be allocated to the units of origin. If the tax is at all successful, it will likely increase the return of cities from this tax as such property has not been assessed in any substantial quantities in the past.

Manager Plan Strengthened

As was indicated at the beginning of this article, the new constitution does not disturb the fundamental structure of municipal government in Missouri. The provision relating to the classification of cities was copied verbatim from the old constitution into the new, which means that the revision session of the General Assembly is making no changes in the present four classes of cities. City manager government in Kansas City, if anything, was strengthened by the provisions already enumerated, and the adoption of the city manager plan by other cities is at least as easy as heretofore and may even be accelerated in the course of time as the twenty cities newly made eligible for home rule prepare charters.

The current General Assembly, which convened in January 1945 and has been in session since except for a recess this summer, will likely continue in session until next June 30, at which time laws in conflict with the new constitution become void. Even though the new constitution lays the groundwork for improved municipal government in Missouri, much depends upon the laws passed by this session of the General Assembly implementing the provisions of the constitution. Those interested in better city government in Missouri, however, have much to be thankful for as a result of the adoption of the new constitution in February 1945.

Where They Planned for Peace

"We just sort of got together" in Kingsport, Tennessee, and labor-management team, its war job finished, swings model, depression-proof community into smooth reconversion.

By **CHARLES STEVENSON***

KINGSPORT, Tennessee, had its war boom. A government ordnance plant employed 5,200 workers. When that plant shut down it meant that almost one third of the industrial workers in the Kingsport area had lost their jobs.

One month later so many were back at work that there was a labor shortage and the U. S. Employment Service was looking for 528 more men! Kingsport people in general never even knew that reconversion from war to peacetime economy was supposed to be a headache. With them it went off smoothly. Nor was it done by pulling rabbits out of hats.

"We just sort of got together," said the chairman of the local development commission. "It wasn't much of a task. Kingsport citizens have been sort of getting together for the 28 years of the modern town's history." Which was modest understatement. Actually, Kingsport offers the most striking example of community planning and community cooperation I have ever heard of.

As we talked, I was looking out of the chairman's office—down at the wide street thick with shoppers and cars, looking out toward the hills dotted with neat homes, toward Civic Circle with its Georgian churches, Georgian public buildings and country-club-like hotel. Over all the scene rose the coughing of steamshovels, the pounding of carpenters' hammers, the noise of building, of expansion, of jobs.

They planned it that way—and they did it themselves, as they have done many other remarkable things.

The city was founded in 1917. The Clinchfield Railroad, built in 1909, had 6,000 acres of land on the flats adjoining the pre-Revolutionary village. The railroad builders hoped to develop a town which in turn would develop freight. An improvement corporation was organized so civic-minded residents could undertake the task. A plan—wide streets, trees, colonial brick architecture, industrial zoning—was drawn for them by one of the nation's outstanding designers, John Nolen. Columbia University styled the schools, the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York, now the Institute of Public Administration, planned the government—the still ultra-modern council-manager plan. And J. Fred Johnson saw that all the ideas were carried out.

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*Mr. Stevenson, managing editor of a Washington newspaper, has been a newspaper man ever since 1924 when he started out, at the age of 21, as editor in chief of the *Sedalia* (Missouri) *Capitol.* He went to Washington in 1926 where he was chief of the Washington Bureau of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* representing also the *Kansas City Journal* and the *New York Daily News.* He has worked on the bureaus covering Washington for New Orleans, Houston, Dallas and Milwaukee papers, covered Congress for the United Press, and has been on roving assignments for the *Washington Post* and *Washington Herald.*

Johnson, a mountain boy himself, was put in charge of the Kingsport project, which was largely his idea. Kingsport had no fabulous natural resources, tax concessions, free sites or local wealth to offer industries. Johnson was able to convince employers that his vision of a town where people would like to live and work was sound and practical for all its idealism.

He dictated land-sales policy so that people would not be squeezed by speculators. Thus, even nowadays, prices are not inflated as much as elsewhere. A new brick home sold recently for $4,300; a family can rent one for $47.50 a month.

However, many Kingsport workers believe a man achieves greater dignity, independence and security by owning a small farm. A building and loan association was formed in the early '30's which finances such properties. The countryside has become dotted with thousands of these homesteads—a garden, chickens, maybe two or three acres of tobacco to be cared for in spare time to bring about $300 an acre.

These homesteads constitute one of the reasons why Kingsport was able to weather every depression year without the dole. Even a PWA sewer project languished for lack of common labor.

Johnson envisioned industries so diversified that there would be opportunities both for skilled and unskilled workers, which would sell their varied products in part to each other for mutual benefit, yet which would be independent so that if one faltered the town would not be hard hit. Thus you find the Tennessee Eastman Corporation, gigantic offspring of Kodak, the country's second largest producer of acetate rayon and the largest producer of certain plastics and chemicals, selling a portion of its fifteen major products to other local industries and buying part of theirs. Some of the Borden Mills cotton cloth is processed by the Holliston Mills into window shades and book cloth. Part of the book cloth, along with paper from the Mead Corporation, goes to the Kingsport Press, which calls itself the largest book manufacturing plant in the world. And so on.

Standards for Plants

Each plant had to pass certain tests. Did it offer the bulk of its employment to local labor? Opportunities for worker promotion? Stability? Would it "fit in" with the community?

The last was most important: it was the basis of Johnson's philosophy. "It isn't enough that you treat us 'fair'," he said. "Employers must realize that local citizens are as good as they are. Bosses must be friendly, not just because it's good business but because it's the way people ought to be if they work together. They should give raises when they're earned instead of waiting for complaint. Employers should be leaders and help govern the city because they're part of it. But what they propose should meet with their friends' and neighbors'—their employees'—approval. The bosses must work in their shirtsleeves, leave their office doors open, be ready to listen to any complaint from any employee; in short, they've got to lead—not push. If they lead, their workers will give them the loyalty they deserve."

The first day a new man arrived to head the Kingsport Press, Johnson told him the firm's taxes had to go up because the schools needed $30,000 more a year. "You want *your* children to have the best, don't you?" he asked. "You want the schools to turn out boys and girls with intelligence to be printers and proofreaders and editors and executives in your own plant? Well, the Press's share of the increased taxes will be $4,000. You've got to lead."

A silk mill was paying substandard wages. "Now, look," Johnson told the other industrialists, "we can't allow the good relations of other employers to be jeopardized this way. Some of you fellows who know about factories ought to look over this mill and see what the trouble is." They did, and the company virtually was ordered out of town. "We have no room for sweatshops," said Johnson.

When he thought it time for a hospital to be built on the site reserved since founding of the city, he prevailed upon the industrialists to contribute $15 for each employee. The employees themselves followed up with 8,500 personal pledges within a few days. "See what you get by leadership?" he reminded. Within a year 6,000 persons were participating in a plan, partly financed by the industries, whereby 75-cent monthly dues paid for up to 21 days' hospitalization annually. Today it covers nearly 27,000 persons.

When an employer was reluctant to stand for election to the city council, Johnson persuaded him to change his mind.

"One trouble in this country," he said, "is that people who want good government can't find the time for it. They'd rather pay politicians. We get better, inexpensive government here only because we do our own governing. Except by serving your turn how do you expect to merit leadership over employees who need the benefits even more than you do but can't afford to serve?"

Council-Manager Government

Johnson is dead now—he died late in 1944—but his scheme has lived. Five drafted $100-a-year councilmen choose one of their number to be the $200 mayor and a full-salaried technical expert as city manager. After two terms the councilmen are replaced by other draftees. The first city manager, William R. Pouder, is now executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association. The present city manager, F. L. Cloud, has served as chief administrator since 1923.

Right now the council consists of two realty men, one of whom is mayor, a lumber dealer, an electrician from the Kingsport Press, and an Eastman engineer. Nobody wants the job because it is a lot of work. There are no political plums and no pickings. Any major question generally is decided after a town meeting has expressed the popular sentiment.

That is why Kingsport never has had a scandal; why it could float its last bonds at 1.47 per cent interest, or less than the federal government pays except on short-term notes; why taxes are but $2.25 on a 65 per cent valuation despite unusual municipal services.

Education and steadily increasing wages brought wider civic horizons, a demand for fuller lives. A library. Playgrounds. More Georgian schools, each with a five-acre park. A recreation department was added to the city government. But most important is the fact that cooperation bred cooperation. The women of several churches united to found an orphanage. The American Legion built and gave the city a swimming pool. Further cooperative efforts brought a stadium, a civic auditorium, a recreation center.

Wages Climb

By 1940 average manufacturing wages had risen to $1,378 in a community where you could belong to the country club for $24 a year and give a dinner party in the hotel sunroom for less than a dollar per guest. Bank deposits had doubled; so had post-office receipts and rail shipments.

With the war virtually every plant expanded. Mountain hollows were combed for around-the-clock workers. Seventeen thousand came to construct the huge ordnance plant. Even after war construction was completed and the boomers moved on, Kingsport in 1944 found it had paid $30,000,000 to 17,913 industrial wage earners, an average of $1,620 apiece. In 1945 it paid 15,784 factory workers $1,900 apiece.

But how to preserve these gains?

The problem now not only was to provide immediate postwar livelihood for nearly twice as many workers as Kingsport ever had in peace, but eventual jobs for returning soldiers. An unofficial development commission was formed—an insurance man, a banker, the mayor, the respective heads of Eastman, Kingsport Press, the merchants association, the improvement corporation.

It was decided that Kingsport's greatest need was not more big industry but service industries and small plants to supplement the existing pattern—a furniture factory, mills to process Eastman rayon and plastics, business buildings, new department stores, restaurants and a general face-lifting of the retail district. And long-delayed public works had to be readied to take up any V-J Day slack.

The commission solicited ideas through a full-page newspaper ad and posters on mill bulletin boards. Also in the town meetings. They are real democracy in action. Take E. W. Palmer, president of the Kingsport Press, who was drafted to take charge of all the War Department's wartime printing and publishing. His own business responsibilities reach around the world, but still he finds time for the town meetings. Most of Colonel Palmer's employees will be on hand, as will the Eastman executives and technicians. Little Joe will be there, too—he who cuts the grass in the park. Big and little, they argue out what is to happen next in Kingsport.

When I was there, a committee of local engineers was working nights on blueprints for the new water system. "Why hire expensive consultants?" someone asked at town meeting. "If our engineers here are so good Washington wanted them, why can't we draft them, too?"

Streets were being paved, buildings going up. Stores and offices were waiting only for carpenters to construct them. The Business Women's Club was sponsoring a 'teen-age center which the people had said they wanted. The industrialists and businessmen were assessing themselves $10 for every employee on their rolls to build a new library and endow a chair at a neighboring college as monuments to Johnson, the man whose stubborn, practical idealism built the town.

Many of the industrial plants were expanding or only waiting equipment in order to begin. No workers except the ordnance plant's had been laid off. Employers had met the challenge of peace as easily as they had met the challenge of war.

Union Contracts Signed

They took the coming of the unions in stride. "Sure, I'll sign your union contract if my people want it," was the solution of the Kingsport Press's boss. "But I have one reservation. You cannot supply competent bookmakers; hence, I must be protected in the right to train local boys and girls and make them eligible for membership in your organization."

Union contracts also operate at the motor-transport, bookcloth, pulp and paper, brick and glass plants. But the open shop prevails in other large industries, and peace prevails in all of them.

Working conditions are good. Free vacations. Retirement pay. Free insurance. Wage dividends. Plant cafeterias which feed you heartily at cost or, as at Eastman, a loss on every meal.

At the Press a group from a small department went to the boss about their own particular raise which the government in wartime had refused to grant in full. His reply was announcement of a plan to hike the starting rate 25 per cent and increase every pay check in the plant.

More than 1,000 employees—nearly all compositors, pressmen, binders, designers, artists and editors who had learned their crafts at the Press's own school—were turning out everything from Bibles, encyclopedias and the Book of the Month to textbooks and mystery stories at wage rates which are close to those of New York and Chicago. An entirely new department is being created which is expected to absorb 300 employees who are returning from the war, without displacing any worker hired in wartime.

When shifts changed at Eastman, I watched circus-day crowds pour into the cafeterias and company recreation buildings for free movies or a game of cards, but more than half of the mob hurried to parked autos and waiting buses which would take them to their country homesteads. Eastman, which employed 6,478 at the height of the war, now had more than 7,100 and was adding others daily.

Eastman had another thousand men—or so it seemed—busy all over its 372-acre reservation, digging, tunneling, pouring concrete. It was expanding to provide jobs for 2,350 Eastman men and women who went to war and undetermined thousands who might be willing to work, not at wartime pay, but for still higher wages. The same week Eastman re-

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The Ballot Is Still Too Long!

Despite heartening progress, voters in the City of New York need further simplification of the local governmental setup before control by the political machines can be eliminated.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

THE difficulties of making a democracy that will "democ" are most acute in a huge polyglot city like New York. Carlyle said the problem was "how out of a multitude of knaves to build an honest government," but getting honesty is secondary to getting democracy. If the people really rule, they can get honest government if and when they want it. So we political reformers are always trying to get rid of such things as bosses and machines by fixing up the mechanism of democracy to work without such undemocratic interlopers.

The difficulties of this laudable purpose are partly mechanistic and responsive to mechanistic corrections. We haven't succeeded, but there has been progress and we know what to do to correct the New York City situation. Now, with our recent municipal election fresh in mind, is a good time to look at the problem.

The task presented to New York voters has been purposefully simplified in past years by removal from the elective list of twelve coroners (in 1918), five sheriffs, four registers, and five county clerks; those obscure offices used to provide sinecures and maintenance for party workers, in witness whereof the new appointive sheriff, selected by civil service examination, has been saving us nearly $500,000 a year. Making those offices appointive and subject to civil service examinations throughout has given to party leaders that much less patronage to use for their own entrenchment; bossism and political machines have thus been successfully enfeebled by a purely mechanistic reform.

Recent lengthening of terms of state assemblymen from one to two years left us with none to elect at the 1945 election. That made 67 fewer contests, at least 134 fewer candidates, for an inattentive electorate to inform itself about. The new arrangement took these contests, which were state matters, out of the municipal election and simplified the task of the voters; the shortened list thus came more nearly within the amount of attention and information of average voters.

Still remained the fact that there were more men to be elected than average voters would attempt to remember—the number of offices to be voted for varied in the different districts from nine to sixteen and, for many of the offices, voters consequently depended on party labels for

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*Mr. Childs, industrialist, chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York and chairman of the Council and a former president of the National Municipal League, was founder of the National Short Ballot Organization which merged with the National Municipal League in 1920. Well known in civic circles as the "Father" of the council-manager plan, Mr. Childs is author of *Short Ballot Principles* and numerous pamphlets and articles on the short ballot and the manager plan.

guidance. They commonly accepted that guidance without separate scrutiny of the names of the candidates, voting so blindly on minor offices that if a mistake in setting up the voting machines had put the Republican candidates on the Democratic party line, and vice versa, the typical voter, if unwarned, would have been unaware of it.

Take Judges Off Ballot

All these secondary offices were judges. Taking these judges off the ballot is the next step in correcting the mechanism of democracy here.

Let's argue that!

Take away from the people the choosing of judges? Despite superficial appearances, the people at the last election did not select the judges; most of those judges received their congratulations weeks before the election! In the case of some this was because they were nominees of a party which was so dominant in their district, due to multifarious extraneous considerations, that nomination was equivalent to election. In fourteen other cases out of the 26 judiciary contests, they had received the nomination of both major parties. This is supposedly because both party managements joined amicably in recognition of good candidates. Maybe so! But let's look!

In Brooklyn fourteen years ago, nine new Supreme Court judgeships were created. The Republican and Democratic leaders met and divided the new jobs—the Democrats got five, the Republicans four—each camp accepted the choices of the other and all nine nominees went into office by unanimous vote. One of them was the son of the then Democratic county chairman.

This November these men's terms were expiring and eight of these judges again secured the nomination of both parties and thus (aside from age-limit cases) were made certain of a total of 28 years on the bench, while the people were, in practice and fact, idle spectators! So our judges, believe it or not, are in reality appointive now! By whom, it is not given to ordinary voters like me to know! But certainly by inner groups of party leaders whom we never authorized to do it for us. (Party leaders are known as bosses when they belong to the opposite party! And are such in fact if they impose their will on officeholders.)

To detach such dangerous power and influence from party leaders (bosses) is the first objective of political progress. The power, of course, must be put elsewhere, logically into the hands of the state's chief executive with whatever checks may be desired, such as confirmation by the Senate as in the federal system, or confirmation by the people by the Citizens' Union plan. Under this plan the governor makes a nomination and time is left for counter-nomination by petition; if opposition appears, the names go on the voting machines without partisan designation except that the governor's designee will be indicated as "recommended by the governor." Thus the necessary function of the selection and submission of candidates would be taken out of the shadows and made official and responsible and contests might get to be rather rare and limited to cases of genuine dissatisfaction. The latter compromise is advanced, in efforts now under way, in deference to upstate districts where only one or two judges at a time come up for election and at long intervals; under those simpler conditions the elective system works better than in our crowded scene. Intervention by the governor is not actually new, for the terms are so long that vacancies are rather frequent, whereupon the governor appoints for the remainder of the year and one or both of the parties then commonly nominate the appointee for a full term.

A Municipal Short Ballot

Some such transfer of our judges from unofficial to official origins would leave New York City with a municipal short ballot—only six to elect in each district—four Board of Estimate positions (mayor, comptroller, president of the Council, borough president), district attorney and member of Council. This is close to the classic short ballot principle which specifies five as the maximum number that His Majesty the average voter will probably inform himself about to the point of making up his own ticket without blind dependence on party labels and emblems as to any of the list.

When that day comes, the election day when no Citizens' Union "Voters Directory" will be needed and every voter can tick off on his fingers the names and record of all the candidates he is about to vote for, we shall still be up against the charter's violation of the principle of wieldy districts. A district of up to perhaps 300,000, (150,000 voting, 75,001, or less, necessary for election) can be canvassed effectively and hopefully by a candidate with the aid of only an improvised committee of friends and a modest campaign fund in the face of established party organizations. When the district is very large, like the borough of Brooklyn or the city at large or the state, a plurality of six or seven figures is required for victory and thereby the standing armies of political mercenaries maintained by the Republican and Democratic parties easily retain a practical monopoly of hopeful nominations. We are, I think, the only nation in the world, except Brazil, that attempts to elect from such vast districts. It could hardly be managed without the parties' organizations and at any rate their ability to throw their massed ready-made weight usually settles the ultimate fate of aspirants. This will remain true as long as we elect from such large units. The improved visibility of the proposed shortened list of elective offices will not alter conditions sufficiently to make it feasible for an independent candidate to assemble enough of an organization and campaign fund to make a dent on the consciousness of such a horde in 90 days. That inertia of large bodies was, of course, the insuperable obstacle to Newbold Morris's futile adventure in our election with a nonpartisan third ticket.

The obstacle should be removed by a switch to a form of government that does not include "unwieldy" districts. In wieldy districts the old parties will confront a real risk of defeat by impromptu insurgents if they do not take pains to offer acceptable candidates.

In contrast to this basic clumsy unwieldiness of such large electorates, we have the picture of our City Council chosen from boroughs by proportional representation. Its powers are trivial now but its setup is ideal for independent candidates—any person who can muster the fixed quota of 75,000 votes anywhere in his borough can get elected. Partisan endorsement remains important but independents like Stanley Isaacs and Genevieve Earle can win without partisan blessing—in fact, they did in previous years; in 1943 and 1945 they picked up the Republican endorsements after they had resolved to run anyway. How the politicians hate it! P. R. represents to them an erratic variable! Voters uncontrollably and unpredictably picking and choosing for themselves all over the lot!

Why Not the Manager Plan?

Adoption here of the council-manager plan would turn this feeble Council into an all-powerful board of directors of the city, whereupon the calibre of its members would improve and the public's knowledge of them would sharpen. The Council would appoint and supervise the city manager (who would replace the mayor) and the borough members could choose borough managers (replacing borough presidents). Election at large by the great city or borough units could be done away with.

Until we get the "short ballot" and wieldy districts, we cannot eliminate from our politics the power of the party managements resting on the dead weight of the undiscriminating vote that blindly follows the national party line. We have even seen, for the first time in decades, an illiterate revival in this recent election of the quaint and forgotten cry that we must vote here with national party prestige in mind and ignore our great local issues. Other cities—little ones by the hundreds—make nonpartisan ballots work most happily; the national party machines actually abstain from participation in municipal elections. But Boston has a nonpartisan ballot and there it does not work nonpartisanly at all, for the officers are elected at large, the district (consisting of the whole city) is unwieldy and the mere say-so of the Democratic City Committee in support of a given nominee is all but equivalent to election.

The recent New York City election thus illustrates certain axioms of political science:

The ballot is still too long and resulted in the private appointment of judges;

The districts in most cases are unwieldy, resulting in monopoly of hopeful nominations by the standing organizations.

It remains to explain that political science is law confused by popular participation! Our charter, tradition-bound, fails to cater correctly to the normal behavior of voters and local hope for a democracy that will "democ" rests with us unwearying reformers whose sense of time is necessarily somewhat geologic!

Centralized Financial Control

Creation of Board of Estimate and Taxation to counteract weaknesses in Minneapolis charter brings progress but doubt of its need grows—if city had better basic setup.

By **GEORGE M. LINK***

WHAT is the value of the Board of Estimate and Taxation to the city of Minneapolis? What improvements has it brought to the city? Why was it provided in the first place?

The 1919 session of the Minnesota legislature provided that in each city of the first class not operating under a home rule charter "there shall be" a Board of Estimate and Taxation. The law specified the duties of the board and the manner in which it was to be organized, staffed and financed. It also provided that increased authority in the supervision of city expenditures should be exercised by the city comptroller. At that time Minneapolis was the only city of the first class in the state which did not have a home rule charter. Hence the enactment applied to Minneapolis only—was framed for that purpose.

The objective of the proponents of the act was to create for Minneapolis an authority having powers and duties somewhat commensurate with those of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City. The original proposal, presented to the legislature in 1917, did to a substantial degree provide such authority. Opposition of various interests, however, more particularly of the City Council, defeated favorable action at that time. The result was the submission in 1919 of a revised version of the original proposal, giving to the Council a considerable measure of the authority that the prior draft had vested in the board, also taking from the board a considerable proportion of the desired control over appropriations and expenditures. What was desired was an authority that could supervise all financial policies of the city. What was obtained was a much curtailed version of that desire.

Basically, the demand for the authorization of such a board was due to the fact that Minneapolis was insisting on growing into a city of five hundred thousand people while trying to proceed under a weak mayor-council charter that had been designed for a community of five thousand. The city was growing up, but apparently didn't know it. In 1919 the Minneapolis charter was a revised draft of an act of 1879, plus additions made from time to time to provide for a Board of Park Commissioners, a Library Board, a Board of Charities and Corrections and later a Civil Service Commission, in addition to a School Board which had a

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Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

special legislative charter of its own. The two legislative authorizations were included in a single document which was designated the charter of the city.

Charter Limited

Originally the charter provided one governmental body only, a City Council, with a mayor whose major authority pertained to control of the Police Department and who had only the most limited authority over city finance. Later legislative enactments did not change that arrangement. Nor did the adoption of a home rule charter in 1920, including in one document the various legislative acts pertaining to the grants of power to the several governmental bodies of the city, change the fact that the municipality of Minneapolis and the School Board of Minneapolis were separate corporate entities. That charter was virtually a local acceptance of the various legislative acts applying to Minneapolis, hence produced no vital change in governmental procedure in the city.

A common feature of all earlier legislative acts on goverment in Minneapolis and in Hennepin County was the limitation on local control of financial matters. None of the three original local governmental bodies—the Board of County Commissioners, the City Council of Minneapolis or the Board of Education of Minneapolis—was given authority to issue bonds to finance local improvements, or to levy taxes for purposes not specified by the legislature or beyond limits fixed by the legislature.

There was a local body, designated Board of Tax Levy, which determined the maximum amounts that were to be levied for local purposes. This board functioned for both the city and the county, its sessions continuing for a period of only eighteen to twenty-one days during the month of September. The passage of the Board of Estimate and Taxation act did not eliminate that board, it merely restricted its authority to county levies. The period of eighteen to twenty-one days had proved to be a quite inadequate time in which to give proper consideration to the tax needs of the increasing number of local governmental bodies, particularly when expanded programs of public service were being demanded.

This growing burden of determining advisable tax levies, coupled with lack of local authority to borrow funds for improvement projects, led to the proposal for creation of a new local agency having the right to perform such acts and to consider such local transactions as were necessary for proper management of the city's financial affairs.

One major reason for promoting a change was the desire to relieve the state legislature of biennial appeals from Minneapolis for authority to issue bonds for various purposes, including school improvements. Such proposals became so frequent, so numerous and so persistent as to interfere seriously with proper consideration of matters of statewide importance. Hence a demand from legislators that some means be provided to enable Minneapolis to care for its financial needs.

In addition there was developing in the city a strong belief that departmental appropriations were being made without due regard for economy and without ample consideration of resultant tax burdens. Hence there was a growing conviction that expenditure controls should be strengthened and that appropriations should be supervised by some agency in a position to weigh each appropriation against every other. In other words, Minneapolis needed a greater measure of home rule and of centralized financial control.

Council Too Political

One may well wonder why it was not suggested that the proposed authority be extended to the Council since it was the chief governing body of the city. Apparently there were two major reasons: (1) assumption that a body whose sole duty was to supervise financial matters would better weigh the relative merits and values of financial proposals than would the Council, which was in many respects a competitor of such governmental bodies as the School Board and the Board of Park Commissioners; (2) suspicion that the members of the Council were so prone to indulge in political manipulations that it was inadvisable to give them additional opportunity to indulge in the pleasures and to share in the profits of that type of activity.

There is a fair measure of logic in assuming that the first of such reasons was a vital factor. In many respects the Council was concerned with the activities of the various operating boards, to some extent as a competitor in actual management, at all times as a competitor for public approval for service rendered if for no other reason. That there is reason for believing that political activities of the Council were a factor is to be judged to a great extent by the impetus back of a movement resulting in a legislative act creating a Board of Public Welfare, which was adopted at the same legislative session that authorized the Board of Estimate and Taxation.

For many years there had existed an operating body known as the Board of Charities and Corrections, which supervised the operation of municipal hospitals, the city workhouse, and the dispensing of relief to the poor and needy. At that time the City Council had direct control of the Health Department of the city, both its financing and its operating policies. The act of 1919 creating the Board of Public Welfare not only transferred to that board all the authority formerly exercised by the Board of Charities and Corrections but also jurisdiction over the Health Department.

There was some slight justification for assuming that the operation of a Health Department quite properly belonged under the jurisdiction of the body that was in charge of the city-operated hospitals. There was pronounced evidence, however, that the Health Department, under Council control, had become so steeped in political intrigue that it was more proper to think of it as a breeding ground for political microbes than as an agency for combating disease germs. The importance of suppressing party intrigue being more important, politically at least, than the proper routing of operating functions, it is more than probable that the second of the two reasons stated above was the major reason for taking from the Council the direct control of the Health Department and was a reason for not placing increased financial control in the hands of the Council.

The suspicion of civic leaders that political expediency rather than the desire for good municipal government dominated the Council had its influence with the proponents of the movement for the creation of the Board of Estimate and Taxation, certainly had weight in the determination that none of the proposed new authority should be placed in the hands of the Council. The success of the Council in defeating the proposal when first submitted to the legislature in 1917, and of measurably reducing the authority to be vested in the board as originally proposed, when it came before the legislature in 1919, gives an indication of its political strength.

Reasons for New Board

There were then two major and one minor reasons for urging the creation of such an agency as the Board of Estimate and Taxation: (1) desire to relieve the legislature of much time-consuming local legislation; (2) desire to centralize and improve financial supervision in the city; (3) suspicion of the political motives of the Council.

The Board of Estimate and Taxation consists of the mayor of the city, city comptroller, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the City Council, one representative from and chosen by the Board of Education, one representative from and chosen by the Board of Park Commissioners, and two representatives of the public, elected for terms of four years each, one each second year. The board has authority to employ a secretary and such other assistants as are necessary to carry on its duties. In brief, such duties include: authorizing maximum limits to permissible tax levies and tax rates and preparation of the annual budget estimate of city requirements; selling and issuing bonds to finance the majority of the improvement projects for which funds are raised by municipal loans, including requirements to finance improvements of school properties and for public relief that cannot be met from current revenues; approval or denial of the issue of bonds for certain local purposes; authorization of the transfer of funds from one operating purpose to another under certain conditions. To prevent interference with the activities of the board by financial restrictions, it was given authority to levy the taxes necessary to provide the annual amounts required to finance such activities.

The initial authority of the board to fix maxima for tax levies and tax rates was somewhat limited by statutory provisions which prescribed fixed limits to levies for certain purposes. Later on the courts of the state imposed a further and more drastic restriction by ruling that the authority of the board did not extend to levies to finance the activities of the public schools of the city. This was a severe limitation as the tax requirements for such purposes were greater than for any other of the 26 purposes for which city taxes were levied. Although that decision reduced the authority of the board over tax levies for school purposes, the board still retained the authority and the duty of selling bonds to finance permanent improvements for schools. Also, the provision that a member of the school board should be a member of the Board of Estimate and Taxation was continued.

The authority of the board to issue municipal bonds to finance permanent improvements and poor relief is restricted by the requirement that the board can authorize and issue only such bonds as have been previously approved by the City Council. In case the proceeds of the bonds are to be used by some branch of the government other than the Council there must also be a preliminary request from the board in charge of that branch. From time to time there have been other restrictions, which for the most part were the result of legislative enactments vesting authority to issue bonds for certain purposes in either the City Council or the Board of Park Commissioners. The board authority over the issue of bonds for local improvements was restricted to such projects as are financed in part by general taxation, the board having no authority over issues to be financed in full from special assessments.

Rights of the board over transfers of funds were never fully tested. The terms of the legislative act creating the board were quite vague as to such powers, so vague that the city attorney expressed doubt that the board had any real authority. Hence, no definite attempt was made to exercise that jurisdiction. For a time the board did attempt to exercise control over appropriations, expenditures, etc., on the theory that such control was good business and hence would be accepted. That acceptance did exist at the time such controls were installed and continued until the movement was started by the public school interests to break the control of the board over school tax levies. When that effort proved successful the board discontinued all efforts to exercise any authority except that necessary to the performance of the duties clearly vested in the board. In consequence the board has been a less positive influence in city affairs in later years than it was for a few years after its creation. Incidentally, there is a growing conviction, upheld by able attorneys, that the court decision which deprived the board of its jurisdiction over tax levies for school purposes would be reversed were the question again brought before the courts.

Value of Board

From time to time curiosity is evinced as to the value of the Board of Estimate and Taxation to the city, as to the improvements in governmental procedure that have resulted from its authorization, as to whether the board should be continued in the event a new and more modern charter were adopted for the city, and as to the advisability of other cities resorting to a like authority. The answers to all such questions are tied up with the basic reasons for the creation of the board: (1) decentralized financial authority; (2) lack of home rule authority over bond authorizations; (3) weak mayor type of charter. For these reasons there was a positive need for some such agency. As a direct result of the creation of the board, budget and tax procedures have been systematized, definite policies for issuing and financing bonds of the city have been established including the initiation of the policy of employing a single firm of bond attorneys to pass on the legality of all bond issues; the availability of financial data has been materially improved, annual reports being issued regularly. It is admitted that many of these improvements are the results of changes in public attitude and in demands made by public service agencies, also that even if the board had not been in existence many of those improvements would have been brought about by some other agency. Nevertheless, it can hardly be denied that the board led the way in the promotion of such improvements in Minneapolis, often in advance of the adoption of similar procedures in other municipalities.

The question as to whether Minneapolis should retain such an agency as the Board of Estimate and Taxation if a new city charter were adopted by the city, or whether other cities should consider the authorization of such a board, depends on the type of government being considered. Economical city government requires strong central financial control. There are three forms of municipal government that permit such control: the commission form, the strong mayor form, the council-manager form. If one of these is in existence or is being contemplated, there should be little excuse for a separate financial board, except in case of a large city similar to New York which is in fact an aggregation of cities. There will be times in any city when the citizens will complain that efficiency and economy are not being secured. In most instances the fault will lie with the elected officials. The remedy lies with the voters; elect officials who are the proponents of good government, who do not substitute political advantage for the public good. Practical politicians too often, to get what is wanted today, mortgage the future with expensive obligations that cost many times any slight immediate profit.

In conclusion, it is only just to hold that the Board of Estimate and Taxation has been of material benefit to the city of Minneapolis, that the opportunity to be of such benefit was in great measure because of the insistence of the electorate on retaining an antiquated weak mayor type of charter; that no basis exists for assuming that provision should be made for such a board in any modern form of charter that might be proposed for the city; and that the only sound basis for proposing that such a board be authorized for some other city depends on whether the charter does or does not provide for centralized financial control.

WHERE THEY PLANNED FOR PEACE

(Continued from Page 66)

turned to a 40-hour week it began calculating a compensatory pay increase.

These are just samples of Kingsport. This is what private enterprise and real community spirit has accomplished—on its own—in a town where the idea has been to convert, not *back* to peace, but *forward* to peace.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Public and Private Forces Combat Juvenile Delinquency

Comprehensive Solutions Sought Throughout Nation

DEVELOPED to a critical stage during the war, with its widespread dislocations, juvenile delinquency continues to demand fundamental consideration and to be the subject of numerous investigations undertaken and procedures set up or improved in many cities and states throughout the nation. The problem goes to the roots of modern society, involving environmental influences and personal and social standards and ideals as well as administrative and judicial techniques. Remedies tried or proposed have ranged from increased police and recreational activities to coordinated programs of more comprehensive scope.

One of the most recent studies to be reported is an investigation made by the Kentucky Youth Guidance Commission, which was created by the state legislature in 1944. Its report, directed particularly to juvenile law and its administration, emphasizes that concerted effort by the home, school, courts and community is necessary to curb juvenile delinquency. Some of the recommendations are:

Juvenile laws should be recodified, with the view of improving the general welfare of youth by improving conditions under which youth lives, instead of listing a number of proscribed acts with appropriate punishment provided.

Juvenile courts should be provided in each county, separate from the office of county judge, with judges well trained in dealing with delinquent children. Methods should be developed to insure a scientific handling of juvenile problem cases.

A receiving center should be established, operated by the department of welfare, and staffed with psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and other necessary personnel, to which all juvenile cases should be committed. A child welfare unit, under supervision of the department of welfare, should be established in each county.

Separate institutions should be provided for juvenile delinquents and juvenile criminals.

A statewide recreation program for juveniles should be started as soon as possible. A health program, both mental and physical, should be provided in the public schools.

Youth Bureaus

The Chicago Park District (separate from the Chicago city government) has recently inaugurated a coordinated program, which includes an advisory committee of leading Chicago sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, recreation leaders and police officers, according to the Civil Service Assembly. One result of the committee's work is the establishment of a Youth Bureau in the Division of Police. The staff of the bureau was selected from members of that division who had attended a special institute where the sociological, psychological and legal aspects of delinquency were emphasized. Instruction in its prevention is also given in the regular police training school. A unit for the development of statistics on juvenile problems has been set up.

Cincinnati is attempting to control and prevent juvenile delinquency through the establishment of a Youth Aid Bureau headed by a police captain, with a small staff. Its purposes are:

To provide liaison between the police, the Bureau of Social Service and the Juvenile Court, assist with youth adjustment, stimulate community interest and activity in child welfare, bring about a better understanding of problems between child and parent, protect, guide and safeguard youth and refer cases to case-work agencies for their ministration.

Among its activities are an educational program consisting of lectures to youths and adults, showing of sound motion pictures on delinquency and participation in agency and youth welfare meetings. Educational pictures, furnished by the Board of Education, are also shown to children in training schools and youth centers in an effort to foster better relationship between youth and law enforcement officers.

Other cities with youth bureaus in police departments include Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Detroit.

The women's division in the Cleveland Police Department, staffed with 32 policewomen, deals with all women and children who come to the attention of the police, while a juvenile bureau with 22 patrolmen deals particularly with boys. The Police Department operates four "Boystown" clubs which are doing constructive work in keeping boys interested in worthwhile activities; they are financed through the Boystown Foundation, whose membership includes many wealthy men.

The women's bureau of the New York City Police Department has 168 policewomen, 34 of whom work out of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, which also has two captains, eleven lieutenants and 81 patrolmen. The department operates the Police Athletic League which is designed to keep boys interested in wholesome sports and entertainments. Establishment of a Youth Counsel Bureau in Brooklyn was announced on January 13 by District Attorney McDonald.

In New York State a Youth Commission was created in 1945, on recommendation of Governor Dewey, to assist cities and counties in establishment of youth bureaus and of recreational and educational projects. It includes various state department heads and others appointed by the governor, who called a conference of city, county and town officials for January 24 to discuss expansion of the state's program.

In California a Youth Authority has been functioning for over two years as a centralized and integrated agency empowered to deal with problems of juvenile delinquency and correction of youthful offenders. It has broad and flexible powers to make an extensive diagnosis and classification of the youth and then to submit him to the type of treatment, program or placement considered most likely to benefit him and society. It has sponsored a statewide Youth Council, composed of various organizations of young people in the state, for mutual information and aid in establishing and maintaining recreational and other constructive activities on a democratic basis.

The American Public Welfare Association reports that cases of juvenile delinquency in St. Louis last year were 8.8 per cent below 1944 and contributes this to the vigilance of the Police Department's juvenile divisions and the activities of various other organizations.

Reduction of juvenile delinquency in Birmingham, Alabama, in recent years, in contrast to the national trend of increase, is partially attributed by the American Public Welfare Association to a character education plan in effect in Birmingham schools since 1923.

The program centers around twelve character-building factors, one of which is emphasized throughout the school system each year, thus covering a pupil's normal career in school. These factors are health, sportsmanship, work, beauty, thrift, courtesy, love of nature, worthy use of leisure, service, scientific curiosity, cooperation and self-reliance. Newspapers, churches, parent-teacher groups and service clubs have cooperated with the schools.

Throughout the country emphasis has been laid on intelligently directed recreation, with more state and local recreational agencies, full-time municipal recreation directors, "teen towns," and other activity centers, together with expanded programs for day care of otherwise neglected children.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The addition of **Tucumcari, New Mexico,** to the council-manager list in December brought the total in the United States to 608 municipalities and nine counties, and the world total to 646, according to the official list of the International City Managers' Association. The association states that the total may be changed slightly as it is considering the qualifications of certain other cities for the official list. The number adopting the plan in 1945 is given as 26 in five of which the change was made by ordinance; in the rest it was incorporated in their charters.

Tucumcari adopted a city manager charter provision on December 21 by a vote of 227 to 120. On December 22 voters of **Carrizo Springs, Texas,** authorized the city commission to appoint a city manager within 60 days, by a vote of 167 to 37. This action and the status and authority of the manager are still to be considered by the ICMA, in connection with its official list.

During 1945 Mason City, Iowa, abandoned its council-manager charter (such action having been voted in 1944), this being the 28th abandonment in 31 years, according to the ICMA. Eight cities that voted on the manager plan in 1945 failed to adopt it.

The charter commission of **Beckley, West Virginia,** which had its organization meeting on October 12, 1945, voted unanimously on January 4 in favor of the council-manager plan. A majority favored nonpartisan election. The number of councilmen, their terms, etc., were to be decided upon later. The complete charter is expected to be ready by February 14 and will be submitted to popular vote. The manager plan has newspaper support.

The city council of **Mullens, West Virginia,** has appointed a committee of representative citizens to investigate the need for charter changes. The Lions Club has presented a resolution to the Council urging adoption of the manager plan and there is other active support for it.

Council-manager government is being advocated in **Portsmouth, New Hampshire.** The *Herald* is promoting discussion of the plan. In December its success in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was described at the annual meeting of the Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce by George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association.

The Governmental Affairs Committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Lansing, Michigan,** is reviving interest in the manager plan for the state capital.

The Taxpayers League of **Louisville, Kentucky,** which has advocated the manager plan for many years, adopted a resolution at its meeting in December urging all civic and labor organizations and women's clubs to cooperate with the league in explaining to the public the advantages of council-manager government.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Jefferson City, Missouri,** inaugurated a campaign for the manager plan by inviting L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, and past president of the ICMA, to describe the plan at a meeting in December.

The **Titusville (Florida)** *Star Advocate* has put forward the idea of a manager to take care of the many problems of municipal government.

Mayor Louis E. Jaeckel of **Seal Beach, California,** has suggested the employment of a city manager to handle affairs as a full-time executive.

A drive for the council-manager plan is under way in **Redding, California,** under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce. The *Redding Searchlight* is publicizing the manager plan as the modern form of government for cities of that size.

The **Fairbanks (Alaska)** Junior Chamber of Commerce has summoned representatives of nine other service organizations in Fairbanks, and has formed a Central City Manager Committee to carry on the campaign which is now under way. The petition required by territorial law is being circulated and publicity has been started. The election will be held in April.

Other cities where interest is being shown in the council-manager plan include **Fairfield, Connecticut**; **Charleston** and **Fairmont, West Virginia**; **Gaffney, South Carolina**; **Cudahy, Wisconsin**; **Natchez, Mississippi**; **Waxahachie, Texas**; and **Delano, California**. Cities in the **Union of South Africa** are also reported as interested.

Meetings of city managers of five states were held in December with attendance as follows: Florida, 25; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 13; Oklahoma, 10; and South Carolina, 2.

Manager Cities Review Charters

The city council of **Toledo, Ohio,** on December 19 adopted a motion, presented by Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet, providing for a study by the city's Publicity and Efficiency Commission of Toledo's municipal government under its council-manager-P.R. charter.

Mayor M. R. Rabedioux of **Bay City, Michigan,** has appointed a committee of thirteen citizens including the city manager to study charter revision, at the request of the City Commission. The present charter was adopted 23 years ago and various amendments have been made since.

Recommendations for a new charter for **Phoenix, Arizona,** were submitted to the City Commission in December by the Public Administration Service of Chicago. The present manager charter was adopted in 1913 and has been modified 36 times. Principal defects pointed out include excessive executive power of the mayor, excessive appointive power of the commission, excessive power over personnel by the largely independent Civil Service Board and insufficient authority of the city manager over department heads, personnel and purchasing.

In **Belfast, Maine,** where a manager charter has been in effect since 1930, a special committee is studying the charter with a view to its improvement.

Town and City Reports

The American Institute of Graphic Arts is offering three national traveling exhibitions of modernized, illustrated town and city annual reports to advertising, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. It has recommended to these clubs the idea of inviting municipal governmental officials and authorities for discussions on the advantages of improved annual reports.

The institute's exhibit has already been shown at the New York Public Library.

In the first Connecticut contest for the best municipal reports 38 entries have been made by towns, boroughs and cities.

New Orleans Police School Conducts First Class

Established early in 1945 as a training division of the Police Department, the New Orleans Police School late in the year held its first class for patrolmen, who are instructed in groups of twenty and receive approximately a hundred hours of class work in a period of three weeks, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The first class consisted of new patrolmen who had qualified in civil service examination and had served probationary periods.

Iowa Cities Get Retirement System and Highway Aid

The General Assembly of Iowa, at its 1945 session, enacted a law providing for a statewide retirement system for municipal employees, effective January 1, 1946. During 1946, 1947 and 1948 the covered employees of the state, counties, cities, towns and school districts will pay one per cent of their salaries (excepting on amounts over $3,000 per year) into the fund, and after 1948, two per cent. The employing body will match the contributions made by employees. The fund is to be administered by the State Employment Security Commission.

This retirement system does not apply to elective officers. According to a district court decision of January 10, teachers may continue under their established retirement system and also enroll under the state plan. This presumably will also be the case for firemen, policemen, municipal utility employees and other groups with retirement plans of their own.

All public employees in Iowa are obtaining federal social security numbers for the state pension and retirement system. Then if these workers ever are taken into the federal social security system, the problem of transferring the records will not be so great.

An employee is not ordinarily eligible for retirement pay until he becomes 65 years of age. When he retires his monthly benefits will be figured as follows: (1) 40 per cent of the first $50 of his monthly salary, or $20; (2) 10 per cent of all between $50 and $250; (3) one per cent of the combined total of the first two items multiplied by the number of years of service. Years of service before the system was adopted do not count.

The monthly pension to the worker is known as his "primary insurance benefit." Payments to wives, dependents and survivors are in addition to the primary benefit payments.

Also at its 1945 session the legislature of Iowa increased the state tax on liquid fuels by one cent per gallon and allocated 40 per cent of the proceeds to the street construction funds of the various cities and towns. The money is to be apportioned to the cities and towns on the basis of population. It is estimated that the municipalities will receive about one dollar per capita from this new source. The constitutionality of this law is being contested in the courts. District Judge Harold D. Evans handed down his decision December 7, 1945, upholding the constitutionality of the act, and an appeal has been made to the Iowa Supreme Court. The money collected through the extra tax is being held in trust by the state in two local banks until the case is decided.

HERMAN H. TRACHSEL
State University of Iowa

Federal Aid Withdrawal Increases Training Charges

The New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials has announced an increase in service charges, effective in June for villages and in September for cities, largely because of cessation of federal aid. It states:

"Withdrawal of federal funds for

training municipal officials and mandatory increases in expenses make it necessary for the conference, beginning 1946, to increase the service charges for cities and villages 10 per cent. . . . The federal government will no longer pay half the expenses of training officials, the Internal Revenue Bureau has ordered us to pay social security, and our contribution to the state retirement is increasing annually. . . . Your conference has been noted for its low service charges and the magnitude of its services."

Four Cities Make Notable Accounting Improvements

Some outstanding accomplishments in simplification and modernization of municipal accounting procedures have recently been reported by the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Detroit voters have approved a charter amendment to consolidate 34 city operating funds into one general fund. The only separate funds maintained in the future will be for debt service, pensions, public schools and utilities. Accounting procedures will be greatly simplified by this action.

San Diego, California, has taken several steps to improve its accounting procedure. Revenues and other cash receipts are posted and proven daily. The payroll system has been completely mechanized and a payroll manual written. Standard classifications of accounts have been adopted.

Accounting procedures of Austin, Texas, have been completely revised during the past year. The general accounting setup has been converted to machine accounting. Standard classifications in several fields have been adopted. A central payroll and timekeeping system has been installed. A combination appropriation, expenditure and encumbrance ledger has been set up. Materials at the central stores have been catalogued and are controlled by the central office of the director of finance. New monthly reports show expenditures, appropriations, unexpended balances and unencumbered balances. A unit tax ledger card system has been developed for real estate taxes with the complete tax history of each parcel on a single card.

Another Texas city, Kerrville, has completely revised utility accounting procedures so that one bill includes the charges for water, sewer, garbage and gas, and accounts receivable ledgers are eliminated. When a new bookkeeping machine which has been ordered has been installed, the proof sheets will permit the accumulation of total water consumed, total footage of gas sold, total charges for water, gas, sewer and garbage, as well as controls over all bills.

Public Service Training at University of Maine

The University of Maine, at Orono, has announced two-year, four-year and five-year courses in public management, designed to fit men and women for governmental service in town, city, state and federal fields.

The two-year course, designed especially for veterans, is open to students with previous college work or governmental experience, and trains for city and town managerships in Maine and elsewhere.

The four-year course leads to a bachelor's degree in public management, with options for specializing in financial administration, foreign service, city management, etc.

The five-year course combines engineering and public management; a bachelor's degree in civil engineering is obtainable after four years, and completion of the fifth year yields a master's degree in public management. Two summers of internship in state or local government are also required of the five-year students.

Researcher's Digest

Subsistence Homesteads in Alabama Studied

Public Housing in Country for City Workers Appraised

AT THE instigation of the Federal Housing Authority in Birmingham, the Bureau of **Public Administration of the University of Alabama** (Roscoe C. Martin, director) undertook about a year ago to survey subsistence homesteads projects in Jefferson and Walker Counties in that state. Dr. Paul W. Wager, professor of political science and research professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, was selected to undertake the study. The result is *One Foot on the Soil,* a volume of 245 pages, written by Dr. Wager and published by the bureau.

Major objectives of the survey were to determine (1) potentialities and limitations of a pattern of life which combines industrial employment with part-time farming, (2) extent to which subsistence homesteads enhance the security and improve the economic position of industrial and white collar workers, (3) whether the social advantages warrant their development as a public enterprise, with or without subsidy, and (4) if the government is to promote homes of this type, whether they should be built on a community-wide basis.

Subsistence homesteads were originated during depression days with the idea of coupling decentralized industry with part-time farming as a security measure—an organized "back-to-the-land" movement.

Dr. Wager, as well as his assistants, spent many weeks interviewing men and women living on subsistence homesteads. He concluded that "subsistence homesteads lie in the still highly controversial field of suburban-rural housing."

Commendable features include a wholesome spirit of neighborliness and informal cooperation, good will between homesteaders and natives, the neat appearance of most homesteads, improved financial condition of the homesteaders, and the fact that homestead boards function well. Disappointing conditions which prevail include the presence of a considerable number of families with little interest in the project, a tendency to depend on hired Negro labor to do the hard work, little community spirit, unsuccessful experience in cooperative endeavors. A series of recommendations are listed in the last chapter.

"All in all," says Dr. Wager, "the principles which the Division of Subsistence Homesteads announced that it would follow appear to have been generally sound, and it is unfortunate that they were never fully tested. When the subsistence homesteads projects became absorbed into a program which emphasized work relief and were transferred to the Resettlement Administration, new administrative procedures and fiscal policies were adopted. While the ultimate objectives were not sacrificed, the means of attaining them were so altered that the full value of the experiment was not realized. Much has been learned, though it must be concluded that the subsistence homesteads experience has not established beyond question the feasibility of public housing in the country for city workers."

Population Trends

Another publication of the Alabama bureau is *Alabama's People* (64 pages), by Lillian Worley. Covered are trends, population in nation, region and state; in the state and counties; in cities and other incorporated places. Estimates of future population growth are set forth. The last chapter describes the impact of the war upon Alabama's population.

Educated Voters

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** of which H. L. Brittain is managing director, suggests in its *White Paper* that the city should provide more information on its activities previous to election day so that the electors may have "some food for thought and discussion as a basis for electoral reform. . . . "After all," says the *White Paper,* "what is wanted is not more voters but a greater proportion of interested voters." It is suggested that the following documents might well be issued before the annual election: a statement of expenditures for the current year, actual for ten months, estimated for two months; a summary of departmental activities for the first ten months in the year; an itemized statement of proposed expenditures and anticipated revenue.

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Research for Better Government

"Through research and the reporting of its findings and recommendations to officials and citizens, the **Bureau of Municipal Research** works for better city government in **Philadelphia,**" announces the bureau in an issue of *Citizens' Business* prepared for the benefit of new readers. In its contacts with officials, the bureau emphasizes, it "seeks to work in cooperation with, not in opposition to, the officials of the city; in its service to citizens, the bureau seeks to keep them informed about their government and to furnish them with technical aid on civic questions. William C. Beyer is director.

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New Legislative Council Reports

Two new reports from the Research Department of the **Illinois Legislative Council** include *Adult Education in Illinois* (54 pages) and *Sterilization Laws* (27 pages). In the first-mentioned volume the council discusses adult education in all its phases as it is practiced in public schools, colleges and universities, libraries, in various state departments, prisons, etc. A resume of the programs of certain other states is also presented. In the second volume the laws of all the states are discussed.

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Newark Bureau Re-established

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** which has been inoperative for several years, will be re-established in February with Henry W. Connor as director, according to a recent announcement.

Mr. Connor, who was graduated *cum laude* from Brown University and also studied at Oxford University, served successively as research assistant with the Springfield Taxpayers' Association, executive secretary of the Haverhill Taxpayers' Association, executive director of the Lowell Taxpayers' Association, and executive director of the Springfield Taxpayers' Association. He is leaving the last named position.

Howard G. Fishack, former director of the Newark Bureau, is now director of field training for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

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City Hampers Master Plan

Despite the fact that in 1936 voters of Milwaukee authorized and directed the transfer of their parks to the county by a three-to-one vote, some 232 acres owned by the city are still outside the central park system. Unless the parks and parkways still owned by Milwaukee are promptly transferred to the county, says the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee,** of which Norman N. Gill is executive director, the carrying out of the county's postwar master plan will be hampered.

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Unconstitutional Legislation

The **Bureau of Government Research of the Department of Government,**

Indiana University, has issued reprints of an article by Oliver P. Field, of the university, on "Unconstitutional Legislation by Congress." The article appeared originally in the February 1945 issue of the *American Political Science Review.* The study is a supplement to *Unconstitutional Legislation in Ten Selected States,* also by Mr. Field, which the bureau published in 1943.

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School Tuition Fees for Nonresidents

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** has made a study of the "true average cost per pupil of operating the city schools," and comes to the conclusion that such cost is materially greater than the tuition fees charged for out-of-town pupils. It suggests an increase in such charges from $60 to over $140 for high school pupils and a somewhat smaller increase for junior high school pupils. There are over five hundred out-of-town pupils now attending Schenectady schools.

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Kansas Study

Railroad Commission to Corporation Commission, A Study in Kansas Administrative History (108 pages) was written by Edwin O. Stene, associate professor of political science at the University of Kansas, and published by the university's **Bureau of Government Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director.

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Research Group Reports

A Year of Citizen Action in the Improvement of Government is the title of the report of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** Lennox L. Moak, executive director, on its activities for 1944-1945. Among the matters dealt with by the bureau were the Louisiana Board of Liquidation, amendment of the state constitution, state highway financing, trends in major state revenues, New Orleans general fund financing, city pension problems and postwar plans.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

"Cleveland at the Crossroads"

Municipal Expert Cites Problems to Civic Group

IN HIS address before the annual meeting of the **Cleveland Citizens League,** Dr. Thomas H. Reed, who with Mrs. Reed is conducting a financial study of the Cleveland area, discusses the problems facing Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. The study, by the National Municipal League's Consultant service, is sponsored by the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, John E. Bebout, director, and the Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council.

"Home rule," Dr. Reed said, "is partly a state of mind," and warned against a constant running to Washington and Columbus for help. He charged that home rule powers have been whittled away "by legislative acts, by the decisions of a reactionary judiciary, and even by an amendment of the state constitution by vote of the people themselves. It is the business of Cleveland to unite with other cities of the state in defense of the principles of home rule," he said.

One of the greatest blows dealt to home rule, Dr. Reed feels, was the "stab in the back" involved in adoption of the 10-mill tax rate limitation which he termed a "complete and total failure. It has not kept taxes down but it has hamstrung the activities of most municipalities."

Dr. Reed warned against continued deferring of maintenance of public properties, "the first thing to suffer whenever there is any financial stringency." He said that while the city has been balancing its budgets "very prettily for several years, as far as operation in the narrow sense of the term is concerned, if you include maintenance you have been piling up a very sizable deficit." At least $8,000,000 of the $68,000,000 postwar program of the Cleveland Planning Commission is for "just ordinary deferred maintenance," he said.

On the bright side of the ledger, Dr. Reed pointed out that taxes are middle range and that "by a little wise financial management it will be possible to handle the matter of increasing operating levies and new bond issues for public improvements without much increase, if any, in the present tax rate."

The metropolitan area problem has plagued the city for a long time, said Dr. Reed. Listing some of the difficulties in the way of its solution—such as reluctance of both taxpayer and officeholder in communities outside Cleveland to "be mixed up in the affairs of Cleveland," and the decision of the Supreme Court which blocked adoption of a new charter extending the powers of the county—Dr. Reed suggested that the way to attack the metropolitan problem is function by function. "Functional consolidation is possible," he said, "because it does not wipe out any unit of government. It does not deprive any considerable number of people of their offices. It does not interfere with the operation of political parties." He urged that the first step toward functional consolidation should be the concentration of all "welfare" activities under county management with adequate support from the state for those which are made mandatory on counties by state law.

Citizens Planning Council Reports for Kansas City Area

The **Citizens' Planning Council of Greater Kansas City** has issued a report prepared by Raymond W. Hall, chairman of the Board of Governors, on its first year of operation.

The council is composed of men and women from every section of the five counties—Platte, Clay, and Jackson in Missouri, and Johnson and Wyandotte in Kansas—which form what is known as the Greater Kansas City area. Cities involved include Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, North Kansas City and Independence, Missouri. Seven major committees cover survey and research, transportation, business and industry, culture and recreation, social welfare, legislation and taxation, and urban development and conservation. These committes in turn have 30 subcommittees designed to cover all phases of development in the area. Other groups will be formed as new problems appear. According to the report the council is "a civic, non-profit group designed for the purpose of studying all problems relating to the welfare and growth of the area." In referring to the need for such a group the report comments that "the plans of contiguous communities or populated sections must be integrated today to a degree never before thought necessary. And this . . . can only be done by an organization of citizens such as this, designed to study the various problems involved and arrive at conclusions based on the welfare of all the people living in the area."

New York Citizens Union Announces Legislative Program

Simultaneously with the opening of the 1946 session of the New York State legislature, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the **Citizens Union of New York City,** announced his organization's legislative program.

In listing its proposals for housing legislation the union said that "the housing shortage crisis and related questions are the most pressing challenge. It should and can be met with effective action which does not break down permanent standards of safety or complicate the almost equally pressing problem of slum clearance." Chief among the recommendations are provisions for funds to develop an adequate housing program, revision of the Redevelopment Corporations Law to provide proper safeguards of public interests, emergency authorization for the city's Housing Authority to condemn and put in repair existing unused buildings and to construct new unsubsidized housing with a preference for returning veterans and their families. The union supports state rent control to take effect when federal controls are removed, continuation for another year of commercial rent control in New York City, and a complete redrafting of the present multiple dwelling law to clarify its language and to provide more adequate standards for new housing, with temporary modification to permit emergency housing under certain conditions.

In election reforms, the union's program asks provision for a "Massachusetts ballot" arrangement on the voting machines to do away with party rows; permanent personal registration; power to the legislature for wide discretion in granting absentee voting rights; repeal of the law prohibiting primary voters from nominating by petition; simplification of the petition procedure for nominations, designations and requests for referenda; permission for nomination by a small number of registered voters, either by personal appearance at board of elections headquarters or by petition filed with a reasonable specified deposit of money (to be returned if candidate polls a specified minimum of votes); qualifying examinations for election inspectors, clerks and voting machine custodians with fingerprinting for city election inspectors; voting machines or a central count for contested primaries; provision for the method of taking signatures of voters at every election throughout the state and at registration when personal registration is required; authority for the governor to extend voting hours of any election by proclamation.

In education, the union made public an eight-point program which includes an increase in the tax income available to the New York City Board of Education; state aid for city colleges for teacher training; removal of restriction on budget requests for city colleges by the Board of Higher Education; increased state aid for libraries; abolition of the system of permanent substitutes in New York City schools; putting custodial workers under civil service; placing appointments in the city's Attendance Bureau under the superintendent of schools.

Other proposals include passage of amendment to permit constitutional amendments by petition and popular vote; prohibition of changes in the terms of elective officers by the local representative body without referendum; removal of the necessity of submitting P. R. separately if that method of election is included in a new charter; provision for alternative methods of reapportionment in case the legislature fails to act; establishment of a division of planned development in the state executive department with a state capital budget and a six-year capital plan; amendment of the civil service law to give effect to the new veterans' preference amendment with the least possible damage to the merit system; prohibition of pension benefits out of public funds to public officers or employees guilty of corrupt practices and other safeguards as to pensions; a system of state health insurance, extension of unemployment insurance to all workers not now covered, and extension of compulsory workmen's compensation to full-time domestic workers, public employees and employees of educational and charitable organizations; control of outdoor advertising.

The union is represented at the State Capitol during the entire legislative session.

Local Government Survival

The **North Dakota Taxpayers' Association**, of which Clara A. Kane is acting secretary, editorializes in *The North Dakota Taxpayer* on the importance of local government in a democracy. "Too often citizens, exasperated by the real or fancied ineffectiveness of their city, county or state," says the editorial, "welcome the advances of the Washington bureaucrats. Sometimes they even voluntarily rush to Washington for help. The remedy for ills of local administration lies at home. Citizens have it in their power to insist on efficient and economical administration and generally they will obtain cooperation from local officials. In the few instances where local authorities fail or refuse to cooperate, there is always the remedy at the polls to select officials who will.

"The way to preserve democratic institutions in America is to strengthen local government, eliminate obsolete and wasteful practices, and insist on efficient and economical administration."

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Centennial

"If the Common Council will redistrict the city wards in *1946*, the 1947 Wisconsin legislature will be enabled to take such redistricting as the basis for the boundaries of Milwaukee's state assembly and county supervisor districts," says the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee**, whose executive director is Norman L. Gill. "The city of Milwaukee voters could then be fairly represented in the state legislature, county board and common council. The redistricting would be effective as of the next election of aldermen and supervisors, which will take place in April of *1948*. Such cooperative action by the city and state would be a timely birthday gift to the community, as the city of Milwaukee will be 100 years old in 1946 and the state of Wisconsin will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 1948."

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Chicago Discussion Groups

In order to help promote club objectives, the **Public Affairs Committee of the Chicago Union League Club** has organized five new discussion groups. Matthew Mills, chairman of the committee, has appointed the following chairmen: Citizenship in Action Group, Edward M. Burke; Public Administrators Group, Edmund J. Brennan; Municipal Officials Group, Harry A. Brinkman; Tax Administration Group, Harold J. Clark; School Board Members Group, George L. Seaton. Civic committees of the club and their chairmen include: City Manager Plan Committee, H. Barry McCormick; Congressional Redistricting Committee, Frederick A. Virkus; Elections Committee, David J. Kadyk; Postwar Projects Committee, George I. Haight; Postwar Reconstruction Program; Joshua D'Esposito; Public Administration Committee, Harland C. Stockwell; Public Finance Committee, Paul E. Farrier; Race Relations Committee, Erwin W. Roemer; Schools Committee, George L. Seaton; Special Events Committee, Joseph H. Finn; and Transportation Committee, Thomas E. Bond.

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Women's Foundation Pamphlets

In addition to *The Road to Community Reorganization* discussed here in December, the **Women's Foundation** has issued a number of pamphlets dealing particularly with women and citizenship: *Women's Opportunities and Responsibilities in Citizenship* (22 pages), *The Place of the Family in American*

Life (16 pages), *Gainfully Employed Women and the Home* (15 pages), *Improved Family Living Through Improved Housing* (28 pages), and *Doorway to Religion in Family Living* (32 pages). Each study has been prepared by a committee of the foundation, of which Dr. Lucile Allen is executive secretary.

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Civic Group Reviews Its Goals

A special planning committee appointed by its Board of Directors, has reviewed the official program adopted by the **Minneapolis Civic Council** in 1938 with a view to bringing it up to date. Professor William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, president of the **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** is chairman. After sixteen meetings the committee drafted a report covering major civic problems confronting the city. It also made an intensive study of the activities of the council's seven operating agencies to determine what they could do to help "make Minneapolis a better city in which to work and live." First draft of the program, "Goals for Minneapolis," has been adopted and submitted to the Board of Directors. Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president of the council.

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Readable Reports Get Attention

Official recognition, greater citizen interest, better government, even influence on industrial development—these are some of the rewards which have come to those cities and towns showing an aggressive interest in the improvement of their annual reports, suggests the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in a recent bulletin. Two years ago the council issued *Modernizing Municipal Reports* and since that time the organization has been consulted frequently by boards of finance and public officials for aid in preparing better town reports. "It is stimulating to those interested in better reporting," says the council, "to see the enthusiasm with which so many citizens have responded to an improved and carefully prepared report. . . . The preservation of our whole system of democratic government rests upon good, efficient and well managed towns and cities. To the extent that informed citizens actively participate in the operation of their town, local self-government in Connecticut will be strengthened and improved. The town report which contributes to that end is a sound investment."

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Citizen Finance Group Reports

The **Los Angeles Citizens Revenue and Taxation Committee,** created at the request of the Los Angeles City Council to study the city's needs and to recommend ways and means of financing them, has made its first report. The study appears in *The Tax Digest* for December, published by the **California Taxpayers' Association**. The committee has divided its activities into two parts: (1) the immediate budgetary problem for 1945-46, and, (2) the long range revenue problem from 1946-47 to 1949-50. The report just published deals only with the first of these projects. Willard W. Keith is chairman of the committee.

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Postwar Tax Policies

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman MacDonald, director, has issued *Postwar Tax Policies,* a twelve-page leaflet containing addresses delivered before its fourteenth annual meeting. Speakers included Thomas H. Buckley, chairman of the Massachusetts Commission on Administration and Finance; Reginald W. Bird, president of the federation; Roswell Magill, former under-secretary of the Treasury; and Harold Knutson, member of Congress from Minnesota.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Intergovernmental Relations Councils Study Counties

Aided by Spelman Fund in Three Local Experiments

OUT OF discussions begun in 1942 among top federal administrators there has developed the Councils on Intergovernmental Relations designed to promote more harmonious and effective working relationships among federal, state and local governments. Three counties already have been selected as demonstration areas.[1]

The discussions originally were undertaken by Harold D. Smith, U. S. budget director; M. T. Wilson, extension service director, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Agency administrator; Vice President Henry Wallace; and other top administrators in the federal service. Subsequently, Acting Chairman Smith submitted a memorandum to President Roosevelt on the project. The latter expressed great interest.

In October 1942 the plan was submitted to the trustees of the Spelman Fund who approved it and allotted sufficient funds to finance the experiment in three local areas in the United States. No other funds were employed in the project.

The Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations set up certain criteria for selecting the states and counties to serve as demonstration areas.

The general criteria regarding states were that:

1. They be "typical" of several sections of the United States;
2. Their administration should be positively and favorably inclined toward the undertaking;
3. Their governors should have demonstrated through past performance a marked interest in administrative improvement and a cooperative attitude toward federal and local levels of government; and that
4. The state laws permit a maximum of local government experimentation and that there should be a positive evidence on the part of the governors and the principal state officials to delegate such authority and responsibility to a local group as might be necessary to permit experimentation.

The general criteria which applied to selection of counties were that:

1. They should have a population between 25,000 and 125,000;
2. They should have a good urban-rural balance;
3. They should have shown a rising population trend over the past 50 years;
4. They should have an above-average rating of soil productivity; and
5. There should be evidence of marked interest in, and understanding of, the programs of local public officials.

Blue Earth County, Minnesota, Reports

Blue Earth County, Minnesota, one of the three counties selected by the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations as an experimental area, has issued a progress report based on two years of study and planning on problems of intergovernmental cooperation. In a 35-page printed report entitled *Democracy Trains Its Microscope on Government in Blue Earth County, Minnesota,* the local council proposed the methods of preserving democracy at the "grass roots."

To guide itself in the more specific recommendations, the Blue Earth

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1945, p. 420.

County Council on Intergovernmental Relations adopted three principles:

1. The way to achieve harmony among governmental groups in the community would be through the establishment of some kind of intergovernmental organization;
2. This intergovernmental body would become "just another committee" unless it were assigned a specific task which would be clearly significant to its purpose; and
3. Because of the delicate relationships which inhere in our federal system and in our tradition of self-government, any proposal for action would have to be based on the voluntary cooperation of the officials and the governing bodies concerned, and would have to have the enthusiastic support of the community.

It proposed that the intergovernmental organization be headed by a joint committee on intergovernmental affairs composed of representatives of the county, the major city and the major school district. A primary task would be that of developing a community budget revealing the expenditure of all public funds in the county by all units of government ranging from school districts to the federal government.

New Charter Urged for Santa Clara County, California

The 1944 Santa Clara County, California, grand jury recently was discharged from further duties, but in its final report it reiterated the need for a charter form of county government to replace the existing "obsolete, politically-circumscribed and inadequately supervised type of government." It recommended also that the almshouse be abolished, that the county hospital and health departments be reorganized, and that county officials, especially supervisors and the sheriff, desist from inefficient and illegal practices.

Consolidation in Birmingham Area Studied by Commission

For some years past members of the Jefferson County delegation in the Alabama legislature have considered the proposition of consolidating city and county functions in those areas where such a consolidation would prove feasible.[1] Some three years ago the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, at the request of the Jefferson County delegation, conducted a survey to estimate the feasibility of consolidation of the county and city school systems in Birmingham and Jefferson County. During the war the problems of the Birmingham metropolitan district have grown in scope and intensity, with the result that new thought has been given to possible consolidation of governmental functions within the district.

The 1945 session of the legislature passed an act creating a commission to study the question of city-county consolidation in the county with the active support of the entire Jefferson County delegation. Late in 1945 the commission met and organized, selected President Harwell G. Davis of Howard University, Birmingham, as its chairman, and chose as its secretary Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. Further developments in connection with the conduct of the survey await employment of the necessary research personnel. The commission is charged in the law to report its findings to the 1947 session of the legislature.

JOSEPH M. RAY, *Assistant Director*
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1945, page 421, and November 1945, page 519.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

New York City Wants Sales Tax to Rehabilitate Subways

New Mayor Asks Creation of Two More Authorities

ONE OF the first acts of New York City's new mayor, William O'Dwyer, was a petition to State Comptroller Frank Moore, chairman of the New York State Municipal Finance Commission, outlining the administration's requests for new revenues. Chief among the requests was one that the city sales tax, reduced from 2 per cent to 1 per cent in October 1941, be restored to 2 per cent for a three-year period, the proceeds of the extra cent per hundred to go into a special fund to help finance rehabilitation of the city subway system.

New York City's transit system, which for many years has never more than barely met the public's convenience and has been far from self-supporting on its five-cent fare, has deteriorated badly during the war period. To meet minimum service and safety requirements, improvements of between $200,000,000 and $300,000,000 are necessary, the precise amount depending on what improvements are to be undertaken and whether the subway system's old power plants are to be modernized or abandoned. The extra cent of the sales tax is estimated to yield about $211,000,000 for the program over the three-year period.

Mayor O'Dwyer cited, as the most pressing reason for asking the special sales tax financing for the service enterprise, the need for leaving as much as possible of the city's general borrowing power unencumbered. (It appears the new administration is as yet unwilling to tackle any increase in the five-cent fare.)

Two moves to release part of the city's borrowing power were also made by the new mayor, who asked that a New York City Airport Authority and a West Side Market Authority be created to take over the financing of the new Idlewild Airport and the proposed replacement of the Washington Market.

The proposal to finance Idlewild by authority revenue bonds and set up an authority to handle the market took shape in the closing days of the LaGuardia administration. Avowedly at the insistence of Park Commissioner Robert Moses, the city's authority-conscious builder who had already been selected by the new mayor as public works expediter, the Board of Estimate in mid-December slashed from the LaGuardia 1945-46 capital budget $45,000,000 for Idlewild and $10,000,000 for the market, thereby making impossible the issuance of general city bonds of those amounts during the 1945-46 fiscal period.

Making Idlewild Airport a self-supporting institution had been one of the retiring mayor's most persistent wishes, and the Moses-O'Dwyer proposal to place the project on an authority basis immediately drew pleas from LaGuardia that the incoming administration reconsider. The mayor not only objected to the lessened control by the city which would result from authority financing, but pointed out that contracts for space, services, etc., on which the project's proposed self-sustaining status was projected, might not support the added cost of authority revenue bonds as compared with the cost of having the city borrow the money on its full faith and credit.

While the new administration is probably going to have its way in the matter of the Idlewild financing, it is to be noted that the money for the project is certain to cost more via that medium. Recent quotations on New York City general bonds show these obligations more acceptable to investors than authority revenue bonds. For example, to select issues as nearly comparable as possible, city general bonds bearing 3 per cent interest and due January 1977 were quoted recently at 119¼ bid, 120¼ asked, while an almost identical bond of the Port of New York Authority, 3's due December 1976, were quoted 109¼ bid, 110¼ asked. Clearly, even should the proposed airport authority be able to borrow on terms as good as the seasoned Port Authority, it would do so on less favorable terms than could the city itself.

In addition to requesting the emergency financing for the transit system and the creation of the two new authorities, Mayor O'Dwyer asked the state to renew for three-year periods (rather than on the recent year-to-year basis) several special and emergency levies. These include the business excise tax yielding about $10,000,000 annually, the conduit tax yielding about $500,000, and the use tax yielding about $6,000,000. He asked also that the state turn over to the city the entire amount of the stock transfer tax collected in New York City, an estimated $20,000,000 annually on the average, and half the state racing revenues collected in the city, estimated also at about $20,000,000 annually.

Debt Policy Pays Off for San Francisco

Advocates of the value of sound debt policy were handed a classic good example to point to when the city of San Francisco marketed $9,000,000 airport and sewer bonds on January 7, 1946, at a net interest cost of only 54/100 of one per cent.

This extremely low cost of borrowing, of course, reflects in part the fact that San Francisco's low debt and record of good fiscal management help make it a prime municipal credit, and in part the fact that the terms for municipal borrowing generally are extremely favorable now. But mostly it reflects the fact that the city had, in borrowing money in earlier years, arranged maturities on its outstanding obligations so it could schedule the new bonds to mature as five-year serials, due in approximately equal installments in the years 1946 through 1950.

The new bonds naturally increase annual requirements over what they would otherwise have been, but considering the size of the issue the city faces no large over-all increase. Maturities in the current fiscal year on tax-supported obligations total $3,742,000; the peak inclusive of the new bonds will be in 1948-49, at $4,680,000, only $938,000 above this year's maturity. There remain $26,800,000 city improvement bonds authorized but unissued, but maturities on outstanding bonds drop so rapidly after 1950-51 that with maturities only moderately longer than those on the bonds recently issued the prospective maturity schedule can be advantageously arranged without any sizeable peaks to cause difficulties at budget-making time.

California Cities Levy Business License Tax

The importance of municipal business license taxes as a source of municipal revenue in California has recently been reported by the American Municipal Association.

A study of 35 of the 45 cities in Los Angeles County indicates that 5.42 per cent of 1944-45 general fund revenues is derived from licenses of various kinds including the business license tax.

At one end of the scale is Redondo

Beach, deriving 24 per cent of general fund revenues from licenses and reporting a per capita yield of $2.19. At the other end of the scale is El Segundo which obtains 1.46 per cent of the general fund revenues from this source, a per capita yield of 52 cents.

Among cities throughout California under 10,000 population with high per capita yields from business license taxes during 1943-44 are Culver City, $1.53; Napa, $1.77; Paso Robles, $2.50; San Louis Obispo, $1.99; San Rafael, $1.60, and Torrance, $1.64. Huntington Beach, in the 10,000 to 25,000 population group, has a per capita yield from business licenses of $2.52. Fresno in the population group over 50,000 has a per capita yield of $2.51.

Illustrative of business license rates schedules is that of Culver City. On retailing, jobbing and wholesaling; arts, crafts and trades; building, contracting and subcontracting; trucking and transportation Culver City levies a business license tax of six dollars per annum on gross receipts of $5,000 or less. It levies a 25 cent tax for each additional $1,000 of gross receipts up to $100,000; ten cents for each additional $1,000 of gross receipts over $100,000.

State Budget Officers Form National Organization

The National Association of State Budget Officers was organized at a recent meeting in Chicago, according to the Council of State Governments which was designated as the secretariat of the association. The purpose of the new organization is to improve budget administration in the states. Policies and problems of budget administration were discussed at the meeting, especially tax programs, existing tax rates, and state revenues that can be expected with the return to a peacetime economy. Also discussed were the organization, planning and timing of public works, the acquisition and disposal of surplus war property, state and local cooperation primarily with respect to state financial grants to political subdivisions, and state supervision of cooperative governmental services.

Supreme Court Upholds U. S. Excise on State-Bottled Water

In a decision handed down January 14, the United States Supreme Court upheld a district court ruling that bottled water produced by the Saratoga Springs Authority, an instrumentality of the State of New York, is subject to the federal excise tax. Although application of such a tax to proprietary enterprises operated by the states is not new—the state liquor monopolies pay federal liquor taxes, for example—the case had attracted wide attention because of the court's action last fall in asking comprehensive briefs on taxability of proprietary enterprises, and some observers expected the whole subject of intergovernmental tax immunity to be re-examined. The decision is reported to have been within the narrow limits of the case, although the text is not yet available for study.

Snuff

An Associated Press dispatch from the nation's capital on the last day of 1945 indicated that local officials in some communities at least may be overlooking a potentially lucrative miscellaneous revenue. It reported November sales of snuff at nearly four million pounds, yielding the U. S. Treasury $674,940 from the federal tax of 18 cents per pound. The south was described as the best customer for snuff, but New England was said to be a steady customer, too.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Civic Slate Wins in Cambridge

Elections in Hamilton and Boulder, Colorado

THE third election in Cambridge, Massachusetts, under its council-manager-P.R. charter (Plan E) was held on November 6, 1945.

The Cambridge Committee for Plan E, the citizens' group instrumental in obtaining the adoption of the Plan E charter and active in endorsing candidates in the two previous elections, had ceased to function after the election in 1943, reserving its future activities until the Plan E charter should be in danger. In July 1945 a new citizens' committee, the Cambridge Civic Association, was formed for political action and the old Cambridge Taxpayers Association was reorganized as the Cambridge Research Association for all types of civic research, both designed for year-round activities. The two associations have partially interlocking directorates and the same man serves as president of both. The Cambridge Civic Association board includes many of the leading actors in the Committee for Plan E.[1]

The CCA commenced its activities too late to take any real part in choosing and persuading candidates to file papers. Thirty-seven candidates filed for Council and fourteen for School Committee. Of the four Plan E members of the existing Council, three did not run. Of the two Plan E members of the School Committee (not counting two who early ceased to represent the Plan E Committee), one failed to run.

The CCA in early September adopted platforms for the guidance of candidates, that for the Council advocating the council-manager system, responsible Councillors, and a competent city manager; that for the School Committee advocating government "by sound policy instead of unsound politics," an inter-race program, encouragement of teaching personnel, health program, after-school recreation, and a School Committee free from influences other than those primarily interested in the best education. It then invited all candidates to appear before a subcommittee and finally endorsed seven candidates for Council and six for School Committee. Two excellent Negro candidates were running, one for Council and one for School Committee, both Protestant clergymen. Since the CCA adopted a permanent policy of endorsing no clergymen, it endorsed neither of those two candidates, though it announced its approval of their qualifications. It demanded no pledges of its endorsees, but chose those who it believed would pursue the policies expressed in its platform.

The Council slate included Thomas F. Burns, a Labor leader from East Cambridge; James J. Casey, recently retired as assessor after 30 years in office, former president of the National Assessors Association; Joseph De Guglielmo, a returned veteran of World War II, former assistant city solicitor and converted opponent of Plan E; Arthur Drinkwater, former member of the Plan B City Council, Harvard graduate, lawyer, Republican; John D. Lynch, former mayor under Plan B, twice elected to the Council under Plan E, banker; Hyman Pill, veteran of twelve years' service in both Plan B and Plan E Councils; and W. Donnison Swan, veteran of World

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[1] A further description of these groups and their activities will appear in the Citizen Action section of the REVIEW for March.

Wars I and II, Harvard graduate, banker, Republican. Only Lynch and Pill were members of the existing Council.

For School Committee, the CCA endorsed Daniel P. Collins, in the State Labor Department; Mrs. Cora Butler Conant, twice elected under Plan E; Fred D. Doyle, former teacher, father of seven children; Bradley Dewey, former rubber director, member of the Board of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and of the Advisory Committee of Notre Dame; John T. O'Callahan, lawyer, previously endorsed by the Plan E Committee; and Russell A. Wood, veteran of fifteen years on the School Committee, former state auditor.

The campaign consisted largely of house meetings and newspaper advertisements. There was little interest in large rallies. The CCA after the election reported expenditures of about $18,000, largely for many full-page newspaper advertisements and several all-voter mailings. The opposition never organized into any sort of unity and there was no other "slate."

CCA candidates supported each other excellently. City Manager Atkinson as an individual did not become a campaign issue, though his achievements were heavily emphasized and the CCA candidates all expressed themselves in appreciation of him.

Little was said about the method of marking ballots. This was probably a mistake, as there was a considerable number of invalid and ineffective ballots. In general, it seems fair to characterize the arguments of the CCA candidates as capitalizing on the undoubted benefits of the council-manager form of government, and of the opposition as anti-P.R. with two of the winners as anti-Atkinson.

About 5,000 more voters handed in ballots than in the 1943 election.

The count was efficiently conducted in about seven days by the chairman of the Election Commission, who directed the count in 1943. The results showed Lynch, Swan, Casey, Pill, and DeGuglielmo of the CCA candidates elected to the Council, with former Councillors Michael J. Neville and Michael A. Sullivan, former School Committeeman John J. Foley, and Thomas M. McNamara, who was a Councillor under Plan B and for the two years under Plan E.

Councillor Sennott, former acting mayor under Plan B, leader of the ticket in the 1941 first Plan E election, and re-elected in the 1943 election, was the next to the last man eliminated, losing out by 42 ballots. He demanded a recount, which was held. He gained about five votes. The result was not changed, proving again that the system of choosing surplus ballots is a fair cross-section.

Neither Neville nor McNamara are opponents of the city manager. It would appear that Colonel John B. Atkinson is safely in a position to continue his record of accomplishments.

For School Committee, Mrs. Conant, Mr. Dewey and Mr. Wood of the CCA endorsees were elected, along with Miss Margaret M. Kelleher and Robert J. Reardon, both re-elected, and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., state representative, a newcomer. Councillor Lynch, elected mayor by the Council, is an *ex officio* member of the committee, thus giving CCA endorsees a majority.

MARCUS MORTON, JR.
Former Cambridge Councillor

A Hot Fight in Hamilton

The tenth biennial P. R. election in Hamilton, Ohio, developed a spirited contest on municipal issues and overturned a Council majority.

Under City Manager Russell P. Price, who has been the city's chief executive ever since the present charter went into effect in January 1928, the city services generally and the three municipal utilities (electricity, gas and water) have been administered with a high degree of efficiency which is widely recognized. Critics of the regime charge, however, that a certain amount of organized gambling and prostitution is allowed to operate in the city without molestation.

Led by Councilman Howard F. Wilson, a new municipal party entered the Council race this fall pledged to get rid of Mr. Price if given a majority control. Its eight candidates were known as the Citizens Liberal ticket. The "big four" of the outgoing Council of seven, who had been supporting Mr. Price and his policies, joined with others in entering a "Progressive League" ticket of seven, though only one of the four stood for re-election. There was also a third ticket under the sponsorship of the Non-Partisan League, successor to the Charter group which secured the P. R.-manager charter's adoption back in 1926 and elected several Council majorities under it, but is now much reduced in size over the issue of gambling against which its leaders took a strong stand. The four Non-Partisan candidates included in their platform a promise to investigate the police department. There were also six independent candidates regularly nominated and one substantial write-in vote.

Mr. Wilson, the leading critic of the administration, polled the astonishing vote of 4,285 first choices out of a total of 14,479—more than twice the election quota of 1,810 and more than three times the first-choice vote of his nearest rival. The ticket he headed actually polled a bare majority of the first choices, but this majority was quickly dissipated when Mr. Wilson's surplus votes were transferred and it was found that nearly a third of his unneeded supporters had failed to support the rest of his ticket and expressed preferences for candidates on other tickets instead. On the final count the Citizens' Liberal ticket had 49 per cent of the effective votes, elected three candidates, and just failed to elect the fourth needed for a Council majority. Under a plurality system it probably would have elected all seven.

The Non-Partisan ticket came up from 18 per cent of the first-choice votes to 26 per cent of the final votes and easily elected two. The Progressive ticket started with 24 per cent, ended with 25, and also elected two.

Thus candidates critical of some aspects of past administrations succeeded in filling five of the seven places on the Council. It is not certain, however, that there will be a change of managers as well as a change of policy. Mr. Price has always maintained that he was ready to follow any clear policy that a majority of the Council laid down.

A Representative Group

The representative character of the new Council will be seen from the following brief descriptions of its members:

Howard F. Wilson, Citizens' Liberal, manager of the Hamilton Welfare Finance Company, elected for the third time;

Robert A. Wittman, Citizens' Liberal candidate brought up to the quota by 684 votes from Wilson's surplus, a young soldier en route home from Europe, a new member;

Leo J. Welsh, Progressive League, Pennsylvania Railroad employee, mayor in the outgoing Council, elected for the ninth time;

William Beckett, Non-Partisan League, treasurer of the Beckett Paper Company, former councilman, resigned during his second term to enter the armed forces;

Edward Beckett, Citizens Liberal,

machinist generally supported by organized labor, which had no official candidate this time, a new member;

Miss Eleanore W. Frechtling, Non-Partisan League, bookkeeper, a leader in the Women's City Club, re-elected to a second term;

Andrew W. Bruck, Progressive League, retired saloon proprietor, former member for two terms.

Of the 14,479 who cast valid ballots, 12,347, or 85 per cent, helped elect candidates for whom they voted; 9,664, or 67 per cent, saw their first choices elected.

There were 765 invalid ballots, 5 per cent of the total marked. An additional 108 ballots were blank.

The count was completed in 27 hours of working time—longer than usual because of the large surplus and the number of candidates—under the direction of Fred M. Stitsinger, clerk of the Board of Elections.

Editor's note.—For the information in this article we are indebted to Cyrus Fitton, Hamilton member of the P. R. League Council, Mr. Stitsinger and the *Hamilton Journal* and *Daily News*, which carried a very complete account of the election.

Boulder's Fourteenth P. R. Election

The little university city of Boulder, Colorado, nestled among the outposts of the Rockies, elected city councilmen by P. R. for the fourteenth time on November 6. Boulder has used P. R. longer than any other city in the United States, having adopted the plan in 1918 and repulsed overwhelmingly three efforts to repeal it.

Unlike all the other P. R. cities in this country, Boulder elects only part of its Council each time. Three members are elected at large every two years for six-year terms. This reduces the number of groups of voters that can get separate representation and makes it necessary for a minority to poll a full quarter of the valid votes before it can be sure of electing anyone. Nevertheless, a full 75 per cent did help elect candidates for whom they voted at this election, and there appears to have been satisfaction over the years with the quality of the results achieved.

Ordinarily candidates in Boulder have been content to run on their records or their personal standing and popularity in the community, but this year the first candidate elected, A. Gayle Waldrop, campaigned on a definite platform of municipal issues. These included proposals to develop the city's recreational facilities and "a study by a Council committee to get the facts and recommend whether Boulder should own its electric distribution system," an issue of which some less successful candidates have been afraid. Since Mr. Waldrop needed only a large minority to win one of the three places, and the other candidates did not declare themselves on the same issues, it is not clear whether he was appealing to a majority sentiment or not, but in any case, as happens frequently under P. R., a forthright appeal on a controversial issue was rewarded by the enthusiastic support of enough voters to insure election and win a hearing on the issue in the representative body.

Mr. Waldrop is a new member of the Council. The three members whose terms expired were all among the eight candidates, but only one of them was re-elected.

There were 1,812 valid ballots and 138 invalid (7 per cent of the total). The ballots were counted by a force of nineteen, including the six councilmen whose terms did not expire, City Manager H. C. McClintock, City Clerk

(Continued on Page 104)

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

German Government in U. S. Zone

Country Progresses Rapidly in Stabilization Program

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a condensation of the Monthly Report of the Military Governor of the U. S. Zone in Germany, No. 3, October 20, 1945.

GERMAN government and civil administration have progressed rapidly along the lines of decentralization, denazification and stabilization of government.

Governmental Structure

A major revision of administrative areas in the American Zone was accomplished when Land Hessen and Provinz Hessen-Nassau were consolidated to form the unit now known as Gross Hessen.[1]

Formation of Gross Hessen was desirable because Land Hessen alone was too small to require or support a complete *land* government — especially while having to bear the costs of an aggressive war—and because the inclusion of former Prussian Province Nassau into the U. S. Zone of Occupation required it to be handled by some sort of *land* type government. With this consolidation a state has been established which is strong enough to become a basic unit in a federal system of government. From a long range point of view it greatly enhances and sets a wholesome precedent for the policy of decentralization of the German government.

Another step of far-reaching importance is the plan for coordination of German *laender* governments and the special administrative services in the U. S. Zone. A critical problem had been created by the absence of effective coordination and control within each zone for the various special administrative services which formerly came under direct control of the central government. To improve the situation a meeting of the Minister Presidents of the *Laender* in the American Zone and the *Oberbuergermeister* of Bremen was arranged. These officials were instructed to bring with them plans by which the *laender* governments will provide the necessary supervision over the former national administrative services which come within their *land* boundaries and to establish a joint coordination and information staff of German functional experts which will provide the exchange of information and studies necessary to keep German government in the U. S. Zone working in unison. This is an interim measure pending establishment of quadripartite central administrative machinery.

Elections Planned

Military government has accomplished the administrative portion of its task to such an extent that by next spring, for the first time in more than twelve years, free elections will have been held for all the lower levels of German civil government. [Elections were held in Gross Hessen, Bavaria and Wuertemberg-Baden on January 20 and 27.] The German people, however, must learn democracy through their own experience. The detailed controls of military government in the U. S. Zone will be withdrawn as rapidly as the German people show themselves ready for self-government.

Progress has been such that additional responsibilities may now be placed on the German administrative machinery. To this end, the organization of military government in the U. S. Zone will be changed during a nine-month period, ending next June, so that control will be exercised only at the higher levels (i.e. *Laender* and central). However, special functional, investigating, reporting and checking teams will maintain close supervision of all lower echelons of civil government.

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[1] A German *land* (plural *laender*) is equivalent to an American state; a province is a further subdivision in the state of Prussia.

Local Government

In order to effectuate the decentralization of government and at the same time prepare the Germans for "democratic self-government," a directive has been issued which requires the *laender* governments to prepare local government codes and proposals for election procedures.[2]

The *Deutscher Gemeindetag,* a strongly centralized Nazi organization which supplanted pre-Nazi associations of local authorities (e. g. the *Deutscher Staedtetag*) has been refused permission to reorganize. Attention has been given to the problem of getting these pre-Nazi organizations reestablished in the *Laender*.

Considerable stress has also been placed on the organization of advisory committees which will work with the civil governments. Many types of committees have been formed: food, transportation, financial, civil administration, and others. Bremen Enclave reports:

"To introduce into the city government an element of representation and responsibility, a system of advisory committees is being established whose function will be: (1) to advise the members of the Senate and other public officials; (2) to represent group interests and the population as a whole; and (3) to assist in the task of making clear to the public the aims and actions of the administration.

"Power to create advisory committees, to determine the membership and to appoint the members, is vested in the Senate. Members of the committees will be drawn from civil service, professional, commercial and labor groups, and the general public.

"Senators and heads of departments and branch offices will discuss all important matters with the advisory committees concerned and will report regularly to the committees.

"Committees are being created initially within seven of the nine functional divisions of the city government, the exceptions being finance and public health. A total of 27 committees is proposed, with approximately 180 members."

Civil Service

The shortage of competent German civil service personnel in the U. S. Zone and the non-existence of a central civil service agency have made necessary much emergency field recruiting and training in order to fill civil service jobs with politically acceptable candidates.

The lack of a central civil service agency and the assignment of responsibility for civil service to the *laender* governments have resulted in non-uniform action in the *Laender* of the U. S. Zone. To overcome this, to redevelop programs for securing satisfactory civil service personnel, and to democratize the former castebound German civil service, policy statements have been formulated and directives are going out to the field units.

Plans under way may consolidate all full-time governmental employees (formerly divided into *Beamte, Angestellte* and *Arbeiter*) into one service. The old system did not readily allow for promotion, for example, from salaried worker (*Angestellter*) to official (*Beamter*), and the *Beamte* were prone to consider themselves privileged persons rather than public servants.

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[2] See the REVIEW, November 1945, p. 525.

Requirements will be changed to permit entry of all persons qualified and will remove former militaristic favoritism which required a large portion of the jobs to go to ex-servicemen.

In many areas of the U. S. Zone German civil government officials, working under the supervision of the MG officers, have conducted on-the-job training programs. New civil servants with sufficient background knowledge have been put on the job, and allowed to accept more and more responsibility as they became experienced in the work. Another method is to bring in civil servants for a brief course at a central point, and upon completion to send them back to their own offices to help train the personnel there. Throughout the U. S. Zone, various plans for pre-job training are being worked on. Courses are being arranged in schools and other training opportunities are in prospect.

Denazification of the civil service has been carried on thoroughly, and no person who has been removed from office in accord with the denazification program, or his survivors, will be entitled to pensions or other special benefits or privileges.

Planning and Survey Agencies

Throughout the U. S. Zone much work has been done on the problems of reconstruction, in both emergency housing and long range planning. In every city work is in progress to clear the town of rubble, to prepare housing for the winter, and at the same time to draw up future plans for reconstruction.

Several cities already have their plans nearing completion. German officials in Darmstadt, Kassel, Ulm and others have proposed new or modified city plans. Building, of course, is not yet being done as all available supplies of building materials have been channeled into emergency repairs to get usable houses into shape for winter. Shortages of transportation, fuel and raw materials have prevented manufacture and distribution of adequate supplies of building materials, but considering that the quantities of materials available locally are limited, work is proceeding as satisfactorily as can be expected.

Labor's Plans for English Local Government Take Shape

More local government activity, increasing local-central government coordination, socialization, and a more vigorous government program at both the local and central levels are outstanding trends of the Labor party's policies toward local government in the first five months of its control. As forecast here last September,[1] important changes are being made with regard to municipally owned utilities, housing and planning, health services, and fire and police services.

Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, announced in the House of Commons late in November that, among others, the electricity and gas supply industries, civil aviation, canals, and dock and harbor undertakings were to be nationalized within the next five years. Local government activity was important in most of these fields; and to the extent that the central government assumes control, local authorities will have less responsibility.

Yet the party of Sidney and Beatrice Webb is not presiding over the liquidation of local government. More local government activity as part of a more vigorous government program at both local and central levels is the primary emphasis. To meet postwar conditions certain former powers of local govern-

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[1] "British Labor Victory and Local Government," THE REVIEW, September 1945, pp. 427-8.

(Continued on Page 194)

Books in Review

Civil Service in Wartime. Edited by Leonard D. White. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945. viii, 253 pp. $2.50.

The story of how our civilian army —the federal civil service—mobilized for war and, together with the armed forces, "wrought the mightiest miracle recorded in all the history of man" is graphically described in ten lectures given under the auspices of the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago. Among the participants are some who have played a prominent role in the administration of governmental affairs during the world conflict.

Leonard D. White, former U. S. civil service commissioner, who edits the volume, outlines the nature and scope of the problem which confronted our public services just before and after war broke out. He maintains that the administration of the federal civil service "was on the whole a successful enterprise." He points out the serious lack of executive and management talent that existed to cope with our war activities, and realizes that there has been some "deterioration" in the application of the competitive principle of selection, in classification of positions, and in methods of recruitment. He finds no great evidence of undue over-expansion of the federal service, claiming the "alarm over an inflated bureaucracy seemed more inflated at times than the public service itself." The service was "singularly free from scandal" during the crisis, its integrity never questioned, and its most serious criticism "overstaffing and inadequacy."

The search for executive talent, both within and without the civil service, is described by Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House, while the methods followed in the establishment of the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel for professional and scientific talent is explained by Leonard Carmichael of Tufts College, former director of the National Roster. The part that the Federal Budget Bureau played in controlling employments in the federal service and the relation of the bureau to the central personnel agency and operating departments is recounted by Edgar Young, formerly with the Budget Bureau. A summary of the successes and failures of the federal civil service administration in war time is presented by Louis Brownlow, former director of the Public Administration Clearing House, who believes that the Civil Service Commission did a good job, but ought, nevertheless, to be abolished in favor of his own plan of a personnel manager for the federal government. Included also in the volume is a thought-provoking article on an "international civil service" system for the United Nations Organization.

It is a little unfortunate, perhaps, that there was not included in the series the role that the state and municipal civil services played in the mobilization for defense and war. After all, half of the nation's public services were performed at the local level but the glamour of world conflict and the magnitude of the federal service naturally prompt us to recognize primarily the dedication of the federal services to the defense of world democracy.

This valuable contribution to contemporary history will retain a high place in the annals of public administration and the chronicles of World War II. It lends encouragement to those of us who never faltered in our faith in the efficacy of the merit system even under stupendous stress of war.

H. Eliot Kaplan,
Executive Secretary
National Civil Service League

California Government, Politics and Administration. By Winston W. Crouch and Dean E. McHenry. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1945. 344 pp. $3.

Feeling that "for many years California has been a notable laboratory in political experiment," but that no comprehensive treatment has yet been given to the matter, the authors have undertaken "to present a fairly complete analysis of state and local government in California which they hope will serve the needs of college and university students and responsible citizens of the state." They point to the initiative, the recall, county and municipal home rule, and other governmental devices in which California pioneered. Chapters cover local governments—county, municipal, etc.—as well as the various matters with which a state must deal—finance, civil service, agriculture, education, health, law enforcement. At the end of each chapter there is a selected bibliography.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Citizen Action

Community Action for Local Self Government. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, State Planning Board, 1945. 40 pp.

Conservation

Our State's Program in Conservation. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, State Planning Board, 1945. 52 pp.

Housing

A Survey of Negro Tenants. Conducted under the direction of Milton Bona by E. Shelton Hill, Lou M. Smith, Floyd L. Standifer and Juanita Harris. Vancouver, Washington, Housing Authority, 1945. 12 pp.

Motor Vehicles

Motor Vehicle Transportation in American Life. The Economic, Social and Safety Factors of Motor Vehicle Transportation for American Youth. Analysis by Norman G. Shidle, Teaching Aids by Robert I. Adriance. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Secondary-School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of the National Education Association, 1945. 55 pp. 30 cents.

Taxation and Finance

A Farmer Looks at Fiscal Policy. By Thad Snow. Washington, D. C., National Planning Council, 1945. 22 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1945 (preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 2 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1945. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October-November, 1945. 33 pp. 50 cents.

Trends in Real Estate Tax Exemptions. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* December 1945. 3 pp. 25 cents.

Urban Redevelopment

Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of State Urban Redevelopment Legislation. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, Office of the General Counsel, 1945. 74 pp.

Directory, Planning and Zoning Organizations in New York State. Albany, New York Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1945. 102 pp. Free.

Land and Finance in Urban Redevelopment in the Interest of the Municipality. A Memorandum of Elementary Considerations Submitted in October 1945 to the Mayor and City Council as a Part of a Report on the Groundwork and Inventory for The Master Plan of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Department of City Planning, 1945. 12 pp.

Land Suitable for Urban Expansion in the New York Metropolitan Region. (The Second in the Land Use Studies Reports.) New York 17, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1945. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Local Planning and Zoning. A Manual of Powers and Procedures for Citizens and Governmental Officials. Albany, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1945. 67 pp. Free.

Veterans

Bibliography on Veterans Affairs. Reemployment of Returning Veterans, Placement of Returning Veterans, Training of Returning Veterans, Supervision of Returning Veterans. Washington, D. C., Army Service Forces, Headquarters Ninth Service Command, Civilian Personnel Division, 1945. 8 pp.

Veterans Employment in Public Service. A Bibliography for Personnel Officers. Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 7 pp. 5 cents.

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

(Continued from Page 101)

ments are being assumed by the central level. For example, the trunk roads bill, which has been given a second reading in the House of Commons, provides for national control of 3,685 miles of road previously locally maintained in order to further a uniform system of principal routes.

More important in amount and in degree are the increased responsibilities of localities in such fields as housing and planning. Local governments are the instruments for carrying out the new housing program which calls not only for low-cost building but also for building entire communities. They are being given wider land acquisition powers for community planning. As for health services, it is predicted that the new government will give local authorities a more important role to play in this expanding field than the previous government had planned to do.[2]

While no government policy has been announced so far as to disposition of the fire services, the police bill has been given a second reading in the House of Commons. It would merge the police forces of the non-county boroughs (in general, the smaller cities) with the forces of the county in which they are located.

A trend toward larger local units has been marked in another way. The members of the Local Government Boundary Commission have been appointed; they are to consider questions of consolidation.[3]

Local-central coordination is emphasized by a recent announcement that local programs of capital expenditure for the next three years are to be submitted to the Ministry of Health; the data is necessary for purposes of nation-wide employment policy.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 98)

Mayme Graham, the city attorney and the city engineer. The count started at 8.30 the evening of election day and was completed just at midnight.

The general popularity of the city government was attested by a vote of 1,217 to 171 in favor of a $225,000 bond issue to finance a new municipal building, including a library and museum.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the information in this article we are indebted to the *Boulder Camera* and former Councilman Leroy W. Cook.

Lowell Next Month

It is planned to carry next month an account of the one remaining P. R. election of November 6 not already described in this department, that of City Council and School Board in Lowell, Massachusetts.

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[2] See THE REVIEW, December 1945, p. 493, for latest developments on the health services plan.

[3] See "England Plans Area Changes," the REVIEW, July 1945, pages 332-336.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Tell Me Once Again

THE city government of Toledo is sending out questionnaires asking a few "representative" citizens what form of government they want and what system of voting they prefer to use in selecting the city council.

Apparently the city officials are quite hard of hearing. Over and over again the citizens have expressed themselves on both these questions at the polls, where ALL voters, not merely a chosen few of them, could do so.

Here is the record:

In 1934 the council-manager plan, with the council elected by proportional representation, was adopted by a vote of about 33,000 to 28,000.

In 1935, before the plan could go into effect, opponents forced the question to the polls again. It was upheld by a larger margin, 27,000 to 18,000.

In 1937, when the new plan had been on trial for nearly two years, the question of retaining P.R. was placed on the ballot. The people reiterated, 37,000 to 19,000, that they meant what they had said twice before.

P.R. was put to the test once again only last November, when the people voted 38,000 to 21,000 that they wished to continue to elect councilmen by this method.

For the last ten years Toledo's governmental record has been pretty good. There have been difficulties, it is true, and there has been occasional political interference with the normal processes of sound municipal housekeeping; but, all in all, Toledoans have plenty of proof that their system of voting and their basic plan of administrative organization are better than those they used to have and that they tend to curtail the evils of the spoils system and the confusion of disintegrated government.

What the people of Toledo want ought to be clear enough by this time but the mayor apparently isn't convinced. So questionnaires have been sent "to 1,029 registered voters in all of the wards of the city asking for expressions of their views," according to *The Toledo City Journal.* The questions, to be answered "yes" or "no," were:

> Do you like the P.R. plan of selecting our city council?
>
> Do you think our mayor and councilmen should be elected on a party ticket like the President and Congress.
>
> Do you think a councilman should be elected from each ward or district instead of at large as now?
>
> Do you think a mayor elected by the people instead of a city manager should run our city?

It might be illuminating to ask a professional public opinion poll organization whether they are "loaded" or leading questions. Does it tend to influence the voter's opinion to say "on a party ticket like the President and Congress?" Or "elected by the people?"

A letter accompanying the questionnaire explains it is a "poll of representative citizens to find what system of city government is preferred." Who decides that the small list chosen is more "representative" than all the voters whose preferences have been expressed more often in Toledo than in probably any other city?

The mayor's curiosity is certainly curious. But this is probably just one more indication that the road to good government is filled with barricades.

Indirect Consolidation Continues

THERE is so much shallow, unthinking resistance to the physical consolidation of many independent communities into single governments that metropolitan areas are having to turn more and more to consolidation of services and to a broader taxation base, leaving boundaries as they are.

In this issue of the REVIEW there are two significant articles dealing with phases of this problem which, no informed person will deny, is the most serious problem faced today by all the large and even medium-sized cities in the United States.

One article, on page 108, describes the new payroll and profits tax by which Toledo hopes to achieve a healthy financial condition and at the same time get the suburbanites to help support the central city—without which, they may have forgotten, it would be impractical for them to sleep where they do.

The other, on page 111, tells how the numerous communities in sprawling Los Angeles County are consolidating functions.

Years ago cities periodically extended their boundaries as their populations grew. Then came the automobile and rapid mass transportation which permitted people to leapfrog over stretches of open country and set up self-sufficient residential areas which, requiring minimum services, were cheap to operate and pleasant to live in. When the city spread it bumped abruptly into the unyielding boundaries of separately incorporated communities.

Now the central city, with no place to grow, is losing population. The suburbs are growing. Problems of the core city become more acute and costly. Ability to pay for them declines.

Pressure for a solution of the urban decentralization problem is becoming unbearable. Resistance to city-county consolidation is none too reasonable but firm. Yet, one way or another, it simply cannot be avoided. So, as we do in many other matters, probably we will continue to get consolidation by indirection while kidding ourselves that it isn't so. Then, perhaps, when for all practical purposes the consolidation has been accomplished, the people will see how silly the overlapping governments and duplication of offices are and wipe them out.

Toledo Adopts Payroll Tax

One per cent levy on wages and business to bring relief from tax rate limit, annual deficits, chronic refunding.

By **RONALD E. GREGG***

ENACTMENT of a payroll-income tax on January 28, 1946, by the City Council of Toledo ushers in the dawn of a new day for local government in this area—and hope for other metropolitan areas. After fifteen consecutive years of annual deficits and chronic refunding of maturing bonds because of the restrictive effect of Ohio's over-all tax rate limit, this city after careful study decided to emulate Philadelphia.[1] However, where Philadelphia's income tax, enacted in 1940, ran for the first three years at a rate of 1½ per cent per annum, and then was lowered to 1 per cent, the Toledo tax will begin at 1 per cent. Also, Toledo taxes the net income of all business done within the city whereas profits of corporations are not subject to the tax in Philadelphia.

This effort to enter a new field of local taxation: (1) attempts a solution to the poverty of the city, city schools and the county; (2) places a new claim for taxes upon "daylight" citizens and operating units of non-hometown businesses; (3) introduces a method of paying debts in "good times" that were created in "bad times"; (4) offers a five-year partial pay-as-you-go plan for the acquisition of improvements as a substitute for long-term borrowing; (5) promises relief to those who say real estate cannot carry so much of the tax burden; and finally, (6) proceeds to tax on the basis of constitutional and charter rights without more delay and redistributions of collections inherent in the acts of the state legislature.

Both individual and business earnings are to be taxed. The rate is one per cent. The taxable base for individuals is all wages, salaries, commissions and other earned compensation of city residents, and such amounts as are earned in Toledo by non-residents. In the case of unincorporated business or professional activities, total net profits are taxable, or that part attributed to activities in Toledo by non-residents. As to corporations having an office or place of business in Toledo, that portion of net profits derived "as a result of work done, services performed or rendered and business or other activities conducted in the city of Toledo" is taxable.

A method of segregating net profits taxable by the city is offered where this is not done acceptably by company books. In essence the formula is determined by taking the average (arithmetic) of three ratios: (a) local real and tangible personal property to total real and tangible property; (b) receipts from sales, services and credits within Toledo to gross sales, services and credits, and (c) personal compensation, except general executive officers, for employees within the city to total personal compensation, except general executive officers. In the event that a just and equitable result is not thereby obtained the Board of Review is authorized to substitute other factors.

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*Mr. Gregg has been executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo since 1940. He is also research director of Toledo's Postwar and Long-Range Planning Committee and of its Citizens Finance Committee. Mr. Gregg has taught at Syracuse University and the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1944 he was appointed temporarily as superintendent of Lucas County General Hospital to direct its reorganization. He is author of numerous publications, many of them on Toledo fiscal problems and other governmental matters.

[1] Cf. "Philadelphia Tax in Fifth Year," by Robert J. Patterson, the REVIEW, October 1944, pages 452-457.

A Commission of Taxation is created to administer the tax. It is required to prepare rules and regulations which are subject to approval, modification or amendment by a Board of Review composed of the director of law as chairman, director of finance as secretary, and city auditor.

Several administrative features are borrowed from the federal income tax. Payroll withholding is required where it originates in Toledo. All taxpayers, except those whose entire earned income is subject to the withholding feature, are required to declare anticipated taxable earnings with the privilege of adjusting them quarterly at which times installments must be paid. Monthly settlements are required of the employer covering employee withholdings.

Penalties are provided for non-payment and for revealing confidential information.

Forecasts of annual collections, assuming acceptability of the new tax, range from three and a half to four and a half million dollars. Real estate collection approximates $2,220,000 or about half the estimated payroll-income tax.

Estimates of the additional income are admittedly rough guesses for several reasons: (1) Department of Internal Revenue statistics are not available except for the district which includes Lucas County and 24 other counties; (2) wartime levels of employment are compared with the expectations of the local Committee for Economic Development; (3) wage rates are being readjusted upward, nationally; and (4) business net profits attributable to activities within a given city area are nowhere available.

How Money Will Be Spent

Most frequently heard question from the man on the street in Toledo is "How will this money be used?" rather than "How much will it cost me?" This is not strange since "It cannot be done because there is no money" has been heard so many times people believe it. Fortunately, there is a broad five-year budget, recently prepared by a citizens' committee and approved by Council and the city manager, which contains some answers.[2] There are six major reasons why the ordinance levies the tax for five years and earmarks income:

1. The sum of $1,388,543 is to be set aside annually for principal and interest on bonded debt otherwise payable within the tax rate limit. This will eliminate refunding, practiced since 1936 because of property tax limitation laws and

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[2] *Report of the Citizens' Finance Committee of the City of Toledo, 1945.*

poor relief burdens, and make possible the collection in five years of sufficient funds to retire this old burden.

2. Up to $800,000 annually may be appropriated from this revenue source for general fund expenses. Needs include restaffing to the prewar level to restore or enhance all service programs, increased public health operations, expanded supervised recreation and park activities, reestablishment of forestry protection, and meeting of past or contemplated wage increases.

3. Maintenance of property and replacement of operating equipment is usually a current expense but manpower and material shortages during war years leave a backlog requiring urgent attention. Up to $250,000 annually is calculated as necessary to restore the property to normal programming within the next five years.

4. Many public improvements may be delayed during the early period of general economic readjustment but the ordinance allocates up to $550,000 annually for capital improvements. This fund will certainly be inadequate for all city needs. It is a starter, however, that may be increased if collections permit and if the voters approve specific projects.

5. A stabilization fund is created to receive up to $480,000 annually which approximates the revenue collected by the city from a one mill property tax. When City Council reappropriates from this reserve to meet its operating expense in a subsequent year, it thereby releases a portion of its assigned share of the ten mill property tax. In that case the millage for schools or county could be increased slightly without exceeding the ten mill Ohio limitation. That is the sole stated purpose of the stabilization fund. There is no legal obligation, however, to prevent its use also as a cushion against declining revenue from this tax.

6. Collections in excess of these allocations may be used to retire debts voted by the electorate and thereby reduce property tax levies.

The state constitution grants Ohio municipalities authority to exercise all powers of local self-government and this authority is interpreted to be self-executing in the sense that no legislative action is necessary to make it available to the municipality. The constitution also permits the taxation of income although the state does not levy such a tax. Since no statute now exists limiting the power of an Ohio municipality to levy a payroll-income tax, the presumption is that a municipality may enter the field. Nevertheless, the new tax may be subject to court attack.

Referendum Threatened

Use of the payroll-income tax is still subject to attack. Leaders of two labor unions (CIO and MESA) opposed passage of the tax but the third (AFL) approved. CIO, through its Political Action Committee, is circulating referendum petitions to require voter approval or disapproval at a special election.

Such petitions, according to the Toledo charter, require valid signatures totaling "15 per cent of the

(Continued on page 120)

Neighboring Areas Join Hands

Los Angeles County and its communities seek to solve area problems by contracts and agreements for local services.

By **JUDITH NORVELL JAMISON***

METROPOLITAN government is modern, about 80 years old in the United States. Growth of population and transportation has fused previously isolated communities to form metropolitan areas. Various methods have been developed to solve the resulting problems of overlapping jurisdiction. London and New York use the borough system; San Francisco and Denver, city-county consolidation; Los Angeles tried annexation, special districts and authorities, wrote the borough system into her charter, has talked of city-county consolidation, separation, and federation.

In the Los Angeles area none of these methods has been accepted as a solution. Annexation to or consolidation with Los Angeles is no longer attractive to the smaller cities, some of which consolidated with the belief that the borough provisions of the charter would be applied. They are disappointed and disgruntled. The intense annexation period, which lasted from 1922 to 1926 with its peak in 1923, frightened many of the communities so much that when a Los Angeles county supervisor so much as suggested the words "borough system" for this area last year, he rekindled old flames.

There are experimental tools of integration in this area, however, contracts and agreements between governing bodies for services. The contract principle is not unique in the Los Angeles region but the importance of these agreements to the science of public administration lies in the variety of uses and the great number of them, some 200 in ten major functions.

Informal devices of cooperation are widely used and, dating from 1891, the constitutional, statutory and charter bases in Los Angeles County have been broad for joint enterprise of every degree from strict statutory consolidation of function, to voluntary contracts, to "gentlemen's agreements." The enabling legislation is necessary because of the California constitutional prohibition of gifts of public funds and services by public officials even if that gift is to another political jurisdiction and for a purpose devoted to the general welfare of all the citizenry in all the jurisdictions concerned.

Listed briefly are the dates of the first specific enabling legislation in certain functions in which cooperation flourishes: water sale, 1903; streets and highways, 1907; recrea-

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*Miss Jamison has been research technician with the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California, Los Angeles, since 1942. She is author of *Intergovernmental Cooperation in Public Personnel Administration in the Los Angeles Area,* published by the bureau in 1944; has served as editorial assistant in the completion of *Intergovernmental Cooperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area,* by James R. Donoghue, also a bureau publication (1943); and has written numerous articles. She is writing another bureau study on the intergovernmental aspects of public planning in the Los Angeles area.

tion, 1909; sewage disposal, 1909; public utilities, 1911; library services, 1911; health, 1919; fire protection, 1919; Metropolitan Water District, 1927; public personnel, 1935; State Employees' Retirement System, 1939.

Miscellaneous possibilities for cooperation not exploited to any appreciable degree, if at all, in this area are: conduit lines, 1915; rock quarries and cement plants, 1921; municipal port district with special provisions for federal construction, 1925; State Board of Agriculture services, 1935; housing authority coordination activities, 1938; state legislative counsel codifying services, 1939; joint airports, 1939.

Two of the few administrative functions in which the county has complete jurisdiction by means of practical consolidation are those of the Los Angeles County Department of Weights and Measures and the Department of Charities.

There are several cases in which consolidation of city functions in the hands of the county officials is virtually complete but wholely on a voluntary basis. The cities may maintain their independent departments for the performance of these functions if they so determine. These functions are consolidated by means of passing a resolution or ordinance agreeing that the county perform the services. These functions are:

(1) *Tax Assessment and Collection.* Only five of the 45 cities in Los Angeles County operate independently—Pasadena, Long Beach, Arcadia, Azusa and Whittier. The present basic law passed in 1895 governs this procedure as well as charges made. The assessment made by the county assessor is used as the basis for levying municipal taxes as provided in the law. This provision is the root of what little criticism there is concerning these services.

The five cities mentioned above maintain their own assessor and tax collector because they feel their revenue would not be sufficient to carry on if the county did the work for them because of the city tax rate limits.

Cooperation for Health

(2) *Public Health Administration.* Of the 45 cities the only five operating independently are Pasadena, Beverly Hills, Long Beach, Los Angeles and Vernon. The year 1919 saw the start of contract services to cities for health administration. Prior to 1935-1936 charges were made without reference to a uniform schedule which resulted in certain inequalities. An amendment to the Political Code in 1935 changed this situation. The county health officer, with the permission of the city by resolution, must enforce all State Board of Health rules and regulations without charge. The reasoning behind this legislation was based upon the fact that the County Health Department is supported from moneys in the county general fund for which all residents of cities are taxed as well as residents of the county. This fact influences the decisions of the Board of Supervisors concerning many functions performed by the county for the cities.

There are also 38 of the 40 cities under county agreements which have special supplemental contracts for the enforcement of local ordinances, food inspection and/or rodent control services.

(3) *Library Services.* Twenty of the 45 cities and 83 of the 113 school districts contract to have the county librarian administer their libraries. In lieu of administering their own departments, as required by the 1911 library act, the cities turn their special library tax powers over to the county. Four cities, Alhambra, Glendale, Santa Monica and South Pasadena, and Los Angeles County have special exchange agreements with Los Angeles for library services.

Comparatively new and little used staff functions under contract are promising for the future in the fields of building inspection, public planning and public personnel administration.

The one particular field in the use of contracts in which Los Angeles City predominates, rather than Los Angeles County, is for the use of sewage disposal outlets. Only in this group are there contracts with no termination clause.

Outstanding are certain verbal agreements in the field of police administration and fire protection, and some joint ventures such as the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, 1921; Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District, 1927; major disaster plans, 1933; mutual aid fire plan, 1941; Los Angeles City-County use of radio broadcasting frequencies, 1941; and milk inspection cooperation, 1942.

The contracts themselves vary widely as to degree of detail, length of duration, and method of cost determination which may be prescribed on the basis of such factors as meter flow; volume of money handled; men, equipment, time and mileage; proportionate areas served.

Metropolitan Confusion

This brief sketch is necessarily an over-simplification of a very complicated problem. Most citizens are confused about government in this area but they don't know why they are confused. Public administrators are confused but they do know they are confused! There are about 450 separate political subdivisions operating in this one metropolitan region. Even at that the Los Angeles region differs from others throughout the nation in having less complications than it could have because here just one state and virtually one county is involved. Also, the county government is larger than the government of the major central city and may, therefore, assume much leadership in the integration of the various processes of government.

Although the larger jurisdictions do contract with one another for services and for the joint operation of certain projects, the great development has been recorded in the provision of services by the larger, more adequately staffed, better experienced administrative offices (particularly Los Angeles County) to smaller jurisdictions (some 40 of less than 50,000 population) which are handicapped by lack of finances and facilities.

Periods of socio-political crisis see the flourishing of various types of cooperation. The 1935 legislature put through many measures of enabling legislation for cooperation. During the wartime stresses and strains cooperation was broadly used, especially in emergency functions like police and fire protection. Manpower was pooled and joint civil service procedures installed in order to keep the vital parts of municipal machinery running in the face of the drafting of firemen, policemen, health inspectors and engineers.

New Developments

Now we seem to be facing a new wave of joint governmental projects. In 1945 four unprecedented arrangements were made. By voluntary contract Los Angeles City and County have joined together in the creation of the Civic Center Authority. It does not have any of the rigid aspects of the familiar "authority" set up by special legislation. It is not another separate governmental subdivision to be added to the 450 mentioned above.

Another contract has been entered into by the city of Redondo Beach, the State Department of Public Works and the county for the restoration and protection of the seriously eroded shoreline of the small city of Redondo Beach, whose problem has thus been recognized as regional in scope.

The third agreement for reciprocity of services is the exchange arrangement set up by the Los Angeles City and County Libraries which waives residence requirements for registration of the citizens of the two departments at no charge to either.

A new form of contract has been developed by the county for helping the smaller cities, that involving the services of three departments instead of the usual one department—the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission, Los Angeles County surveyor and Los Angeles County engineer—for the complete processing of a general recreation area. Three of these arrangements, it should be emphasized, involve the so-called larger jurisdictions of this area in reciprocal agreements. The other represents a great potential expansion of services by the larger agency to the smaller.

While there have been periods of lull in intergovernmental arrangements in this area, there has never been any mass withdrawal or retrenchment, and we seem to be facing a future of greatly expanded contract services and reciprocal agreements.

Acknowledgment. — The Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California, Los Angeles, under Dr. Frank M. Stewart, director, has devoted eight years to recording the governmental consolidation, integration and cooperation phenomena of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. This article summarizes and brings up to date material from the fourth in a series of eight studies in local government, *Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Los Angeles Area,* by Ronald M. Ketcham, December 1940.

Minnesota Farmers Rule Cities

Reapportionment of 1913 still stands despite population growth of urban districts; Supreme Court refuses to act.

By LOUIS C. DORWEILER, JR.*

MINNESOTA has faced a serious legislative apportionment problem for over three decades. The last reapportionment was enacted by the 1913 legislature based on the 1910 census. Since that time the population has increased 716,592, or 34.5 per cent, and this increase did not follow any uniform pattern from county to county. As a result few citizens contend that equal representation prevails in the legislative body of Minnesota today.

The legislature is accountable for this situation for, like the legislatures of 38 other states, it has full responsibility for legislative apportionment. The constitution calls for redistricting of legislative districts after every federal census so as to recognize the shifts in population and the varying rates of population growth in different sections of the state. It is difficult to understand why our forefathers ever assumed that a legislative body would redistrict itself on any fair basis.

The Minnesota constitution is silent in respect to geographic units of representation. For expediency in the operation of the election machinery, the legislature, with one exception, confines legislative districts to county lines. Legislative districts, or a district, are wholly within one county or the district may be bounded by the boundaries of two or more counties. Senatorial districts, with the exception of large urban counties, usually include two counties and in some instances three. There is usually one house representative in every county except the large urban ones. In three instances districts made up of two counties elect three representatives. In two instances districts made up of two counties elect two representatives and in one instance a one-county district elects four. Even in the large urban areas county lines are maintained. Such counties are allotted a number of representatives and district lines are set up within the county.

Population changes by counties between 1910 and 1940 are revealing. Changes ranged from a decrease of 13.2 per cent to an increase of 163.3 per cent. Five counties recorded decreases while increases are shown in the other 82. Of those recording increases, three were in excess of 100 per cent and in ten the increase was 50 to 100 per cent.

Perfect exactness in legislative apportionment is impossible where county boundary lines are adhered to, but there should be a close approximation to the ideal. Based on the present membership of the legislature and the 1940 census there should be one representative for each 21,315 inhabitants. An analysis of the present legislative districts reveals that the population per representative district varies from 7,254 to 128,501. In this particular case the larger district is accorded two representatives while the smaller has only one. In other words, the constituents per representative vary from 7,254 to 64,250. Based on the ideal of 21,315 persons per representative 38 districts are under-represented, ranging from three-tenths of a per cent to 201.4 per cent. The other 65 districts are over-represented by from ½ of one per cent to 66 per cent.

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*Mr. Dorweiler is assistant director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, one of the few organizations in the country giving its entire attention to governmental problems on the state level. He was formerly a staff member of the Division of Administrative Management and Research under the State Department of Administration and also served as secretary and director of research for the Legislative Interim Committee on State Administration which submitted a comprehensive report to the 1945 legislature on numerous state administrative problems.

Ideally, there should be one senator for each 41,676 inhabitants but at present the number of inhabitants per senator range from 17,653 to 128,501. Twenty-four senatorial districts are under-represented by percentages ranging from 8/10 of 1 per cent to 208.3 per cent; over-representation in the remaining 43 senatorial districts ranges from ½ of 1 per cent to 57.6 per cent.

The federal census defines "urban" as a unit having 2,500 or more inhabitants. Under this definition there was almost an even balance between rural and urban population in 1940—50.2 per cent rural and 49.8 per cent urban. There are nine counties that are dominated by urban population. These have 45.4 per cent of the state's population but in their representation in the legislature they have only 37.3 per cent of the senators and 34.4 per cent of the representatives. With the exception of two counties where there is an even division between urban and rural population, the remaining 76 counties are predominantly rural.

It is difficult to consider the case of city representation alone since the present apportionment follows county boundaries, thus combining rural and city areas. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, which are the respective locations of Minneapolis and St. Paul, though with some rural areas are predominantly urban in character since their suburbs have, generally, the same interests as the cities. These two counties have 31.5 per cent of the state's population but are apportioned only 22.3 per cent of the senators and 22.9 per cent of the representatives. For equal representation on a population basis they would be entitled to ten more representatives and five more senators.

The city of Duluth, the other first class city in Minnesota, lies in three legislative districts, each of which contains a large rural area, making it unsuitable as an example of city discrimination.

One legislative district in Minneapolis has a larger population than the six smallest districts in the state. Its citizens are represented by one senator and two representatives while the citizens of the six smallest districts are represented by six senators and seven representatives.

Generally, the more populated and urban areas of the state are under-represented in the House of Representatives. In the Senate, Hennepin and Ramsey Counties are grossly under-represented but, strangely enough, under-representation prevails generally in the northern part of the state which is the sparsely settled section of the state.

Such drastic inequalities as have been cited call for a new plan of apportionment if legislative representation is to be on an equitable basis. Equality of representation in the lawmaking, taxing and spending bodies of government is a desirable requisite of free government.

The Easy Way

From the information that is available it appears that the legislature, in enacting seven apportionments in past years, disturbed relatively few existing districts. It chose the easy way out by expanding the size of the legislature to take care of growing districts which were entitled to additional representation. In other words, the legislative bodies refused to face the problems arising from changing district boundary lines. The following tabulation showing the date of apportionment, total membership of the legislature and membership of the House of Representatives and the Senate bears out this fact.

	Membership		
Date	*Legislature*	*House*	*Senate*
1860	63	42	21
1866	69	47	22
1871	147	106	41
1881	150	103	47
1889	168	114	54
1897	182	119	63
1913	198	131	67

There is no practical constitutional restriction preventing the legislature from again increasing the size of the representative body.[1]

Incidentally, as a result of this past policy, Minnesota's Senate of 67 members is the largest in the United States. Only fourteen states have a larger House of Representatives or Assembly than Minnesota's 131 members. When the legislature as a whole is considered only eight states have a larger legislative body. Neither Minnesota's area nor population can justify such a large body for it ranks (low to high) 36th in area and 31st in population. It will be difficult to justify any action that will increase further the size of the legislature.

It might be added that further expansion of the size of the legislature is limited by the fact that it would be difficult to accommodate, comfortably, additional senators and representatives in their respective chambers.

The question can be asked, "Why in recent years has the legislature failed to perform its sworn duty?" A number of reasons are apparent.

1. The Minnesota legislature, like other legislatures, is not prone to disturb itself. Self-preservation is a major watchword. This is especially true in Minnesota for the reasons set forth under point two below.

Individual legislators cannot overlook the fact that reapportionment, following extreme shifts in population, may affect adversely their interests. A legislator might find it necessary to campaign in a much larger territory. In some instances two veteran members might be forced to contest against each other.

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[1] Article IV, section 2, of the constitution provides that the Senate shall never exceed one member for every 5000 inhabitants and the House of Representatives one member for every 2000 inhabitants.

For these purely selfish reasons individual legislators are reluctant to vote for any plan of redistricting.

Lacks Party Responsibility

2. Another major reason for failure to reapportion is the fact that there is no party responsibility in the Minnesota legislature. Members are elected without party designation whereas state officials—the governor, lieutenant governor, auditor, treasurer, attorney general, railroad and warehouse commissioners—congressmen and U. S. senators are elected with party designation. In such a situation, party commitments for reapportionment that will be binding upon the legislature are impossible.

The legislative bodies in Minnesota organize into two groups, generally termed the majority and minority. Such organization does not follow party lines as each group may contain Republicans, Democrats and Farmer Laborites. Caucuses of the respective bodies of the legislature take place just prior to the session when informal organization is completed. Following formal organization, voting does not necessarily follow the program of the pre-session plan of organization. Without effective control, neither group is likely to assume responsibility for any plan of reapportionment.

The dominant and controlling political group in a legislative body is opposed to any plan of redistricting that would in any way jeopardize its control. If reapportionment is attempted the majority group is more likely to fix boundary lines so that it gains an advantage. This action is well known as "gerrymandering." For similar reasons minority groups, on the other hand, are fearful that their interests will not be considered.

3. Reapportionment may result in a shift in control from one section of the state to another—agricultural to industrial. The rural-urban issue is, undoubtedly, the most important in Minnesota. Such a shift affects such vital matters as tax burdens on communities or the geographic distribution of public expenditures. The latter is especially important in Minnesota for, in 1944, 45 per cent of state expenditures were for state aids to local governmental units and the cities at the past two legislative sessions have spearheaded unsuccessful movements to secure a larger portion of state-collected revenues.

Some rural members frankly justify the existing setup by pointing out that urban members tend to represent the radical elements in the cities. They view with alarm the growing radical movement in cities throughout the country. Further, many conservative resident citizens of cities also fear this radical trend and are willing to waive their rights as to equal representation.

4. While county lines are followed throughout the state, thus limiting gerrymandering to some extent, in the multi-member urban counties the problem of splitting the county into districts opens the door to all sorts of political, economic, racial, party and other pressure groups. As a result individual legislative members from Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth are not eager for reapportionment since they do not know just how they will fare in the final result.

Last summer, in an effort to force reapportionment, a citizen of Minneapolis brought suit against the Secretary of State,[2] to ask the court to declare the 1913 reapportionment act unconstitutional by reason of unequal representation resulting from varying population growth.

It was contended that if this action succeeded members of the legislature would be forced to run at large. As a result, it was anticipated that a special session of the legislature would be called immediately for the purpose of enacting a new reapportionment law.

Court Refuses Help

This citizen action placed the Supreme Court in the uncomfortable position of being asked to declare an act unconstitutional which in 1913 was held to be constitutional.[3] The plaintiff contended that drastic shifts in population had, in effect, made the act unconstitutional today. The plaintiff also cited cases in which laws activating the police power of government had been held to have become unconstitutional as confiscatory or discriminating when applied to circumstances radically changed since enactment.

The court, however, refused to review its 1913 action and held that the division of powers—executive, legislative and judicial—is a fundamental principle upon which American constitutional government is based; that under Minnesota's constitution the redistricting power is placed wholly in the legislative body and, until the legislature passes another reapportionment act, the present one continues in force. The court pointed out that the only time it could upset a legislative redistricting act would be at the time of enactment of a new reapportionment law when there was a manifest violation of the constitutional directive as to equal representation based on population.

It can be anticipated that succeeding legislatures will be as reluctant to disturb their existing organization as have those of the past. It would thus appear that permanent solution to the reapportionment problem in Minnesota lies in a change in the constitution which will provide machinery, other than the legislature itself, to carry out this task of reapportionment. This can be accomplished by an amendment to the constitution enacted by the legislature and approved by the voters or a constitutional convention called by the legislature to revise the original document.

If legislators will not provide for a fair reapportionment, however, they are not likely to approve a constitutional amendment or take any steps to call a constitutional convention which would place this reapportionment power in other hands.

The recent Supreme Court decision throws another obstacle in the path of reapportionment. The 1913 reapportionment can stand for all time since the Supreme Court has approved it and refused to re-open the question last fall. If the 1947 legislature or any succeeding legislature, however, passes a new reapportionment act, then urban interests which might be adversely affected could bring the new act to the attention of the court. If the new act gave only minor relief to the cities, then the court would be forced to declare the act unconstitutional. All legislators would then be forced to run at large from the entire state. A special session of the legislature would, no doubt, be called to enact a fairer bill.

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[2] *Smith* v. *Holm,* 19 N. W., 2nd, 914.

[3] *State ex. rel. Meighen* v. *Weatherville,* 125 Minn. 336, 147 N. W. 105.

In any event, rural interests would be certain to lose if a new reapportionment law is enacted. This being true, rural groups will more likely stand on the 1913 apportionment plan now on the statute books.

There appears to be no legal method to compel the legislature to carry out its sworn duty under the constitution in Minnesota. Thus, it appears that reapportionment must wait until enough citizens can bring sufficient pressure on the legislature to force the enactment of an equitable apportionment law. Fortunately, there is some evidence that this demand is now being made and that legislative leaders are recognizing the situation.

TOLEDO ADOPTS PAYROLL TAX

(Continued from page 110)

total number of ballots cast for councilmen," or 10,660 in this case. The union is so organized that there is little doubt of its ability to obtain necessary signatures within the 30-day period allowed by law.

A special election before sufficient time has elapsed to collect the tax and give voters a taste of promised increased services and public facilities, if it occurs, will be an extreme handicap to proponents of this fiscal relief measure.

Waiting for significant additional financial relief for urban communities from the state is an old and familiar experience that reveals more local patience than state assistance. Experience with state methods of redistribution of such aid as has come demonstrates many alleged inequities and failures to place the money where needed most. For example, sales tax collections in Lucas County approximated $4,000,000 last year, of which $3,000,000 was returned to local governments in this area. Twelve urban counties in the state received less than the amount collected in their respective areas and 66 received more. Also, a basis for inequitable distribution already exists in the Ohio constitution, which states that "not less than 50 per centum of the income [tax] . . . that may be collected by the state shall be returned" to the area where it originated. Therefore both state and local officials see possibilities of a happy solution in the local payroll-income tax that may avert for years many problems, including enactment of a state income tax.

Early inquiries show much widespread interest by tax authorities, state and local officials and citizen groups. Progress of the payroll-income tax is assured much attention from many with varying interests.

Home Rule Doors Wide Open

Manager plan charters gain adherents among Texas cities but counties lag as state looks back on its first century.

By WILFRED D. WEBB*

As THE year 1945 closed and the new year opened, Texas achieved a century of statehood. On December 29, 1845, President Polk signed the act that made Texas a state in the American union and on February 19, 1846, the president of the republic of Texas relinquished executive authority to the governor of the state of Texas.

Prior to 1836 there were no counties or incorporated cities in the Texas area of the kind we have today. The Spanish municipality included not only one or more settlements but also large areas of surrounding territory and under Mexican rule the organization of local government remained much as it had under Spain.

With the advent of the republic of Texas in 1836 the municipalities were converted into counties and the settlements began to be incorporated. This two-unit system of local government represented the ideas of the American colonists in Texas, particularly those from the South Atlantic states.

The numerical increase of counties and incorporated municipalities has extended into our own times. When Texas entered the union in 1845 there were 36 organized counties and 54 incorporated cities; by 1900 the number had increased to 224 and 196, respectively; and at present there are 254 counties and 664 active municipal corporations. The last county to be organized was Loving, in 1931.

The present system of school districts began to take shape about 1884. The administration of the system is primarily local and is based, for the most part, upon common and independent school districts. During the school year 1943-44 there were 4,841 common districts and 1,007 independent districts.[1] The trend for the past 30 or more years has been toward fewer common districts and more independent districts; the total number, however, has tended to decrease. The other special districts now in existence, some 300, have been created since 1900.

An important factor in the development and present condition of these units of local government has been the growth and movement of population. The occupation of the western portion of the state, the large growth in state population, and the acceleration in the urban trend have taken place largely during this century. The movement city-ward was speeded during the war years, and many of the counties in East, Central, and North Texas (excepting the Panhandle) lost heavily in population. Needless to say, the entire fabric of local government has been affected by these shifts.

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[1] *Thirty-third Biennial Report of the State Department of Education,* Austin, Texas, 1944, pages 97-121, 164-169.

Legal Standards

The basic legal standards of local government in Texas, as in other states, have been laid down in the state constitution and statutes. In general, the constitutional provisions for county organization and government have become more numerous with each succeeding constitution. The constitution now in effect, adopted in 1876, contains provisions regarding the creation, governmental structure and powers of counties. As a result the legislature has no power to alter the system of county government in any fundamental way.

The present constitution does not deal at length with municipal affairs. Several of the provisions are, of course, quite important. Among them may be mentioned the home rule provision, restriction of special legislation, the setting of maximum limits for property taxation by municipalities, and the limitation of urban-county representation in the lower house of the legislature.[2] For the most part, however, the details of organization and powers of the general law cities, and to a lesser extent of home rule cities, are to be found in the statutes. This body of law has developed in piecemeal fashion over the years, and it is now an ill-ordered statement of municipal powers, obligations and limitations.

Two constitutional amendments adopted in 1944 increased the powers and freedom of both county and city governments.[3] One of these amendments authorized municipalities to establish retirement systems; in addition the legislature was empowered to establish a statewide retirement system for municipal appointive officers and employees. The second amendment authorized the county commissioners' court to reallocate the items composing the over-all tax limit of 80 cents among the various funds, upon the approval of a majority of the taxpaying voters.

Forms of Government

It will be recalled that the organization of the early Texas county represented largely the ideas of the American colonists from the southern part of the United States. The chief governing body was then, and has been since, a board. The commissioners' court, as the county board is now named, is composed of the county judge as presiding officer and four commissioners elected from precincts. All are elected for terms of two years.

In addition to the county board the governmental organization has traditionally consisted of a number of elective county officers plus, at times, a few appointive ones. The present system is, therefore, characterized by the separate election of the major administrative officers and the absence of an executive head. Each of the 254 counties has the same basic governmental pattern and the significant deviations are few. Perhaps the most important is the appointive office of county auditor, which has been created in 116 counties. The major duty of this officer is to exercise general oversight of the financial books and records of the county. A county library is maintained by 31 counties and there are three city-county libraries. Twenty-three counties operate hospitals and there are 12 city-county hospitals.[4]

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[2] See "Texas Apportionment Problem," by Stuart A. MacCorkle, the REVIEW, December 1945.

[3] *Texas Constitution,* article III, sections 51-e, 51-f; article VIII, section 9.

The Texas cities of the nineteenth century were governed under the mayor-council form of government, more akin to the weak mayor form than to the strong mayor type. During the last few decades of the century the tendency was to strengthen the mayor's position, especially in legislative matters. Even at present the mayor of the general law city is not a particularly strong executive.

Since 1900 both the commission and council-manager forms of government have invaded the once solid ranks of mayor-council cities. Of the 664 active incorporated places in existence, more than 400 have the mayor-council form of government, some 200 have the commission form, and 52 have the council-manager plan. Ninety-two of the incorporated cities have adopted home rule charters. Forty-three of these have the manager form of government, 31 have the commission form, and 18 have the mayor-council form.[5]

There appears to be an increase of interest in the council-manager form. Fourteen cities have adopted the plan since 1940 and six of these were effected in 1945. Before 1943 there was no explicit provision in the statutes for the adoption of council-manager government by cities operating under the general law (those under 5,000 population). In a number of instances, however, general law cities adopted the manager form by ordinance. The legislature in 1943 provided that any city, town or village incorporated under the general laws and having a population of less than 5,000 could adopt the council-manager form of government by vote of the local electorate. Since cities with a population exceeding 5,000 have home rule, the manager plan is now available to all incorporated communities in the state.

Home Rule

In the preceding discussion it was pointed out that except for a few variations, minor in nature, each of the 254 counties has the same governmental organization. In order to permit individual county relief from this standard strait-jacket, a county home rule amendment was added to the constitution in 1933. The amendment is long and detailed, and it is not feasible to summarize it here. The most important efforts to write and adopt county charters came within a few years after the adoption of the amendment.

Only the county of El Paso, however, proceeded to the point of drafting a charter, and its adoption was blocked by an adverse vote in the unincorporated area of the county. There has been some talk, particularly in San Antonio, of action under the amendment, but no strong movement has developed in recent years.

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[4] These figures are based upon information collected in May 1945 by Dr. Dick Smith for reply to a Bureau of the Census questionnaire on Texas counties.

[5] These figures based upon information secured from the League of Texas Municipalities.

"In short, county home rule appeared much more attractive in Texas in the anticipation than in the realization."[6]

The municipal home rule provision of the constitution was added in 1912. Under this amendment cities with populations exceeding 5,000 may write their own charters, subject to the constitution and general laws. Despite the fact that legislative intervention and judicial decisions favorable to such legislative action have raised some doubts about the value of home rule, the home rule procedure has permitted more latitude with respect to both powers and forms of government than have the general laws. Home rule charters have been widely used by Texas cities. On the basis of the 1940 federal census, there are 102 cities in the state with more than 5,000 population. All but 23 of these have adopted home rule charters; and the trend of adoptions in recent years favors the gradual reduction of this number.

Administrative Standards

The governmental theory and organization of the Texas county does not encourage improvement of administrative practices. In spite of the handicaps, however, several of the county governments have managed to rise above the general level of performance and give the citizens a fair return on their tax money. Unfortunately, improvements made in one county are transmitted haltingly, if at all, throughout the entire system. The merit system of personnel administration has made absolutely no headway in county government. An attempt in 1929 to install a civil service commission in Tarrant County and to provide indefinite tenure for appointive officials was held to violate the constitutional specification that "the duration of all offices not fixed by this constitution shall never exceed two years."[7]

There has been in recent decades improvement in city administration throughout the state. Many cities have expanded and made better their services in response to the pressures of urban life. Considerable attention has been given to problems of organization, as well as to the form of government in general. The importance of planning community development has been recognized in numerous cities. On the other hand, the improvement of financial administration has progressed none too rapidly, and only a few cities have established comprehensive merit systems. Fortunately, there are signs of increasing interest in the personnel and financial aspects of city administration.

State-Local Relations

Although the people have made some provision for local government in the constitution, the legislature has been an important channel for the flow of state directives and authorizations to the local units. Unfortunately the legislature has taken only too rarely a broad view of local governmental problems. The results of piecemeal consideration of local problems are readily apparent. Municipal statutory law is today a maze through which only the most expert can chart a reasonably accurate course. The legislature has given little attention to the reporting of local government statistics. As a consequence any interested person must painstakingly collect his facts from the individual units and from the reports and files of numerous state agencies. The need for a general overhauling of the state-local financial structure is fairly apparent; yet the legislature has shown no pronounced interest in a broad and searching inquiry into the facts. The local revenue system, shackled to the past, is patched up from time to time in response to particular pressures.

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[6] Roscoe C. Martin, "The County Home Rule Movement in Texas," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly,* March 1935, page 6.

[7] See *Donges* v. *Beall,* 41 S. W. (2d) 531 (Tex. Civ. App. 1931).

These few examples do not, of course, convict the legislature of any evil design toward local government. The individual legislator would no doubt express a great interest in the efficient functioning of both rural and urban local government. Nevertheless, it seems apparent that the legislature has no active interest in systematic change. It will approve an order to fill some of the holes in the roadway, but it will not consider the desirability of resurfacing. In this connection it is worth noting that there has been no apportionment of representation in the legislature since 1921. The state was definitely rural in 1921, but since then there has been a progressive subordination of rural culture to urban domination. The composition of the legislature does not reflect this trend.[8]

In general, the state-local administrative relationship has been characterized by: (1) state agency relations with individual local officers, (2) a large group of nonprofessionalized personnel at both levels, (3) a legal basis which "just grew," and (4) a spirit of separatism which makes for a cleavage between state and local levels and between units and agencies at the same level.

The traditional emphasis upon state control of local government by constitutional, legislative and judicial methods has produced a system of state-local relationships which is wooden and rigid. At the same time the slowness of the state to put its own administrative affairs in order has held out little promise for the development of satisfactory administrative relationships.

Conclusion

No public or private organization or individual has recently undertaken to evaluate the adequacy of the Texas system of local government. It is clear enough, however, that the system is none too well adapted to modern requirements. Yet the inadequacies of the system are not so obvious or pernicious in their effects as to give rise to a widespread public demand for reorganization. In Texas, as in other states, the units of local government are imbedded in the laws and in the public mind. Change there is and has been—at times so slow as to be almost imperceptible — but areas, forms of government and functions are not likely to be greatly altered overnight.

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[8] See MacCorkle, *op. cit.*

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

State and Local Planning Continues

Extensive Public Works Programs Ready for Action

ALTHOUGH involuntary idleness has not developed as rapidly and widely since V-J Day as had been feared, governmental preparations to meet such a contingency and other phases of possible postwar depression have carried on from 1945. The American Society of Planning Officials reports a strong trend not only for state aid to local planning but also for state participation in local public works and economic development programs. Intrastate regional planning made notable progress last year.

Assistance to local planning necessitated during the war by the shortage of planning personnel has become an important activity of several state planning agencies, including Tennessee, Alabama, Wisconsin, Virginia, Rhode Island, Michigan and New York. The states which have provided direct financial assistance to local public works programs are New York, Michigan, California, New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois and Pennsylvania. Many others, such as Arkansas, Georgia and Louisiana, give staff assistance to the preparation of city and county capital improvement programs.

Every state has set up some kind of agency to devise solutions for one or more of the many reconversion planning problems.[1] The society reports 74 postwar state organizations in planning and development work. Of this number 28 are established planning boards or commissions or more recent creations in the same pattern. The rest are agricultural, economic, resources, development and other agencies, some of them planning divisions.

Among metropolitan cities which did outstanding planning during 1945 are Cincinnati, Louisville, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The Cincinnati program entered its second year with a "generalized master plan" for the entire region. Louisville's metropolitan plans have been materially advanced this year also with the joint effort of the Louisville-Jefferson County Planning and Zoning Commission and the Louisville Area Development Association. The Philadelphia Planning Commission recently was given a large new appropriation in order to carry on its studies. San Francisco completed master plan studies for consideration by the Board of Supervisors.

With the master plan for Dallas nearing final form, the public gave its approval to a $40,000,000 bond issue to carry out some of the recommendations for public improvements. The Allegheny Conference on Community Development concerns itself with broad social and economic problems in the Pittsburgh region. In Cleveland and Cuyahoga County studies of various aspects of metropolitan development are under way.

Over 600 public works projects will be started by 369 small cities in the country this year whenever both labor and materials are available, according to the International City Managers' Association, which has made a survey of 962 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 population concerning their plans for public works projects and the methods of financing them. Reports were obtained from 779 cities. Of the number reporting nearly half, or 369, indicated they will begin construction on new municipal facilities or building during 1946 if labor and materials can be obtained.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1945, page 507.

Of the remaining cities reporting, 309 stated that they are not undertaking any public works projects this year, 59 reported that they are uncertain, and 42 did not reply to the question concerning their plans for public works.

The cities canvassed will finance more public works improvements from cash reserves than from any other single revenue source during 1946, with general bonds and revenue bonds second and third respectively as methods of financing, the association reports.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Two cities adopted the council-manager plan in January. **Chickasha, Oklahoma,** did so by popular vote of 1,340 to 728; the plan there is to go into effect on March 11. On January 15 the plan was provided in **Cocoa, Florida,** by ordinance.

Legislation to enable **Massachusetts** towns to adopt a town manager form of government has been introduced in the legislature of that state by Speaker Frederick B. Willis, who had previously presented a bill to permit the voters of **Boston** to pass upon the manager plan for that city.[1] Four Massachusetts towns now have managers, with varying degrees of power, under special acts of the legislature. The Willis proposal provides that the board of selectmen in any town adopting the plan would appoint the manager, for a five-year term; the manager would make various other appointments.

The proposal has aroused vigorous opposition from many town officials, headed by Arthur J. Shinners, town clerk of Brookline and president of the Massachusetts Town Clerks Association, who has denounced it, even as permissive legislation, as being undemocratic. He asserted that such a type of government would not be as close to the people as the traditional New England town government whereunder all officials are elected by the people. It is reported that the officials of 217 out of 312 towns in the state have indicated opposition. (See also page 142 of this issue).

Lebanon, New Hampshire, will vote on adoption of the town manager plan at the next town meeting. The moderator at the last town meeting was authorized to appoint a committee of five to study the plan; and the committee, after frequent meetings and careful consideration, decided in favor of the idea. New Hampshire has no towns or cities with the manager plan, although there are many in the adjoining states. The plan has also been under discussion recently in the town of **Claremont, New Hampshire,** which has over 12,000 inhabitants. Dr. Dayton D. McKean of Dartmouth at a public forum on January 23 expressed doubt of the appropriateness of town meeting government in towns of over 5,000 population, although working well in small towns with simpler administrative problems.

On January 25 the citizens committee appointed by the City Council of **Mullens, West Virginia,** to inquire into the necessity for charter revision made a report recommending complete revision, the adoption of a home rule charter under West Virginia law, and the adoption of the council-manager plan. According to Arthur R. Kingdon, committee vice-chairman, the Council is expected to order a special election in June to determine whether the citizens desire a change.

The first recommendation of Mayor Marshall M. DeWitt to the new City Council of **Delray Beach, Florida,** in

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[1] The Review, December 1945, page 568.

January, was that the city had grown to a size where a city manager is needed.

The village of **Beachwood, Ohio**, near Cleveland, is considering adoption of the manager plan and is studying it as typified in various nearby communities, according to Mayor J. B. Mullaney.

At a meeting of the **Minneapolis, Minnesota**, Charter Commission on February 7, Harold L. Henderson, director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research (St. Paul), urged that there be a chief administrator or manager of the city, to be appointed by the council or mayor, and that the council should consist of not more than eleven members, elected at large by proportional representation, as against the present method of electing 26 aldermen by wards.

A new charter for **Rochester, Minnesota**, proposed by a charter commission, provides for mayor-council government. It includes a provision (Section 69), however, that the Council may, at any time not less than two years after the adoption of the first administrative code under the charter, submit to the voters at a special election an amendment to the code to provide for appointment of a city manager by the council. Such manager would act as chief administrative officer and city comptroller and have the power of appointment of all members of departments, boards or commissions, all appointive officials except assessor and city clerk (to be appointed by the Council) and all employees except those under civil service.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Aberdeen, South Dakota**, is sponsoring a campaign for the manager plan. Petitions have been filed and it is expected that an election will be held soon.

The League of Women Voters of **Midland, Texas**, is studying the manager plan with the idea of instituting a campaign for its adoption in that city.

A change to the council-manager form of government is under contemplation in **Henderson, Texas**. The Rusk County Chamber of Commerce is assisting in the effort for charter revision and the development of a ten-year program for the city.

Waco, Texas, voted on January 29 to change from the manager plan to the mayor-aldermanic form of 22 years ago. Out of 21,800 persons qualified to vote on the charter amendment 7,038 voted against the manager plan and 2,471 were for it. A vigorous campaign was waged by opponents of the administration, whereas its supporters did not become particularly active until shortly before the election. The only other abandonment of the manager plan in Texas was in Denton 27 years ago. There are now 52 manager cities in Texas, six having been added last year.

The Board of Trustees of the town of **Las Cruces, New Mexico**, has gone on record as favoring a change in status from a town to a city. City Attorney R. C. Garland has recommended that in changing status a council-manager form of government be adopted.

A citizens committee appointed by the City Council of **Burlingame, California**, to study the city's governmental needs, has recommended the drafting of a council-manager charter. Election of a board of freeholders for that purpose was urged. An ordinance has also been introduced by one of the councilmen providing for a city manager.

A special committee of the **Eureka, California**, Chamber of Commerce has recommended the manager plan in connection with the need of revision of the city charter dating from 1895. On February 8 the directors of the chamber unanimously approved the plan.

A committee of the **Redding, California,** Chamber of Commerce has prepared a proposed city manager ordinance and submitted it to the City Council, which declined to approve it unless revised in some respects. It is hoped that it will be placed on the April ballot.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Brownsville, Oregon,** is studying the manager plan.

Other municipalities where interest in the council-manager plan is manifested include **Waltham, Massachusetts**; **Enid, Oklahoma**; **Hawarden, Iowa**; **Hot Springs, South Dakota**; **Faribault** and **Moorhead, Minnesota**; and **Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada.**

Kansas City Expands Research; Recreation Study Undertaken

The City Council of Kansas City, Missouri, has decided to enlarge the scope of the Bureau of Information and Service and to establish a Department of Research and Information. Features include a central reference library and a central research staff provided by combining the libraries and certain research personnel from the various departments, thus creating a clearing house for data gathered in the course of the city's business.

The new department is making a study of recreation for the Welfare Department, constituting an extension of similar work done in 1945. The present study will emphasize a survey of musical organizations in Kansas City, recreational programs sponsored by business and industry, and movie and theater attendance. Some of the information will be compiled in a summary, "Around the Clock in Kansas City," showing hour by hour how people spend their leisure time.

Legislative Assistant for Yonkers City Council

A majority of the Common Council of the city of Yonkers, New York, decided in January to establish the position of "legislative assistant," to be appointed by the Council as a means of liaison among the council members, the city manager, the municipal departments and the citizens. He is to undertake research and compile facts and figures for the guidance of the Council in its policy-making functions, both as to specific items of legislation and as to matters of overall planning.

Pasadena Proclaims End of Proclamations

The Pasadena, California, Board of City Directors has come to the conclusion that it has been too indulgent in issuing proclamations, including special designations for various weeks of the year, and has resolved to put an end to proclamations. The first victim of the new policy was the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which petitioned the board to proclaim a Junior Chamber of Commerce Week in January but was denied.

Suit Brought to Force New Illinois Congressional Districts

The great inequality in population of congressional districts in Illinois has been made the basis of a suit in Federal District Court, in an effort to force the legislature to perform its constitutional duty to redistrict the state. This has not been done since 1901, despite the legal requirement for redistricting every ten years on the basis of the federal census.

The suit has been brought by Kenneth C. Sears, professor of law, University of Chicago; Kenneth W. Colegrove, head of the Political Science Department, Northwestern University;

and Peter J. Chamales, attorney, of Barrington, Illinois, under the federal declaratory judgment act of 1935 empowering federal courts to make a declaration of rights, obligations, duties and principles in a given situation. The plaintiffs ask for such a judgment and also for an injunction against the April congressional district primaries. They point out that if the court enjoins them no confusion would result, as the 26 congressmen would then be nominated and elected at large. Their attorney, Urban A. Lavery, former attorney for the election board, stated in the brief that in four states—Kentucky, Mississippi, Virginia and Missouri—federal or state courts intervened and ordered elections of representatives at large.

Defendants in the suit are Governor Dwight Green, Secretary of State Edward J. Barrett and State Auditor Arthur C. Lueder, as *ex-officio* members of the State Primary Certifying Board.

Congressional districts in Illinois are reported to be the most unequal of any state, ranging in population from 112,116 to 914,053 according to the 1940 census. Cook County, containing the city of Chicago, has 51.4 per cent of the population of the state but has only 9.8 congressional districts as against 15.2 in the rest of the state. It has only 19 of the 51 districts for the State Senate.

Professor Colegrove stated that the suit has been brought for two reasons:

"In the first place, for many years teachers like myself have tried to teach generation after generation of students to respect and obey the constitution and laws of our government. Respect for law is one fundamental principle of government, consequently I deplore flagrant violation of law.

"For 35 years the legislature of Illinois has violated the federal law regarding the reapportionment of congressional districts. I could not look my students in the face if I did not exert myself to correct this brazen breach of the law in Illinois.

"In the second place, if a state lacks the courage to take the leadership in fulfilling the constitutional responsibilities of the state legislature, the private citizens are compelled to resort to judicial means to correct such abuse."

Governors Dunne, Emmerson, Horner and Green have recommended reapportionment of the state in their messages to the legislature, but the downstate members have blocked such action except in 1931, when a congressional reapportionment was made but was voided by the Illinois Supreme Court as violating the requirements of compact and contiguous territory and reasonably equal population.

It would seem that if the court finds for the plaintiffs and election at large results, the legislature will be impelled to action, as it is predominantly Republican but the state has voted Democratic in presidential elections and the one representative-at-large is a Democrat.

Unicameral Legislature Urged in Missouri

The movement in Missouri for a legislature of one house, which almost succeeded in 1944,[1] has again taken form as an initiative measure and also as a proposed joint resolution of the legislature, both being for amendment of the recently adopted constitution.

Petitions to initiate an amendment have been circulated by the Crusaders, primarily an organization of St. Louis businessmen, which pushed the idea previously. This group is now headed by Dr. Isaac Lippincott, dean of the School of Business and Public Administration at Washington University in St. Louis.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1945, page 33.

The proposed resolution, calling for submission to the people of an amendment identical with the initiative measure, was introduced by Representative Raymond J. Lahey, St. Louis Democrat. It specifies a house of 50 members for at least the first ten years.

National Panel on Juvenile Delinquency

A 30-member volunteer advisory panel to study the increase in juvenile crime was appointed on February 9 by United States Attorney General Tom Clark. It is to work with experts of the Department of Justice in an intensive survey of juvenile delinquency and will help the department to formulate plans. Its findings will be made available to welfare and law-enforcement agencies.

State-Sponsored University Proposed in New York

As a result of charges that racial and religious discrimination is widespread in privately endowed colleges and universities, in a report of the New York City Mayor's Committee on Unity, bills were introduced in the state legislature asking for an appropriation of $50,000,000 for the establishment of a state university. On February 4 Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in a special message to the legislature, called for the creation of a special commission to study the proposal. Pointing out that the idea is not new, and emphasizing the need for expansion of programs for higher education, he mentioned various divergent viewpoints as to the desirability, efficacy and character of the proposed institution, and urged thorough study and careful consideration. New York having pioneered in legislation against discrimination in employment, he said that the fight would continue without compromise or appeasement.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations in New York State has opposed the state university idea as a move in the direction of segregation rather than against discrimination.

New Hampshire and Vermont Establish Judicial Councils

Judicial councils, directed to study the organization, rules and methods of procedure and practice in their respective state judicial systems, have been established in New Hampshire and Vermont. The one in New Hampshire consists of a justice of the Supreme Court and one of the Superior Court, selected by the members of those courts; the attorney general; and seven other persons appointed by the governor, at least four of whom shall be experienced members of the bar. The Vermont council comprises the chief justice of the Supreme Court or an associate justice designated by him, two practicing attorneys-at-law and two laymen. The governor appoints the latter four. The councils will report biennially to the legislature concerning the judicial system, with recommendations for improvement, and may recommend to the state courts changes in their rules, practice and procedure.

High Attendance Marks Washington Regional Meetings

In the state of Washington in 1945 nineteen regional meetings of city officials were held by the Association of Washington Cities. Although this was one less meeting than in 1944, the number of officials attending, 832, was the largest of any year, exceeding 1944 by 10 per cent.

Researcher's Digest

How States Handle Labor Disputes

Machinery for Mediation, Conciliation Described

SOME type of machinery for conciliation and mediation in labor controversies has been established in 35 states, according to a report, *State Administrative Machinery for the Conciliation and Mediation of Labor Disputes*,[1] by John F. Duffy, Jr. This timely study has been published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California**, Berkeley, of which Samuel C. May is director.

The author lists five methods of settling employer-employee disputes: direct negotiation by the parties concerned, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and litigation. As implied by its title, the study deals only with the second and third methods.

Eleven of the 35 states providing for conciliation and mediation—Alabama, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas and Wisconsin—have established independent agencies; in the other 24 states responsibility is placed in the hands of an administrative department, usually the department of labor or the industrial commission. No provision has been made for conciliation or mediation of disputes in Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia and Wyoming.

One of several tables gives information on each state's method of dealing with the subject. Listing the states alphabetically, it shows how administrative machinery is provided, number of members, by whom appointed, term of office and compensation. Powers and duties of state agencies are described, as well as listed in tabular form, with charts for those states providing for a major effort to utilize conciliation and mediation. A suggested guide for appropriate legislation lists a series of points which should be included in any law. A selected reading list completes the volume.

Toronto's Metropolitan Area Problem

"Where are Toronto and its metropolitan area heading?" asks the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** in its December 20 *White Paper*—"Distribution delayed to secure careful reading."

Pointing out that the city's population is becoming stationary, the bureau, whose managing director is Horace L. Brittain, comments that the suburban areas have more than doubled their populations in the last twenty years. There is no doubt, says the bureau, "that something drastic needs to be done if local government in metropolitan areas is to function in the interests of citizens and taxpayers as a whole. . . . The city and its suburbs are one social and economic unit and any attempt to treat them as a series of independent units cannot but lead to grave failure in the end."

Tables include Toronto assessment figures from 1906 to 1945, changes in center of gravity of assessment, comparative financial information on Toronto and the cities and townships comprising the metropolitan area, and comparative population and acreage figures for the area.

Traffic Safety

Buffalo is the safest in point of traffic fatalities of all cities of 500,000 and over, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** says in *Just a Moment.* A statement to that effect by the Buffalo Board of Safety has been confirmed by the National Safety Council. The bureau, of which Sidney Detmers is secretary, attributes this accomplishment to the Buffalo Board of Safety and the active cooperation of the Council, the mayor and city departments, the Chamber of Commerce, Automobile Club and many other civic bodies, plus the citizens generally. Efforts along this line have been in progress since 1936 when, at the suggestion of the bureau, the mayor appointed an advisory body known as the Buffalo Safety Commission—later abolished and superseded by the Board of Safety.

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[1] 48 pages, 50 cents.

"Whatever the officials and the machinery may be to accomplish traffic safety in any city," says the bureau, "they are valueless without the sort of cooperation given to this movement in Buffalo since 1937. It is therefore with a degree of satisfaction that all our citizens can view the 1945 record as their notable accomplishment."

* * *

Neglected Maintenance

"Providence like most other cities has a long history of neglecting expenditures for necessary equipment and maintenance in favor of other purposes," says the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director. During the past two years, however, the bureau points out, there has been a reversal of this trend. To prove its statement the bureau's bulletin cites a series of examples: provision in 1946 for replacement of approximately half the police department rolling stock; continuation of a program that will enable systematic replacement of fire apparatus out of revenue; a start in replacement or in some instances initial acquisition of public works department equipment; rebuilding the harbor master's building, etc.; replacing equipment, redecorating, alterations, etc., at Chapin Hospital; highway rebuilding; bridge maintenance.

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Seattle League's Activities

C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research,** has issued his annual report of 1945 accomplishments and activities to the Board of Trustees. A comparison with previous years shows that the league's accomplishments and program have expanded substantially, says Mr. Crosser in his letter of transmittal. Among the report's highlights are these:

The league was represented at nearly every meeting of local public bodies—city council, county supervisors, etc., as well as before the state legislature. Forty-eight issues of the *Seattle Municipal News* were published. There were 139 meetings of regular and special league committees with a total attendance of 810; studies by committees covered many subjects such as the proposed new city charter, budgets, county jail, purchasing; a summary of committee work is attached to the report. The league's membership has increased from 2,292 at the end of 1944 to 2,595 at the end of 1945.

League goals for 1946 include numerous surveys of current problems, recommendations on propositions to be voted on March 12 including adoption of the new charter, with wide circulation of its report on issues and candidates, and a membership of 3,000 by April 30.

Based on replies received from the fire departments of some 22 Pacific Coast cities and those throughout the country in the 200,000 to 600,000 population group, the league has issued a two-page report giving the following data for each city: whether the two-platoon system is in effect, hours for each shift, extra days off per month, length of annual vacation with pay, time full salary allowed for illness, clothing allowance, annual salary range, bonus, firemen's contribution to pension, years of service and minimum retirement age, amount of retirement pension.

The Seattle League has also issued a report, prepared by John C. Bollens, research secretary, on *Audio-Visual Aids; Guides to Better Learning* (5 pages). It describes the extent to which such aids are used in the local school system and makes recommendations to the league's Public Schools Committee on evaluating their use and comparing results with those elsewhere. Suggestions are given as to ways and means of improving the use of audio-visual aids in the local schools.

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Temporary Housing

Discussing Philadelphia's proposal to obtain from the federal government some three thousand demountable housing units for temporary use by veterans, the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** whose director is William C. Beyer, warns that their use should be discontinued and the units removed as soon as conditions warrant. "A very important problem relates to the disuse and removal of the temporary housing units," says the bureau. "There will be a tendency to permit them to be used long after their need has ended."

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Wayne University—City or State?

In its *Bureau Notes,* the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** suggests that the state take over Wayne University, at present under city jurisdiction. It chides the city for its "degree of uncertainty and cautious waiting. . . . At the moment the seeming lack of knowing just what we want, and failure to go after it as vigorously as we could, adds confusion. The bureau consistently has believed that complete state assumption was the only adequate and logical answer." Loren B. Miller is director of the bureau.

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1946 Program

Among the activities which the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** is scheduling for 1946 are these: housing, particularly "the relationship of new housing to the maintenance of property values, the cost of governmental services, and conformity to civic development"; city planning, including the master plan now under discussion and its implementation; the base upon which tax support is derived for local government; budget analyses for city, county and school administrations; and organizational and functional analyses of city, county and school problems as the need for studies arises.

The bureau held its 1946 annual dinner meeting on February 19.

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Challenging the Budget

The **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.,** challenges methods of the Board of Finance in voting on the city's 1946 budget, which, it states in its *Taxpayers Problems,* "should no longer be continued without public challenge because it is believed to be unsound appropriating and budgeting procedure and contrary to the provisions of the New Haven city charter." Merle W. DeWees is executive director.

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Strictly Personal

John R. Kerstetter has been appointed manager of the Governmental Affairs Department of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Kerstetter was formerly with the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis. He entered the Navy in 1942, where he became a lieutenant in Naval intelligence.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Fifty Years on the Civic Front

Retiring Secretary Issues Pittsburgh Group's History

"THIS is my swan song as I leave the civic field of action," announced Miss H. Marie Dermitt, secretary of the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh) from 1905 to 1945, on publication of *Fifty Years of Civic History, 1895-1945* (61 pages). "I am profoundly grateful to the civic secretaries, organizations and friends who have been helpful to me in a variety of ways during my interesting and exciting career."

Miss Dermitt's chronology of activities during the past fifty years covers a wide variety of projects for which the Civic Club has struggled. It is arranged by subjects, under each of which is the date of outstanding battles for improvements. The city manager plan, metropolitan plan for Allegheny County, zoning, in the municipal government field; pure water, stream pollution, smoke, municipal hospitals, medical inspection in schools, tuberculosis, in the public health field; arbor day, hobby fair, music in the parks, playgrounds and parks, public libraries, flower markets, Christmas lighting, in the recreation field; get-out-the-vote, junior and young men's civic clubs, *Voters Directory*, in the civic field; outdoor advertising, social security, and a host of other activities have kept the club on its toes for these many years.

As Miss Dermitt comments in her foreword, the chronology "shows the versatility and catholicity of thought and action" of the club's membership. Committees study civic problems assigned to them to discover and recommend practical solutions and stimulate the interest of the community in the hope of eventually putting the solutions into effect. In the case of such proposals as open air schools, music in the parks, etc., the Board of Directors of the club permitted committees to undertake the development of a function for a limited period until the desirability of its being assumed by the city could be demonstrated.

The club has thrown its weight for or against proposed legislation as the need arose. Study and reports on federal, state and municipal legislation have been an almost continuous activity. Civic Club dues are not tax exempt, reports Miss Dermitt. This has left the club free to promote or oppose legislation without fear.

In 1907 the club joined with the American Civic Association in the nationwide campaign to save Niagara Falls from commercial vandalism; in 1911 it endorsed passage of the parcel post act and worked with other groups to secure the creation of a Federal Children's Bureau. The same year it endorsed and campaigned for state legislation to eliminate the fee system of compensating tax collectors in Allegheny County. Final victory in this battle was secured in 1936, 25 years later, and the pen used by Governor Earle to sign the bill was presented to the Civic Club in recognition of its efforts.

Beginning in 1931 the club worked for legislation which would give cities of the second class (Pittsburgh only) the option of adopting the city manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the council. It followed similar legislation through the legislative sessions of 1933, 1935, 1937 and 1939.

The club held its annual meeting in

January. In addition to electing officers the membership voted unanimously to adopt a proposed new constitution.

New Haven, Hartford Women Suggest Modern Charters

Calling attention to the fact that the council-manager plan has been found satisfactory in over 600 municipalities, the **Greater New Haven League of Women Voters,** in its handbook, *This Is Our City—A Study of the Problems of New Haven and Its City Government,* concludes that what the city needs is a new charter which would provide a plan for the responsible, efficient and economical administration of the city's affairs.

The league lists "haphazard accretions," some 35 acts of the state legislature granting charters and making changes in the charter. "As the city grew," says the study, "and its problems became more and more complex, more departments or agencies were added, frequently supervised by boards or commissions specially created for the purpose. All these have been added to, rather than worked into, the framework of the charter and government. . . . New Haven has today more than thirty different departments, boards and commissions and no provision in the charter for integrating them."

The study points out that eighteen local offices are elective, that the city's Board of Aldermen has 33 members (only two cities in the country have city councils larger than New Haven's).

New Charter for Hartford?

The **Hartford League of Women Voters** is among the various civic groups working for a new charter in that city. It joined with the **Governmental Research Institute** and radio station WTHT in sponsoring a series of four meetings in one of the public schools to which the public was invited. It has asked other civic groups to help stimulate interest in a new charter. The league plans to send ballots to its entire membership asking them to express their opinions on several important phases of city government. It hopes results will enable it to appear at an executive meeting of the City Charter Commission now in session prepared to make definite recommendations as to the form the new city government should take.

Girls Civic Club Helps Get Out the Vote

> EDITOR'S NOTE. — The following story appeared in *The Articulate Voter,* bulletin of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, Mrs. F. W. Grahame, president, under the title, "And An Even Younger Generation of 'Leaguers'."

We were just the Girls Civics Club of Mankato High School. We were becoming more social than civic until we were dying out for lack of real purpose. In trying to remedy this, we helped the Mankato League of Women Voters in a campaign to "get out the vote." It was fun to do something. For one thing we made tags, for another we took city maps, divided the territory among our 40 members and put on a doorbell campaign of "Have you voted?" Lest we ring any bell more than once we resorted to the hobo trick of a small chalk-mark on the front sidewalk. This told any possible overlapper of territory that we had already done our duty there. To our satisfaction Mankato had the largest voting percentage in its history.

This taste of constructive work was good and, sparing you the details, we became interested in the purpose and study of the League of Women Voters; and now, through the kindness of the Mankato League, we have been adopted by them as a Junior League of Women Voters. We are sharing their projects, and at present are putting in a window display downtown on the food consumption of war ravished nations in comparison with the United States.

The club is now very active and hopes to develop a three-way program: to study international and national problems, to study and help with Mankato civic problems, and to study and help with problems in our own high school government. We are also trying to emphasize correct parliamentary practice at our meetings.

We feel much indebted to the Mankato League for its inspiration and its help. We know a Junior League of Women Voters would be a fine thing in ANY high school!!

VIDA ALEXANDER
Mankato High School Sponsor

Student Conference Makes Civic Recommendations

Abolition of county lines within New York City and coordination of county departments into a single municipal branch were recommended in a resolution adopted unanimously by the **Third Annual Metropolitan College Conference for the New York Area.** The conference met at Brooklyn College, whose Bureau of Government Research and Department of Political Science sponsored the gathering. Delegates urged allocation of surplus state funds for the support of municipal general welfare programs and recommended that state and city tax structures be revised so as to afford more adequate sources of revenue and increased independence for the city. The conference recommended also a five and ten point preference program for able and disabled veterans in place of the veterans' preference amendment adopted at the November elections. Other recommendations covered housing, civil service and state aid.

Chicago Inspects Its Inspectional Services

A Report on the Regulatory Inspectional Services of the City of Chicago and a Plan to Simplify Procedures (135 pages) is the result of a survey sponsored by the **Chicago Association of Commerce** and directed by the **Chicago Civic Federation.** The study was made by the staff of the Chicago Budget Survey Committee under the direction of Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary of the Civic Federation, assisted by Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary.

The survey recommends that: all inspectional services pertaining to buildings and their equipment and appurtenances be consolidated in appropriate bureaus of an executive department of the city government; mechanical inspections by the city should be coordinated with inspections by insurance companies and equipment servicing contractors; bureaus having collateral inspectional services pertaining to buildings should have their inspections coordinated with those performed by the proposed department of buildings and housing; inspectional services pertaining to streets and sidewalks should be consolidated in the proposed division of engineering and inspection of the Bureau of Streets; improved procedures should be adopted for issuing and investigating occupational licenses and for the control of departmental inspection of premises; an improved personnel system applying to inspectors and the clerical force should be installed; new procedures should be adopted for departmental reports, control of inspector's work assignments, volume of inspections and other routine work; municipal code provisions applying to inspectional departments and associated agencies should be brought up to date and adhered to; legal procedures for preventing ordinance violations should be strengthened.

Charts illustrate the present setup for inspectional services in the city and organization of the proposed Department of Building and Housing in which many inspectional services would be consolidated.

Speakers Bureau

The **Corbin (Kentucky) League of Women Voters** has set up a speakers bureau on the council-manager plan. Corbin adopted that form of government at the November 1945 election, but it will not go into effect until 1949. Meanwhile, the League of Women Voters feels that an educational campaign should be conducted to insure that the community is well informed on how the plan works and its possibilities for good government.

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Manager Plan Favored

In a poll of leading Minneapolis citizens—representative of labor, clubs and the professions—conducted by the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the largest group, 38 per cent, expressed a preference for the council-manager plan. Preference for the present charter (weak mayor form) was expressed by 10 per cent; strong mayor-council form, 26 per cent; commission form, 20 per cent. Three per cent expressed a desire for combinations of these plans, while another 3 per cent had no comment to make.

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Open House in Minneapolis

The seven civic agencies of Minneapolis, now housed under one roof in the Metropolitan Building, held open house for members and the public on January 24, entertaining around a thousand guests. The event gave members an opportunity to inspect the new quarters and observe the work of the various agencies. Each visitor received leaflets describing the organizations and their purposes.

"We were pleased to hear the complimentary comments made by visitors on the actual achievement of the goal of housing all of the agencies under one roof," said W. D. Naffziger, president of the **Minneapolis Civic Council.** "The open house showed subscribers the multiplicity of activities being carried on day in and day out by the civic agencies."

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Merit System Publicized

Five hundred "broadsides" on the merit system have been distributed by the **St. Joseph, Missouri, League of Women Voters,** reports Mrs. Lee C. Sutherland. They have been mailed to senators and representatives, to league members, to local newspapers, and to members of the Citizens Good Government Association, the Council of Social Agencies, the American Association of University Women, Junior League, Teachers' Club, School Board, Ministerial Alliance and numerous other groups.

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Veterans and Students

The recently established Research Committee on Special State Problems, an evening group inaugurated by the **Massachusetts Civic League** primarily for veterans interested in participating in such activities, is having frequent lively meetings. Co-chairmen are Robert Saumseigle and Eleanor Killpartrick. Discussions include the old-age assistance referendum which, in all its 1800 words, will be on the 1946 ballot.

The league's Students' Committee on State Affairs, composed of high school pupils of Boston and its vicinity, assembles at Old South Meeting House, where it is addressed by members of the State Senate and House. At one meeting the pros and cons of the fair employment practices bill were debated by Senators Edward M. Rowe and Donald W. Nicholson.

Miss Katharine V. E. Lyford is executive secretary of the League.

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More Money for City Employees?

The **Lowell Taxpayers' Association,** has issued a six-page bulletin dealing with the request of city employees for a further raise in salary. Taking up the arguments of the employees, the association, of which Lorenz F. Muther is executive secretary, comes to the conclusion that by comparison with cost-of-living indices as well as with rates paid in other comparable cities, city employees are properly paid; that from the point of view of the revenue expectancy of the city, state legislation for cities, and the future increase in the number of employees, any further rise in salaries of city employees is not in order. The report presents a comparative table showing wages and salaries for five Massachusetts cities—New Bedford, Somerville, Lowell, Lawrence and Lynn.

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Women in Public Office

The Committee on Economic and Legal Status of Women of the **American Association of University Women** has unanimously agreed "to urge branches and state divisions to become even more active than before in promoting women for political and civic positions in their communities and states, and to cooperate with other organizations in doing so." It is suggested that AAUW groups hold more local, state and regional "White House" conferences on "How Women May Share in Government," using various suggested references, and to follow up such conferences with action. Miss Kathryn McHale is general director of the organization.

Double Celebration

The year 1946 finds Cleveland celebrating its 150th birthday and the **Cleveland Citizens League** its 50th anniversary.

"The whole future of Cleveland, of the Citizens League, and of the other public and private institutions which have shared in Cleveland's greatness," says John E. Bebout, secretary of the league and editor of *Greater Cleveland,* "may well depend on how competently and fully we discharge our obligations during the next year. We dare not conceive our task in small terms. If any generation of Clevelanders has needed the energy, the daring and the unrestricted vision of the pioneers, ours is the generation." Listed as a few of the unsolved problems facing the city are: the suburban problem, the decay of the central area, transportation, where the money is coming from, intergovernmental relations—federal, state, county, city and interurban.

The League asks members and readers of *Greater Cleveland,* "What is good local government worth to you?" It points out that the minimum dues of five dollars cost 1.4 cents per day, considerably less than a daily newspaper or a coca-cola, "certainly less per week than one movie or even a pack of cigarettes."

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Philosophy of Education

"Public secondary education should prepare the student for the privileges and duties of citizenship through the discipline of mind and emotion, so that he may, through his own experience, learn that responsibility for good government rests upon the use which he makes of his franchise."

This is the last—and one of the most important—of a series of recommendations made by the committee to consider a philosophy of public secondary education in Portland, Oregon, authorized by the **Portland City Club** in January 1945. The committee's report has been published in the club's *Bulletin* for January 11.

Of the six other studies on education subjects which the club authorized, one report, on the values and implications of universal military training, was submitted to the club in April of last year. The five additional reports are pending, some nearing completion. They cover educational needs of individuals whose education has been interrupted by the war, problems of present and future federal participation in public education in the Portland area, responsibility of the community to provide educational and constructive recreational opportunities for adults, need for reorganizing secondary education in the Portland area, adequacy of the public school health program.

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Nonpartisan Civil Service

The plan to take personnel matters out of politics in Springfield, Massachusetts, inaugurated under a Democratic administration and carried forward by the present Republican administration, "is a striking example of progressive nonpartisan government in Springfield," cites the **Springfield Taxpayers' Association** in its bulletin, *One Minute Please*. The first step in this freedom from political pressure was the creation of a representative personnel commission which made a study of positions in the city's civil service resulting in the establishment of a standardized pay plan. A proposal for service ratings for employees is now before the City Council as an essential part of the plan to keep personnel matters out of politics.

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Hope Springs Eternal

The **Chicago City Club** has asked state and county leaders of the two major parties to give special consideration to the need for selecting outstanding candidates for Congress in the 1946 elections. The appeal, contained in a letter signed by President William H. Haight on behalf of the executive committee, was made on a nonpartisan basis. "The importance of placing before the people of Cook County and of Illinois the ablest and worthiest candidates for office is obvious," reads the letter. "Upon you rests a large part of the responsibility for the type of candidate offered to the voters."

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Strictly Personal

Hon. Harold E. Stassen, former governor of Minnesota and until recently a captain in the United States Navy, will address the Cleveland City Club. Members of the Cleveland Citizens League and other civic groups have been invited to attend. Mr. Stassen is a member of the council of the National Municipal League.

Robert A. Walker has been appointed director of the new Institute of Citizenship recently installed by the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. He was previously with the United States Department of Agriculture.

The Seattle Real Estate Board has named **W. Walter Williams** as the city's "first citizen" for 1945. Mr. Williams is a member of the Seattle Municipal League and was president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1938 and 1939. The award was based on his war service to the community which included chairmanship of the Washington State Defense Council.

At its 71st annual meeting the Citizens' Association of Chicago elected **George R. Carr,** chairman of the board of Dearborn Chemical Company, as president. **Herman O. Walther** and **Gilbert H. Osgood** were chosen as vice-presidents, **Stanley P. Farwell** as treasurer, and **Edward M. Martin** secretary.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

The Second P. R. Election in Lowell

Plan E Proposed for Boston
P. R. Developments Abroad

LOWELL'S second P. R. election on November 6 returned six of the outgoing councilors for another two-year term and replaced three others who sought re-election by two former councilors and a returned veteran new to politics. It did not, however, change the political complexion of the Council as a whole.

Lowell, an industrial city with a cosmopolitan population, is divided politically into three main groups which antedate the advent of P. R.—"Irish Democrats," "Yankee Republicans" and "French Republicans." While P. R. elections are nonpartisan and have shown numerous evidences of political independence by many voters, these main groupings have naturally had a considerable influence. In striking contrast to past elections under other methods, all three have been fairly treated. The outgoing and the new Councils each consist of four "Irish Democrats," three "Yankee Republicans" and two "French Republicans."

This consistent reflection of the main groupings resulted despite the fact that there were 97 candidates in the 1943 P. R. council election and 59 in 1945. Such a scattering of votes in a contest for nine places would have made the results under a plurality system of election entirely haphazard, with a large part of the votes wasted on losers. Under P. R. as the low candidates were dropped one at a time their votes were transfered to the voters' next choices, so far as such choices were expressed, instead of being wasted. Enough of the transferred ballots did show such choices to preserve the main trends shown by the first choices and to make 85 per cent of the valid ballots effective in electing candidates for whom the voters had expressed a choice.

Woodbury F. Howard, who was chairman of the committee that secured the adoption of the "Plan E" (city manager and P. R.) form of government and served as mayor by election of his fellow-councilors for the first two years under it, led the count on first choices. During the transfers, however, he was passed by two others and the man who reached the election quota of 3,242 first, Councilor Leo A. Roy, popular French-American, was chosen mayor for the new term.

Numerous other changes of position took place during the exciting transfers and the candidates who started eighth and ninth lost out to the candidates who started tenth and thirteenth.

The campaign was quiet but resulted, as expected, in a larger vote than in 1943.

Upsets on School Committee

In the P. R. election of the school committee less attention was paid to traditional alignments. Well qualified members of two minority groups which had never had anyone elected to public office in Lowell before were among the six committeemen elected. They were Paul C. Panagiotakos, graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, holder of a doctor's degree in organic chemistry and instructor at the Lowell Textile Institute, who led the poll, and John Janas, who had graduated from Lowell Textile at the head of his class. These men not only received enthusiastic support from the relatively small Greek and Polish communities to which they respectively belonged but ran well in all parts of the city and on votes transferred from all types of candidates.

The others elected were the two members of the outgoing committee who sought re-election, Gerald F. Cronin and John P. McDonough; a former committeeman with a good reputation, John J. White; and George A. Ayotte of the Franco-American Union.

There were 29 candidates in all. As the low men were eliminated one by one Panagiotakos, Ayotte and White reached the full quota of 4,565 and 73 per cent of the voters succeeded in electing candidates for whom they had expressed a choice.

Under the Plan E charter Mayor Roy is a member and chairman of the school committee *ex officio*.

The two counts were conducted under the direction of C. Brendan Noonan of Cambridge, who had charge of the first Cambridge P. R. counts in 1941 and the first Lowell counts two years ago.

The Council count was completed the Monday night after election and the School Committee count, which followed, was completed the following Thursday night. The Council count was prolonged by the large number of candidates. A recount of councilmanic ballots demanded by a defeated candidate made no change in the result and only a slight difference in votes credited to candidates.

A Bright Financial Outlook

A special article in the *Lowell Sun* of January 17 describes the city's improved financial situation under Plan E. When the new regime was inaugurated on January 1 two years ago, the city's debt was $4,117,929. At the beginning of the current year it had been reduced to $2,388,763. The city is repaying large past borrowings for unemployment relief, local improvements and even operating expenses. The water department has not only reduced a $400,000 debt to $243,000 but "accumulated a surplus of $65,000 with which to finance improvements to the department—an unheard of situation in the modern history of the city."

Next year the city's interest payments will drop from $64,000 in 1945 to less than $40,000. Most of the debt is scheduled for elimination by 1950. "Thus it can be seen," the article concludes, "that if the city can keep on an even keel for the next few years, the point will be reached where hundreds of thousands of dollars of tax money will be freed for local improvements, current obligations, more equipment, better service and greatly reduced taxes."

P. R. Bills in Massachusetts Legislature

Speaker Frederick B. Willis, Saugus Republican, of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, has introduced two bills proposing extensions of Plan E, the combination of the council-manager plan and proportional representation now in effect in Cambridge and Lowell.

The first calls for a vote next fall on adoption of the plan in Boston, the only city excluded from the present optional act. The proposal is being supported, according to newspaper accounts, by the Boston Finance Commission, the Municipal Research Bureau, the civic branch of the Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters. Proponents say that if Mayor Curley does not do better by the city in his new administration than he has done previously, there will be a very strong movement for the adoption of Plan E.

Speaker Willis' second bill set out to make Plan E available to towns by petition and popular vote. The use of

P. R. in this connection is particularly appropriate because many Massachusetts towns are still governed by town meetings, which, though cumbersome and ill-attended in modern conditions, allow a voice in town affairs to every minority however small. P. R. preserves the town meeting's conditions of minority representation and majority rule as accurately as it is possible to do it in a representative body. However, at a public hearing before the joint committee on towns, P. R. was attacked as "undemocratic" because of its minority representation feature by the majority leader of the Senate, Senator Donald W. Nicholson, Republican, of Wareham, and Mr. Willis agreed to withdraw that feature of his town bill and also to let town clerks, collectors and auditors remain elective under the town manager plan.

As in other recent sessions the repeal of Plan E for cities has been proposed by a bill introduced at the request of Edna L. Spencer of Cambridge. At a hearing on this bill on January 16 Plan E was upheld by Mayor Leo A. Roy and Councilor Woodbury F. Howard of Lowell, George A. McLoughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, and Arthur C. Conley of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

P. R. Used Again in Germany

Before the advent of Hitler, Germany used for all its elections a party list system of P. R. It prevented the Nazi party from winning a clear majority of the Reichstag and was one of the most obviously logical victims of Hitler's wrath when by extra-legal stratagems he assumed power.

The first democratic elections in Germany since the defeat of Nazi-Germany were held on the P. R. principle under provisions similar to those in force before the Nazi regime. They were the local elections held in the American zone, first for seventeen rural counties (*Kreise*) in Greater Hesse on January 20 and then for 22 additional counties in that state and for all counties throughout Bavaria and Wuertemberg-Baden on January 27.

According to dispatches to the *New York Times*, 83 per cent of the voters cast their ballots in the January 20 poll. Incomplete returns place the Social Democratic party at the head of the poll with 146,500 votes, followed by the Christian Social Union (Christian Democrats) with 99,500; independents, 92,000; Communists, 16,600; and Liberal Democrats, 5,600.

In the later elections, participated in by the large cities, 84½ per cent of the voters went to the polls. On incomplete returns the Christian Social Union (Christian Democrats) led the poll with 1,304,000 out of 3,250,000 ballots tabulated; followed by the Social Democrats, 870,000; Communists, 127,000; Liberal Democrats, 57,000; independents and smaller parties (of which, for example, there were seventeen in Bavaria), 840,000.

P. R. Bill Almost Carries in South Australia

Tireless advocates of electoral justice in South Australia have had another disappointing setback after success seemed within their grasp.

A bill providing for the election of the provincial House of Assembly (lower house) by the Hare system of P. R. was introduced and championed by the leader of the Labor party, R. S. Richards of Wallaroo. It provided for the election of six members from each of the province's six election districts for the federal House of Representatives or, in case of federal reapportionment, of five members from each district if the number of districts were increased to seven or of seven members from each district if the number of districts were decreased to five. Since the federal apportionment is governed by provisions which insure approximate equality in the population of districts, this plan assured a close approximation to equality of voting power throughout the province, in striking contrast to the present plurality system in unequal gerrymandered districts.

It was not proposed to change the method of electing the upper house, the Legislative Council, in the hope that that body could be induced to accept the bill if it passed the House of Assembly. An earlier P. R. bill which passed the lower house in 1924 met defeat because of upper house amendments.

Although Mr. Richards is the leader of the opposition, enough votes outside his own party seemed assured to pass his measure in the lower house. The actual event is described in a letter of December 6 from E. J. Craigie, secretary of the Henry George League of South Australia and sponsor of a P. R. measure which almost carried the House when he was an independent member of it in 1940:

Vote on Bill

"The P. R. bill reached its second reading stage in the State Parliament yesterday. The voting was: for the bill, 19; against, 16. As the bill provided for an alteration of the constitution it was necessary that it obtain a constitutional majority, that is, 20 votes; consequently the failure to reach that number by one vote caused the bill to be defeated.

"There were peculiar circumstances attaching to the taking of the vote. One of the Labor members was not in his place in the House to vote for his leader's bill, and one independent member who spoke in support of the bill entered the House immediately after the vote had been taken. Either one of these members' votes would have insured the passage of the bill. The independent stated he had been detained by a blow-out of one of the tires on his motor car and reached the House in time to find the doors locked against him for the division on the bill. . . . It is an open secret that a number of Labor members with safe pocket boroughs are not in favor of P. R. although it is on the party platform. . . ."

Tasmanian Groups Use P. R.

In a speech explaining and supporting his bill in the House of Assembly on October 10 Mr. Richards made the following reference to Tasmania, which has conducted its provincial parliamentary elections by the Hare system of P. R. ever since 1907:

"During a recent visit to Tasmania I was surprised to learn that a large number of organizations not even semi-governmental in character adopt the system of proportional representation for the election of their officers. Officials of the State Electoral Department are available to assist in the conduct of such ballots. This shows the confidence that the Tasmanian people have in proportional representation. I attended a Labor party conference at Launceston, where an election of officers took place. The electoral returning officer for the state conducted the ballot. All the officers were elected on the basis of proportional representation and the Electoral Department assisted as an act of courtesy. I was informed that elections associated with the Masonic Order were conducted in the same way. I mention this to show that where the system has been in operation for years there is general approval and acceptance of it."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Manager Plan Suggested in Four Counties

New Charter Drawn for Clackamas County, Ore.

THE Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, associated with the University of Oregon, has drafted and submitted a manager charter to the Clackamas County, Oregon, Charter Committee. It provides for a board of seven members, elected at large on a nonpartisan ballot, which would appoint a manager. Provision is made for staggered four-year terms for board members. After the first election four and three members would be elected at alternate elections. Except for the county board all elective offices would be abolished and full power of appointment would be given to the county manager.

A group of citizens in Baltimore County, the largest and wealthiest in Maryland, is interested in securing the council-manager plan as the county's mode of government. Baltimore County, entirely separated from the city of Baltimore, completely surrounds the city except to the south. Its population is approximately 200,000. It contains a large industrial section, middle class suburban homes in a wide belt surrounding the city, and an outlying district of farms and large estates. At present the county is governed by a commission of three members, elected at large.

The Atlanta Industrial Union Council in a recent meeting adopted a resotion urging Fulton County, Georgia, to adopt the manager form of government. It recommended that the Fulton commissioners "seek out and employ the most competent manager available," and regarding such manager it specified, "he is to take no part in the county politics." The manager plan was recommended also several months ago by a Fulton County grand jury.[1]

Reform Recommended for Missouri Counties

The University of Denver graduate students, Paul Byers and Lila Pine, making governmental studies of Pemiscot and Cape Girardeau Counties, Missouri, as previously reported in this REVIEW,[2] recommended the following changes:

Cape Girardeau County is governed by a three-member county court with legislative, administrative and judicial powers. It is recommended that the judicial functions be entirely removed and that administrative functions be delegated to a chief executive in a manager plan of government. Also recommended are a reassessment of property, centralized purchasing, improved personnel procedures, annual audits, reforms in accounting practices, and the abolition of the fee system of compensation.

Pemiscot County is a rural area devoted primarily to the growing of cotton and soy beans. It has the traditional form of government, but with more than the usual amount of lack of integration because of the existence of partially autonomous highway, levee and drainage districts. Recommendations include a short ballot, centralized purchasing, an integrated system of accounting, and supervision of all county activities by a county court.

Santa Barbara County Establishes Water Agency

Santa Barbara County, California, has established a water agency which will serve as spokesman for the several water districts and cities in the county in negotiations with the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. Members of the County Board of Supervisors will serve as directors of the agency.

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[1] See REVIEW, January 1946, page 36.

[2] November 1945, page 520.

The purposes of the agency include cooperation in providing an adequate water supply for the rapidly-growing cities, flood control, irrigation and the arresting of the constantly lowering water-table.

The several dams necessary will be built by the Bureau of Reclamation and financed on a 40-year self-liquidating basis.

Wisconsin County Officials Seek Home Rule

Wisconsin Counties, a publication of the Wisconsin County Boards Association and other groups of county officials, has published an article pleading for more home rule for the counties of the state. It emphasizes that the 1945 legislature restored many of the county home rule powers regarding internal administrative matters that were granted by the 1923 legislature but which subsequently were reduced and restricted by judicial decisions. It proposes that the legislature now give consideration to county home rule in substantive matters or functional fields as contrasted with the problems of form and organization.

Counties Make Postwar Plans

In many states county planning is making considerable progress, aided by legislative action. New legislation includes authorization to Colorado boards of county commissioners to adopt building codes in zoned unincorporated areas; provision for the creation of county planning commissions in Michigan; authorization to county commissioners in North Carolina to set up county planning boards and for creation of joint county-city planning agencies; and in Minnesota an amendment allowing preparation of a comprehensive plan for Ramsey County outside the city limits of St. Paul.

In California outstanding planning is being done by such long established commissions as those in San Mateo, Marin, Los Angeles, Santa Clara, San Joaquin and Orange Counties, the American Society of Planning Officials reports. San Bernadino County, in that state, has published a detailed county analysis this year.

The Virginia State Planning Board, which sponsored a series of county planning institutes in that state, published six pamphlets on aspects of county planning organization and activity.

Southern counties have been particularly active in the preparation of public works programs. State planning agencies in North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama give particular support to this activity.

In Florida the Dade County Coordinating and Planning commission, which prepared an airport survey for the area last year, recently enlarged its staff for an expanded program.

The newest county planning commission in the country is probably Montgomery County's, (Dayton) Ohio.

Story County, Iowa, with an unofficial postwar planning council, has carried on a program of adult education in planning. Representing sixteen county-wide organizations, the council works across the social, economic and physical fields of planning "in a true grass roots program."

During 1945 the Westchester County (New York) Department of Planning took action in connection with important zoning problems and prepared a comprehensive report on the need for markets in the area.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Commission Urges More New York State Aid

Proposed Program Covers Increase of $51,000,000

INCREASED state aid to local units and a drastic reorganization of the basis for such aid was urged on the New York legislature by the Temporary State Commission on Municipal Revenues and Reduction of Real Estate Taxes (State Comptroller Frank C. Moore, chairman) in its second report, submitted in January.

The proposed program differs substantially, both in amount of aid and method of allocation, from the existing state aid structure in New York. Under the present system the state makes outright grants for certain purposes, most importantly for 40 per cent of emergency relief expenditures, and distributes proceeds of part of a number of state-collected revenues on various formulas.

The new system would substitute for the bulk of shared revenues a per capita distribution to be made from the state's general revenues, augmented by a share of motor vehicle and motor fuel taxes for counties outside New York City, by aid for snow removal outside New York City, by increased educational aid, and by assumption by the state of all but 20 per cent of the cost of home relief and social security.

The commission estimates that, as compared with 1944, the proposed plan will cost the state an additional $51,486,264 and increase aid to the localities by a like amount. Of this increase, $32,074,683 would fall to New York City, including $7,381,000 for education, while $19,411,581 would fall to upstate units, including $10,208,900 for education.

These figures have been objected to by some as misleading, inasmuch as the 1944 state aid total on which they are based excludes any part of the state public utility tax, originally levied by New York City, then taken in its entirety by the state, and for 1944 returned "temporarily" to the cities. If adjustment is made to include in the 1944 aid the cities' temporary share of the utility tax, then the over-all increase under the proposed plan drops to $32,957,973, divided $18,687,715 to New York City and $14,270,258 to upstate.

The 1944 aid was less than that of 1945 because of higher revenues last year, but in normal years the plan will undoubtedly give the local units much more than they would have received under the present system, especially since emergency relief would be largely shifted to the state.

Per Capita Payments

A principal feature of the plan is the substitution of per capita payments for most of the shared taxes now received by cities, towns and villages. Proposed at the rate of $6.75 per capita for cities, $3.55 for towns, and $3 for villages, these would take the place of all shared revenues. They would substitute what for the local units would be a dependable annual revenue in place of the present fluctuating yield of numerous shared taxes and, like state assumption of the bulk of emergency relief costs, would benefit the cities especially in times of adversity. Under the plan shared revenues would be increased $12,453,606 as compared with 1944 (with 1944 excluding the temporary utility tax distribution of $18,528,291, however) and would amount to an estimated $95,746,611 inclusive of $11,841,907 motor vehicle and motor fuel revenues which would continue to be allocated to upstate counties. Of the total of shared taxes, $50,248,971 will fall to New York City.

Second in amount to the shared taxes under the plan, and even more important in the long run to the cities, towns and counties which handle emergency relief, is the proposed raising of the state's share of welfare costs from the present 40 per cent to 80 per cent. In 1944 the local units received $57,105,577 for welfare reimbursements, as compared with a proposed $78,037,733 under the plan. New York City in 1944 received welfare reimbursements of $38,408,875, whereas had the plan been in effect it would have received $54,306,594. For upstate cities the corresponding figures would be $3,134,668 and $4,214,800, for upstate counties $15,135,703 and $18,700,043 and for upstate towns $426,331 and $816,296.

The $51,486,264 total increase under the plan, as estimated by the commission, includes state grants for education under the revised formula already enacted. Educational aid totaled $76,466,100 in 1944 and is estimated under the revised plan as $94,056,000, or up $17,589,900, with $7,381,000 of the increase falling to New York City as earlier noted and $10,308,900 to the upstate cities and school districts. Aid to upstate counties and towns for highways would be unchanged at an estimated $5,052,893, while the minor item of upstate county snow removal grants would be doubled from $510,602 in 1944 to an estimated $1,021,204.

Enactment of the commission's plan is expected to be made a part of the Dewey administration's legislative program although it is not yet apparent what changes if any will be urged by the legislature.

U. S. Supreme Court Affirms Tax in Saratoga Springs Case

The decision of the United States Supreme Court affirming imposition of the federal excise tax on mineral waters bottled and sold by the Saratoga Springs Authority of New York State, just announced when this department went to press last month, is now available for study. While it discloses a novel division of the court—no less than four separate opinions were rendered—the position of a majority is evidently much closer to traditional rulings on intergovernmental tax immunity than at first appeared.

The case, it will be recalled, arose when New York State protested the imposition of the two cents per gallon federal excise tax on mineral waters bottled and sold by the Saratoga Springs Authority, a state agency. The state urged that in operating the authority it was engaged in a governmental activity—conservation of natural resources.

In *South Carolina* vs. *United States*, 199 U. S. 437, rendered in 1905, the court had upheld imposition of a federal license tax on a state liquor system, and it was generally expected that the decision in the Saratoga Springs case would follow this precedent. Last fall, however, the court asked New York and the other states which had appeared as *amici curiae* in the case to file briefs and argue two new questions: first, as to whether Congress may tax a state activity generally taxable if engaged in by private interests, provided the tax be not discriminatory; second, to what extent a state by enlarging its proprietary activities may withdraw from federal taxation activities normally subject to federal taxation if engaged in by private interests.

This was regarded as indicating at least a willingness on the part of the court to reconsider the whole subject of intergovernmental tax immunity, and aroused intense interest in the case. Briefs were filed by New York and by the attorneys general of 45 other states.

Traditional Approach

The court's decision, handed down January 14, 1946, showed that only a minority of the court was willing to go very far in discarding the traditional approach to tax immunity. Mr. Justice Frankfurter announced the judgment of the court in an opinion with which Mr. Justice Rutledge concurred in a separate opinion. Four other members of the court—Chief Justice Stone, who wrote a third opinion, with Justices Reed, Murphy and Burton concurring—agreed in upholding the tax but disagreed on almost every other point with the Frankfurter and Rutledge opinion. Two justices, Douglas and Black, dissented. Mr. Justice Jackson did not participate.

The Frankfurter opinion discarded the traditional thesis of reciprocal immunity, and proposed that the test be whether a tax levied by the federal government on the states is discriminatory or non-discriminatory. He appears to have held fast, however, to the view that the federal government was immune to state taxation. The opinion of the Chief Justice agreed that the tax must be non-discriminatory, but held that it must nevertheless be such as not to unduly interfere with the state's performance of its sovereign functions of government. All six justices appeared agreed, however, in rejecting distinctions between governmental and proprietary activities as the test. The dissenting opinion followed the traditional Marshall proposition that the immunity is reciprocal and should be applied without exception.

It seems evident that had a majority of the court agreed with Mr. Justice Frankfurter that a federal tax need only be non-discriminatory as between state and private taxpayers engaging in like activities, the way would have been opened for widespread federal taxation of state-local activities, not only in such "proprietary" activities as water, light, transit, toll bridge and highway enterprises, but possibly also in numerous activities which are essentially governmental. As things stand, however, the broad question of intergovernmental tax immunity appears to have been settled, for the duration of the court as now constituted, on lines not far removed from those previously prevailing, but with the added advantage to local government that the attempted distinction between governmental and proprietary activities appears to have been abandoned.

California State-Local Improvement Plans Listed

One of the states most spectacularly affected by the in-migration of war workers during the defense and war boom period, California has also been among the states most actively engaged the last several years in promoting and cataloguing the means by which the state and its local units expected to soften the transition from war to peace production and retain as large a portion as possible of the newcomers.

The work has centered in the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, which has collected and published many interesting studies of local situations and has now released a catalogue of the state-local improvement programs expected to meet deferred capital needs and provide employment as, if and when needed.

Through December 31, 1945, the commission reports, public works amounting to more than $1,100,000,000 had

(Continued on page 156)

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

British Leaders Plan Administrative Staff College

To Train Civil Service, Trade Union, Industrial Personnel

AN Administrative Staff College[1] at which young administrators, nominated from among the most promising of rising personnel in industry, the civil service, local government and the trade unions will take courses together, is being established in England this year. A court of governors has already been appointed and the college incorporated. The college is to be located on a riverside country estate where it is hoped students, during their three months stay, will relax and learn much from each other's experiences as well as take courses. Candidates for the college will be nominated initially by their own organizations, subject to review and confirmation by a college selection committee.

For more than three years a group of industrialists and others has been studying a plan to found such a college. Members of the group have consulted members of the government and representative leaders in industry, commerce, the fighting services, the civil defense, local government and the universities. The proposal has been received with general enthusiasm.

The ideas underlying the proposal may be summarized as follows: (1) Industrial and commercial enterprises as well as the activities of government, both central and local, are daily becoming more widespread and more complex. This calls for devolution of duties and acceptance of responsibility by an increasing number of those in executive positions.

(2) The recent changes in the spheres of business and of government also demand a closer appreciation of the outlook and problems of others both within and between private enterprise and the public service. The improved relationship and the greater mutual understanding induced by the war should be strengthened to the utmost.

(3) There are certain fundamental principles of organization and administration which are common even to quite different types of activity. These principles can and should be taught, but today they are laboriously and inadequately acquired individually by a process of trial and error.

(4) Far better results can be obtained if these principles are expounded to those who already have acquired some relevant experience.

(5) Holders of responsible positions are drawn from all sorts of people—from those who have received the highest academic education and those whose education has been severely practical; from technicians transferred to administrative functions and those who started on the administrative side. Experience, however, suggests that a suitable course can be devised for men and women with widely different backgrounds, provided care is taken to avoid giving the course too academic a flavor.

Aims of Institution

In some respects the problem is comparable to that of the fighting services where the need for staff colleges has long been recognized. There is a somewhat similar need among holders of responsible positions in civil life.

The aims of the college will be: (1) To investigate and explain the principles and technique of organization, administration and leadership in civil life; and (2) by, so to speak, "cross-fertilizing" the minds of young administrators from all walks of national life, at an age when their views are formed but not fixed, to provide for the exchange of ideas to mutual advantage and to promote a better understanding in the future between those in charge in different spheres of activity.

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[1] This article is condensed in part from *Municipal Journal* (England), November 30 and December 21, 1945.

Under the first of these aims problems to be studied are, for example, principles underlying the structure of organizations, personnel management common to most large-scale enterprises, application of statistical methods to practical problems, uses and limitations of public relations work, and methods of measuring public opinion. The aim will not be to produce personnel managers, statisticians or public relations officers but to assist the student to understand what such specialists, whether inside or outside their own organizations, can or cannot do.

Research and Teaching

It is considered important that the staff of the college should be engaged in research as well as teaching. Apart from the undoubted fact that teaching and research are good for each other, industry and the public services may well find it useful to have, as it were, a research station to which problems of administration and organization can be referred. In this field the college will in course of time render a service no less valuable than its teaching by providing a store house and clearing house of knowledge and experience.

The second of the college's aims will be achieved informally by the opportunity afforded, in an institution without political, economic or social bias, for the mixing of types and the pooling of experience. By helping students to a discovery of the roles played by those in other walks of life, something will be done to break down the mutual ignorance and consequent distrust that exist today. The habit of approaching administrative problems in a purely objective and scientific spirit will be strengthened. This will increase, and indeed disclose, the unity of purpose underlying some of the superficial differences in national life.

The mixing of public servants, labor leaders, businessmen and industrialists is of the greatest importance. Apart from the obvious point that many of their problems will be shown to be common, or at least related, training at the college will broaden their sympathies, quicken perception of their social obligations, and lead to a better understanding of other people's way of life and point of view.

A foundation has offered to provide grants totaling £10,000 over five years for the award of scholarships.

A Suggestion on Montreal's Metropolitan Problem

The mayor of a suburb of Montreal has proposed that the Montreal Metropolitan Commission be the nucleus of an administrative system for the whole island of Montreal.[1]

Canada's commercial metropolis is composed of fifteen separate municipalities and, until the Metropolitan Commission was established in 1921, there was no official connection of any kind between them. Established primarily to take care of four (now three) bankrupt towns, the commission has had a much more important job, the supervision of the finances of all its member municipalities with the exception of the city of Montreal itself. The commission's value was particularly noticeable during the days of the long depression, when many cities and towns in Canada became delinquent in their financial obligations, but those under the commission, even the poorest, managed to keep their heads above water.

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[1] *Municipal Review of Canada,* December, 1945.

The commission's membership is composed not of direct representatives of the public, but of representatives of the various local councils, usually but not necessarily the mayor. Such a system of metropolitan administration is probably the only one that would be acceptable to a cosmopolitan community like Montreal with its distinctive national units.

More Grants Extended to Local Governments

A bill to change the distribution of the block grant so as to favor poorer local authorities more has been given a second reading in the British House of Commons. Called the Local Government (Financial Provisions) Bill, it was described by Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, as essentially an interim measure designed to meet the immediate postwar situation until the entire structure of local government finance can be reexamined.

British Boundary Commission Regulations Approved

Regulations made by Minister of Health Bevan which are to serve as a guide to the new Boundary Commission were approved by the House of Commons in December. In general they lay down the factors which the commission must take into consideration in ordering consolidation or alteration of local government boundaries.

One of the factors to be taken into account is the relationship between the new housing and planning programs designed to decentralize many of the urban areas and local government jurisdictions.

Manitoba Legislature Makes Municipal Changes

Legislative changes in the powers of municipalities in Manitoba during 1945 included a law empowering localities to enter into the business of buying and selling gasoline and petroleum products or becoming members of cooperatives carrying on such business.

Structural changes extended the term of mayor or reeve to two years and empowered municipalities to appoint civic managers.

Education for Public Service

Reform of educational and entrance policies relative to the French local and central civil service are being undertaken. The object is to make the highest positions in the service available to everyone through a number of schools for present and prospective public administrators, the cost of such education being largely met by the government.[1]

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Information Centers

As a result of their proved usefulness during the war, local information centers, it has been suggested by the minister of health, should be established permanently in England.

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Airports

The future of municipal airports in the Union of South Africa remains quite uncertain pending decision by the national government as to what extent they should be nationalized.

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[1] For more details on the French reform, see *Public Administration Review,* Autumn 1945; and *Municipal Journal,* November 2, 1945.

Books in Review

The Book of the States, 1945-1946 (Volume VI). Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1945. xii, 724 pp. $5.

This is a useful reference book on state governments, containing a vast amount of up-to-date information on state officialdom, constitutions, functions and intergovernmental relations. Extensive improvements have been made in this edition over previous ones, principally in the organization of the materials.

An effort has been made to get specialists in the various fields to summarize recent developments in a number of readable articles. These articles have then been grouped under various headings such as intergovernmental relations, constitutions and elections, legislatures and legislation, administration, taxation and finance, major state services and the judiciary.

All statistical data have been revised and brought up to date as far as possible, and considerable new material has been added. Appended to the articles and statistical materials is a list of state officials and state legislators which takes up something like a third of the volume. A selected bibliography is added at the end of the book.

The first section of the volume contains illuminating articles on recent developments in cooperative state action, interstate compacts, state-federal relations and state-local relations, contributed by Frank Bane, Chester E. Rightor, Joseph P. Harris and Clyde F. Snider. The second section has a summary of state constitutional changes by W. Brooke Graves, a discussion of the new Missouri constitution by Charlton F. Chute, ballot legislation by Spencer D. Albright and soldier voting by Leo Seybold. Other notable articles in subsequent sections are those written by Lloyd M. Short on state administrative reorganization, T. G. Driscoll on the commissioner of administration in Minnesota, James M. Martin on tax administration and the control of expenditures, Roy G. Blakey on federal, state and local fiscal relations, M. L. Wilson on state-federal cooperation in agricultural extension programs, Thomas H. MacDonald on the postwar highway program, John Bauer on state utility regulation, and Rodney L. Mott on state judicial systems.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Research in Public Administration. By William Anderson and John M. Gaus. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1945. xiv, 221 pp. $3.

This volume is divided into two sections: Report of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council 1934-1945, by William Anderson, and Research in Public Administration, 1930-1945, by John M. Gaus.

Since its reorganization in 1934 with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Anderson recalls in Part 1, the Committee on Public Administration has carried out and published five major research projects in addition to several minor ones. The five principal projects were: (1) The Administrative Aspects of the Social Security Program, National and State; (2) Survey and Appraisal of City Management under the Council-Manager Plan; (3) Survey of the Governmental Research Movement; (4) Public Administration and the United States Department of Agriculture; and (5) Survey of Education for Public Administration. Findings of these studies have been published for the committee by the Public Administration Service. Dr. Anderson describes the securing and organization of the materials making up the various studies, and makes recommendations for a postwar research program.

Dr. Gaus reports (Part II) on the great expansion of government functions during the fifteen years covered by his report and its resulting confusion for the citizen. He points to what has been done during these years by way of research and the development of research organizations, including those of the universities, in the field of public administration. He notes the greatly increased volume of publications in the field and the increase in training for public service. His last chapter, The Task Before Us, suggests numerous problems which still need examination. He asks, in his final paragraphs: "Are the spectacular expansion of administration, the recruitment of so many young people from the universities, the outpouring of writings, the development of a professional administrative jargon, the widespread attacks on 'bureaucracy,' the shakings of the head over cockiness and arrogance matters worthy of our examination?" And answers: "I think so; our brethren in political science sometimes suggest that we are distorting the political science program in teaching and also in research. This is a part of the pathology that warrants our study. It is less lurid than corruption, yet it may be productive of unfavorable public reactions such as may be created out of trivialities enlarged or distorted by newspaper writers who as yet, with rare exceptions, have had no adequate education in the fundamental elements of modern administration. I think your committee, perhaps in affiliation with the officers of the American Society for Public Administration, might properly and profitably initiate an examination of the professional standards that should dominate researchers as well as practitioners in public administration."

City Periodic Financial Reports. By Louise H. Clickner. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 28 pp.

This bibliography includes a checklist of city financial documents in the collection of the Census Bureau's Municipal Reference Service for cities having populations over 25,000. It precedes a comprehensive list of city government documents planned for early publication by the Bureau.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Accounting Manual for Small Cities of the State of Washington. By Arthur N. Lorig. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, 1945. xiv, 154 pp.

Administration

The Navy: A Study in Administration. By Secretary James Forrestal, etc. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 64 pp. $1.

Blighted Areas

Blighted. By Miriam Roher. Sacramento 14, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1946. 32 pp.

Housing

Emergency Housing Study and Recommendations. Springfield, Massachusetts, Future Springfield, Inc., 1946. 20 pp. charts.

Industrial Development

Outline for a Community Industrial Development Program. Definite steps to follow in developing new, and expanding established, industries—factors that determine the economic location for industries and industry branches—a suggested organization for creating industrial development. By Arthur M. Field. Charleston, S. C., The American Industrial Development Council, 1946. 76 pp. Maps, charts. $1.50.

Metropolitan Areas

Relations of Metropolitan Cities with Adjoining Municipalities. By Percy Fewell. University Park, Texas, 1945. 14 pp. (Apply author.)

Municipal Government

Municipal Problems 1945. Thirty-sixth Annual Proceedings of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York. Albany, The Conference, 1945. 100 pp. $1.25.

Planning

The Art of Building Cities. City building according to its artistic fundamentals. By Camillo Sitte. Translated by Charles T. Stewart. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1945. xi, 128 pp. illus. $5.50.

California Planning. Based on Annual Reports of City and County Planning Commissions. By Ellsworth W. Scammon. Sacramento 14, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1946. 65 pp.

19th and 20th Century Proposals for Ideal Cities: A Selected List of References. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 4 pp.

Public Health

Challenge to Community Action. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Community War Services, Social Protection Division, 1945. vii, 76 pp.

Retirement Systems

Brief Presented to the Joint Legislative Interim Committee on Pension and Retirement Plans Relative to the Pension Systems for Policemen and Firemen Established by Sections 62.13 (9) and (10) and 61.65. Brief Presented to the Joint Legislative Interim Committee on Pension and Retirement Plans Relative to the Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund Created by Section 66.90. Submitted by League of Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison 3, The League, 1946. 15 and 9 pp. respectively.

A Retirement System for Farmers. By Murray R. Benedict. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. viii, 43 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Incentive Tax Plan of 1946. Speech of Hon. Herman P. Eberharter of Pennsylvania in the U. S. House of Representatives. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1945. 6 pp.

Oklahoma Sales Tax Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1945. Variously paged.

State Tax Collections in 1944. (Final) Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 46 pp.

A Tax Program for a Solvent America. By The Committee on Postwar Tax Policy. New York, The Committee, 1945. 48 pp.

Trends in Municipal Finance in the Post-War Period. Address before the Municipal Forum of New York. By Carl H. Chatters. New York, The Foum, 1945. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Traffic Safety

Traffic Accident Prevention Through Motor Vehicle Inspection. Washington, D. C., American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, and New York, National Conservation Bureau, 1945. 26 pp.

Uniform Vehicle Code. Act I—Uniform Motor-Vehicle Administration, Registration, Certificate of Title and Anti-theft Act; Act II—Uniform Motor-Vehicle Operators' and Chauffeurs' License Act; Act III—Uniform Motor-

Vehicle Civil Liability Act; Act IV—Uniform Motor-Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act; Act V—Uniform Act Regulating Traffic on Highways. By Federal Works Agency, Public Roads Administration. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1945. 26, 13, 6, 16 and 54 pp. respectively.

Veterans

12 Million Opportunities. Get Ready for Your Share. New York 17, Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1945. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Veterans' Information Centers. A Survey of Their Operation and Services. By John K. Gurwell. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. 53 pp. $1.50.

War Memorials

Commemoration Through Community Services. Trends in Living Memorials. By Anne Holliday Webb. New York 16, The American City Magazine, 1945. 36 pp. illus. $1.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 149)

been tentatively scheduled to start construction during the three years 1946-48. Of this amount, $577,000,000 is tentatively scheduled for 1946, and the remaining $546,000,000 for 1947-48.

California local governments account for $552,000,000 of the three-year total, and as of the end of 1945 were reported to have funds available for the purpose amounting to $265,000,000. The local total of funds available included $130,000,000 for projects scheduled by California cities, $78,000,000 for county projects, and $39,000,000 for school district projects.

In addition to local projects, there was proposed construction by the state estimated to cost $295,740,000 and by federal agencies (for flood control and irrigation works) estimated to cost $275,767,000.

Considering the $1,100,000,000 estimated total, flood control and irrigation projects led all others with an estimated cost of $354,000,000. Next in order were highway, road and street projects, sewage and drain projects, and schools and educational facilities. While approximately half the three-year total was scheduled to be started in 1946, the commission expresses doubt that this will be possible because of shortages of material, equipment and skilled labor.

Borrowing Costs Lower

The *Daily Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields—now prepared on a weekly basis—reached a new low January 31, which was repeated February 7. The index for twenty representative bonds for the two dates was 1.31 per cent. On January 3 the index stood at 1.42 per cent. During 1945 the low had been 1.35 per cent (May 1) and the high 1.72 per cent (October 1).

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

League's First Postwar Conference to Be Held in Philadelphia

The first National Conference on Government since 1941 will be held November 11, 12 and 13 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia.

The National Municipal League's "short course" in public affairs and civic competence, which was held annually since 1894 until it was interrupted by World War II, will go to the city where the organization was launched 52 years ago, for the observance of the golden anniversary, two years delayed.

The first National Conference for Good Government, as it was termed for some years, was called in Philadelphia in January 1894 by civic leaders and organizations of many cities, to develop ways of combatting corrupt political machines. A committee appointed at that conference to develop means of "promoting the comparison of views, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of methods, and that mutual confidence and sympathy which adds so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow-workers in a great cause," formally established the National Municipal League the following May.

Prior to the entry of the United States into the recent war, the conference had been held annually in many cities to bring together civic leaders, educators, authorities on public affairs, governmental researchers and public-spirited citizens to discuss current problems and to develop methods to improve the conduct of public affairs and to increase the effectiveness of citizens.

Members are invited to submit suggestions for program subjects and are urged to make their hotel reservations early.

Research Pioneer Dies

Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, a pioneer in governmental research, died January 27 at Norwood, Massachusetts, where he had made his home for some years, at the age of 80. One of the directors of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research from 1907 to 1917, Dr. Cleveland, with his associates, set standards and patterns for testing and evaluating governmental processes which had a profound influence on citizen research bureaus. This influence was enhanced by the nation-wide publicity produced by the bitter campaign waged against this first bureau by the Tammany organization. Dr. Cleveland served on many local, state and national committees and commissions to inquire into the conduct of government and administrative methods, occupied the chair of United States Citizenship of the Maxwell Foundation in Boston University from 1919 to 1929, served the Chinese government as a consultant from 1929 to 1935, and was the author of many authoritative works. He was actively identified with the League and contributed much to its program.

Chicago Loses Silas Strawn

Silas H. Strawn, prominent lawyer and civic leader of Chicago, died February 4 at Palm Beach, Florida, at the age of 79. Mr. Strawn had been identified with the League for years and had served as a member of the Council.

Winant Resigns Post

John G. Winant, president of the League, has resigned as Ambassador to Great Britain to become United States representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Bebout to Join Staff

John E. Bebout, who resigned recently as director of the Citizens League of Cleveland and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, will join the staff of the National Municipal League as assistant secretary. Mr. Bebout, formerly director of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, had previously taught in the political science departments of Rutgers University and the University of Newark.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

More Money But Economy Too

IN Boston Mayor Curley wants to borrow $10,000,000 to pay current expenses and keep the tax rate down. In New York Mayor O'Dwyer asks the state legislature for approval of his plan to raise $75,000,000 in new taxes. In Toledo the new local payroll tax is expected to raise about $4,000,000 annually.

And so it goes. These cities need more money. So do the many others which are seeking new sources of revenue.

But it would be encouraging to the taxpayer if his city would show the same resourcefulness and determination in cutting expenses and eliminating waste as it does in seeking new and more tax money.

The *Boston Herald* discloses no secret when it calls that city's government "a wasteful and inefficient organization permeated with politics." The paper, supporting a proposal for an impartial examination of the city government, demands a prior pledge from the Mayor that he will follow the recommendations of the investigators who would be hired.

New York's ancient notoriety as a place where "honest graft" in political operations reached unmatched heights has been eclipsed during the last decade by a general impression of honest, efficient government, yet taxpayer and research groups always find it possible to suggest the elimination of millions of expense and annually they claim that too little opportunity is given for public discussion before the budget is approved.

New York, Boston and many other cities could eliminate much unnecessary waste of public funds if they really wanted to do so, and it is becoming increasingly necessary that they should. Some of the best run cities have been examined critically by outside experts over and over again to the great benefit not only of taxpayers but of officials who are, as one result, protected from improper influences and helped to do their jobs properly.

There is nothing mysterious about the process. Anyone, whether he is a public official, an industrialist, a professional man or a business man, is likely to get into bad habits or fail to keep abreast of improved methods unless he takes positive periodic steps to refresh himself. Administrative, financial and economic surveys provide this needed check-up of the public's business.

Some places are fortunate to have local bureaus of governmental research, civic organizations with research facilities, officials who are alert and progressive, influential citizens who help mightily at intervals; but, significantly, these are the very communities which have the greatest tendency to call in outside consultants most frequently. The need for complete objectivity and the avoidance of personal considerations are in a way similar to the factors which prevent a famous surgeon from operating on a close relative.

The Demand for State Funds

PRESSURE on the states to distribute a larger share of their tax revenue to the cities is increasing and will continue to increase unless the cities are generally able to find new sources of revenue in large amounts, such as, for a ready example, the Philadelphia payroll tax and the similar tax recently adopted in Toledo.

Most of the states are receiving more tax money than they need for current expenses, but the cities, meanwhile, from which a major portion of this bountiful revenue comes, are having a difficult struggle to pay the greatly increased costs they will face for at least the next several years.

States are "rich" just now simply because their revenues come in large part from sources which are sensitive to business prosperity and inflationary trends. Cities are hard up because increased taxes on real estate, their major source, are not in order.

But the same expansionist or inflationary trends which are swelling state revenues are having a reverse effect on the cities, which cannot very well escape increased costs of labor and materials while they are rehabilitating the public plant which was neglected during the depression and the war and filling positions which were allowed to remain vacant for the duration.

Other large expenses will come when it is realized that we cannot continue to ignore the steady decay of the central cities as the outward flow of populations is resumed and accelerated.

Cities will be more and more demanding, and the states will find it increasingly difficult to resist the pressure for a more generous redistribution of state-collected taxes. It behooves both states and cities to study this problem thoroughly. There seems little sense or justice in countenancing a situation which leaves local governments impoverished and state governments complacently fat.

There may be serious long-time dangers in greater state aid. If so, there is a strong obligation to find other answers and find them quickly.

> There may well be further experimentation with placing certain services of the city on a special service charge basis. This movement is already under way and wherever benefits are specific and not general the benefit principle might well be applied. Further use of sewer rental charges, garbage and refuse collection service charges, parking meters, fire protection service charges and even some special assessments for current operating purposes will undoubtedly come. . . . Finally, the whole scope of state-collected, locally-shared taxes should be examined. CARL H. CHATTERS, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, in "Analyzing the Local Revenue Problem," *Public Management*, March 1946.

Public Employees and Unions

Committee of National Civil Service League issues guide for relations between the public service and its workers.

By **HERMAN FELDMAN***

IN A field in which labor relations have suddenly become one of the most contentious in America—that of the relations of government to organizations of public employees—the National Civil Service League has passed a sort of minor miracle: it has produced a report which has obtained unanimous agreement from a committee of labor and management[1] and yet is one which imposes some definite obligations and restrictions on each. To this group, which included some independent students, it has added the approval of an advisory committee of some 25 outstanding citizens, presenting the nation in these troublous times with an authoritative guide to labor policy which has already had its effect in municipal affairs and which will be increasingly influential in governmental labor relations.

This report[2] is the result of over a year's patient exchange of views and wordings among members of the committee—a group of reasonable men thoroughly imbued with their social responsibility—in an effort to arrive at a meeting of minds in which the legitimate interests of employees, administrators and the public would all be conserved. The statement was launched by the committee's chairman, Winston Paul, on February 20, at the annual meeting of the league and it came at once into active use. The league and its secretary, H. Eliot Kaplan, may well be proud of its activity.

Among calls for the report next day was one by long distance from Houston, Texas, and it is believed that, sent air mail, it had some part in the ultimate kissing finale of the Mayor and the union officials. The report is also said to have had its influence in Mayor O'Dwyer's firm stand with Councilman Quill in New York. Papers like the *New York World-Telegram* and the *Boston Herald* gave it their leading editorials. In all, the report has got off to a good start.

The two special purposes of the report are education and guidance. In the first place, there are many conflicts in the public service which are due to ignorance, or stupidity, combined with shock, on the part of the administrator. In the second place there are confusing questions of policy in which employee organizations, administrators and legislators need and wish a knowledge of the views of impartial and informed citizens. The report states:

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*Dr. Feldman is professor of industrial relations at the Amos Tuck School for Business Administration of Dartmouth College and secretary of the National Civil Service League's Committee on Public Employer-Employee Relations for which he prepared the report discussed in this article. He has taught industrial relations at St. John's College in Brooklyn and Columbia University and was dean of the School of Business and Civic Administration at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Feldman has been given numerous appointments on federal commissions and boards and is author of books and other publications on problems of labor and industry.

[1] Names of committee members are listed at end of article.

[2] *Employee Organizations in the Public Service,* National Civil Service League, New York, 1946, 32 pages.

> As organization progresses over the country, government bodies, members of civil service boards, members of state and local legislative bodies, and men in public life generally will be faced with demands which may be new to them but which are issues long debated or already settled in the practice of private industry. The legislator or official who is inadequately prepared for such situations may, through ignorance, take an indefensibly hostile stand or, through fear, make an unwise concession of principle, or he may react legalistically or negatively when the occasion calls for a positive, imaginative program. . . . It is therefore timely for a representative group of citizens to consider the policies appropriate to those in authority and to employee associations with which such authorities may have to deal.

Aims of Labor

The report, sympathetic throughout with labor's aims, begins with a section on "Why Public Employees Organize," which disposes of the notion that the terms of employment in public service are exemplary and which pictures the exasperations that neglect of employee interests often involves. Without mincing words the report asserts:

> But whatever their reasons, tangible or sentimental, practical or idealistic, worthy or unworthy, public employees are reacting to normal motives in associating themselves for common action. Whatever the personal views a legislator or official may have concerning such activity, his public policy must be based on principles which meet present-day tests of validity. A few of the major questions which may confront him are therefore considered, in an appropriate sequence.

From this point the report considers eleven major questions. In the present article only a few of the more significant ones will be mentioned.

Question II considers outside affiliations of employees' organizations. Recognizing the fact that "many administrators feel that associations whose membership is predominantly outside the government service do not have the background and understanding of public service problems required for satisfactory negotiations and arrangements," the statement nevertheless calls attention to the fact that the objections, to be valid, must be more tangible, such as the likelihood of partiality in work done by its members. Its final word on the point is:

> Public bodies are justified in the prohibition of outside affiliation by any group in government service solely when the danger of partisanship or impaired public confidence is real. A general, indiscriminate attempt to dominate the form of organization desired by employees is out of step with the times.

It is hoped that this alone will save the country some unnecessary friction in the next decade.

Question IV deals with the matter of exclusive recognition. Here a short discussion warns the administrator of encouraging a competitive race between different groups, and outlines the need for discussing plans of a general nature with the organization representing the majority. It points out that "the head of a public agency must at all times be free to accept petitions or requests for conferences from any source, but he should reserve any 'agreements' for conferences with the group representing the majority."

Question V, on the issue of formal labor contracts, states:

> Some organizers of unions minimize the need for a technical contract as interfering with the attainment of goals wholly obtainable through informal procedure. Other groups, particularly their lawyers, make much of the fact that from 30 to 50 agreements are on file with municipalities or local departments which read like contracts. That they are, in fact, contracts, is not accurate, for certain modifications change the character of most of these agreements.

Citing Philadelphia, for example, the report asserts that the superior authority of appropriating agencies to set or change terms unilaterally is here recognized, and the "contract" may be considered as in effect advisory and non-binding. The report emphasizes that:

> An unequivocal grant of power to the administrative agency over the matter covered in an agreement is necessary if the government to which it is subordinate is to be bound by the agreement. . . . Normally a "contract" with an employee association in the public service represents an advisory group judgment which an administrator is willing to accept, not a technical instrument regarded as binding the government in future to a contract resulting from group pressure.

Question VI is on the vexed issue of the closed shop. Here the committee's view is:

> To require any applicant for a job first to become a member of an employee association is so opposed to public policy that the proposal hardly requires further discussion. . . . To make membership in a given association an indispensable requisite for employment would impose on a government unit the obligation to see that no arbitrary factors of internal policy of such association, such as restrictions concerning race, religion, politics or factional adherence, become an obstacle to employment. The government unit, if it insisted on employee membership in any form, would thus be involved in various responsibilities and difficulties, administrative, moral and legal. . . . No pressure by a government unit can justifiably be put on an employee to join a particular association in order to get or retain his job and only capacity to do that job, or some other broad criterion, is appropriate to a democracy.

Strikes of Public Employees

Question VII tackles the problem of strikes in the public service and starts with the importance of continuity of operation:

> The executive function of government, that of seeing that legislation is enforced, is in certain particulars vital to society itself. Without the protection of the police, law would be only on paper; without the intervention of health inspectors, epidemics would rage; without the enforcement of fire regulations conflagrations might consume our cities and our forests.

The report does not, however, take a merely negative attitude on this issue. It repeatedly urges that:

> Government agencies should show a sympathetic attitude toward employee problems, from officials at the top to the line supervisors; should provide adequate supplementary machinery for knowing employee grievances and should pursue a positive policy for meeting the basic needs of

> employees. But employee associations must recognize that this emphasis on prevention is not in lieu of their own renunciation of the use of the strike.

But it takes the stand that:

> Denial of certain rights to people in special or professional responsibilities does not mean autocracy, nor does freedom to strike assure democracy. Some of the strongest and most effective of the present organizations of government employees have prospered without asking or condoning the power to strike. Continuity of public service, a basic requirement of the public good, must be a paramount consideration of all its citizens, including those employed by the government.

Its final word on this subject is to reaffirm a previous conclusion of a report by a committee of the league:

> It is the duty of the state to avoid unfavorable conditions of public employment and provide adequate machinery for the prevention and removal of employment problems at their source. But when the state fails in that duty it still remains the obligation of public employees to limit the presentation of their case to peaceable methods.

By leaving no place whatever for strikes the report clearly implies, though it does not go out of its way to recommend, use of the legislative or administrative powers of government to ban such violations.

Question IX, concerned with obtaining employee cooperation in the improvement of government operations, reviews the Whitley Councils in the civil service of Great Britain and Canada and recommends similar efforts to induce maximum interest by employee groups. But it also deals with failures of employee groups to keep the efficiency of the public service paramount. For example, it points out:

> Some employee organizations, in private as well as in public employment, have interpreted the principle of seniority in so narrow a way as to lead in essence to promotion by rote and to an unwise sharing of authority with workers of a responsibility belonging clearly to management. . . . Some associations may fail to define their legitimate goals or may take actions in behalf of employees which are harassing to good administrators. Thus, a narrowly defensive attitude on questions of disciplinary actions and dismissals may turn such performances of duty by administrators into inquisitions visited upon the officials involved.

Administrative Responsibility

The report declares:

> Public administrators, with the aid of well developed techniques, must maintain vigorously and consistently their obligations to exercise the judgment expected of good management and good leadership in this and other matters of assignment of work, reward and discipline. Employee associations, in turn, should recognize the vast importance to sound government administration of the exercise by public officers of such managerial initiative and responsibility.

Question X, on arbitration, makes this point: "Binding arbitrations on questions of legislative character cannot be used, for they have their place only within those areas of policy and practice which are clearly within administrative discretion."

Question XI deals broadly with the political activities of employee associations. It warns administrators and unions:

> The constructive solution here is not in the drafting of laws on the subject but the acceptance by employee organizations of standards of activity and codes of ethics which make such laws unnecessary. The nature of the political activity of employee associations may be judged by the criterion as to whether it protects the integrity and quality of public administration or serves merely the purpose of individuals or groups against the ultimate interests of such administration. Another criterion is whether an association of employees is pursuing political aims which are beyond the immediate job interests of its members or employees, or is confining its efforts to questions affecting conditions of the civil service.

Objectives

The last paragraph of the report focuses the discussion on common objectives:

> The development of appropriate and effective procedures requires from all the parties concerned an open-minded, experimental and forward-looking attitude.
>
> The administrator, on his part, must recognize his paramount obligation of democratic leadership of his unit and at the same time his responsibility to the public at large. Associations of employees must likewise integrate their desires for better conditions for their members with the interests of public administration as a whole. Citizens generally, as well as the representatives who exercise legislative and other authority in their behalf, must do their part in providing the conditions which preserve these interests and obligations and promote the development of the government service toward a model democratic institution.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The committee drafting the report consisted of: Winston Paul, *Chairman*, president of Rockcliffe Realty Corporation, New York City; Herman Feldman, *Secretary*, professor of industrial relations, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Dartmouth College; W. Richardson Blair, associate, law firm of Ballard, Spahr, Andrews and Ingersoll, Philadelphia; Phillips Bradley, professor of political science, Cornell University; William S. Carpenter, president, New Jersey Civil Service Commission; Charles E. Dunbar, Jr., chairman, Louisiana Civil Service Commission; R. H. Knowlton, executive vice president, Connecticut Light and Power Company; Sterling D. Spero, associate professor of public administration, Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University; Luther C. Steward, president, National Federation of Federal Employees; Lent D. Upson, dean, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University; J. Raymond Walsh, formerly economist, Congress of Industrial Organizations, now chairman, New York Citizens' Political Action Committee; Arnold S. Zander, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL); H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary, National Civil Service League, *ex officio*.

The Confused County Picture

Study finds great diversity in type, size, term, duties of county bodies among states but rigid uniformity in each.

By EDWARD W. WEIDNER*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of three articles on county government by Mr. Weidner. The statistical material presented here was gathered by the author as consultant to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, in the summer of 1945, and is a summary of the more extensive information contained in a report, *County Boards and Commissions*, prepared by him for the division. Interpretations are those of the author.

ALTHOUGH county governing bodies are acquiring more and more functions of a policy-determining nature, they still are organized primarily as administrative and judicial instrumentalities of the states. This fact has important implications for the future of local government. Unless counties can organize properly to carry out modern local government functions, they are likely to find their duties gradually transferred to *ad hoc* or state agencies.

TABLE I
TITLES OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

	Number of Counties
Board of Commissioners	1,271
Board of Supervisors	673
County Court	369
Commissioners' Court	254
Fiscal Court	120
Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenue	118
Police Jury	63
Other	182
Total	3,050

Textbook writers and journalists have usually referred to county governing bodies as county boards. In the first place, this is understandable inasmuch as over two-thirds of those bodies are officially styled boards of commissioners or supervisors or boards of commissioners of roads and revenue, as indicated in Table I. Yet an important number of counties, especially those in the south, have governing bodies with other titles such as county court, commissioners court, fiscal court or police jury. There are some 27 different titles in use among the 3,050 counties.

Secondly, the term county board has seemed preferable since counties traditionally have not performed functions requiring much policy determination. When creating these county agencies, state legislatures were creating, as the titles "board" and "court" suggest, primarily administrative and judicial bodies.

Recently, the policy-determining type of function has been added increasingly to the duties of counties.[1] As a result, it is desirable and necessary to develop and examine the concept of a county governing body as distinct from a purely administrative and judicial agency.

It is difficult to designate a group

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[1] A glance at Clyde F. Snider's articles of recent years in the December issues of the *American Political Science Review* bears out the point.

of functions as those characteristically belonging to county governing bodies because of the many variations from state to state and county to county. Over 90 per cent of the county bodies, however, levy taxes, appropriate money and issue bonds. They usually exercise the corporate or quasi-corporate powers of the county, award contracts, manage county property, pass upon claims and bills and exercise general control, however limited, over county affairs. In contrast are city councils to which are usually delegated by the state rather complete ordinance-making and fiscal powers.

The fiscal functions usually performed by county governing bodies are segregated from them in 9 per cent of the counties. In four New England states—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire—and in South Carolina the state legislatures or county legislative delegations perform most or all of the county's fiscal functions of levying taxes, making appropriations and authorizing bonds. In four southern states—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee—and in Indiana and Michigan special collateral fiscal agencies have been established in one or more counties.

The same tendencies are evident in the non-fiscal affairs of counties. State control, whether administrative or legislative, is extensive; an illustration is the well known fact that legislation affecting a particular county seldom passes unless that county's legislative delegation approves. Likewise, a county governing body frequently does not have control over policies affecting the county which are made on a local level. Special boards and commissions and separately elected officers are frequently outside the range of its effective control. The process of separation is made complete in many cases by the creation of independent units of government to perform special functions in the county. A county governing body with large powers of home rule and of supervision over all county activities is difficult to find.

Accountability

Almost all county governing body members have a dual or a treble political responsibility. This is a fact which is of utmost importance for county policy and administration. Best practice in cities has resulted from the council-manager plan under which council members do not administer the program they formulate, but hire an expert manager for the task. Council members are responsible chiefly for over-all policy. In marked contrast members of county governing bodies usually exercise nominal control over a few matters of policy and some control over a variety of administrative detail, but little effective control over either.[2]

A third of the county governing bodies in the United States have members who are accountable not only as county administrative and legislative officers but also as judicial or township, town or city officers. As classified in Table II, three types of governing bodies are composed of members all of whom also perform some judicial function, i.e., the judge and justices of the peace, single judge, and plural-membered court types. In another 350 counties only one of the governing body members serves also as a judicial officer—usually the county probate judge. These are the "judge and commissioners" counties.

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[2] An account of the eleven counties most closely approaching the manager plan can be found in *The County Manager Plan,* National Municipal League, 1945.

TABLE II
TYPES OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

	Number of Counties
Board of Commissioners or Supervisors	2,012
Judge and Commissioners	350
Board Composed of Town Supervisors	297
Judge and Justices of the Peace	193
Single Judge	86
Plural-Membered Court	75
Single Non-Judicial Officer	32
Other	5
Total	3,050

The impossibility of guessing the nature of county governing body membership from official titles is well exemplified in the nearly 300 cases where members serve also as township, town or city officials, designated as the "board composed of town supervisors" type in Table II. There are over 670 governing bodies called board of supervisors, but members of over half serve only as county administrative and legislative officials. Hence they may be grouped with those bodies which frequently, but not always, are called boards of commissioners. This latter group comprises two-thirds of the counties in the United States.

Regional variations in types of governing bodies are significant, yet 41 states distributed in all regions have at least one county with a governing body of a board of commissioners or supervisors type. Excepting Vermont and Oregon, all judicial-type governing bodies are in southern states as are also all instances of the single non-judicial officer type. With few exceptions, three North Central states—Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—and New York contain all the counties with boards composed of town supervisors.

Until multiplicity of accountability is lessened or eliminated, county policy and administration will suffer. It has often been said that merely because a man is popular with the electorate he is not necessarily a good administrator. How much more true is it that because a man is a good judge he does not necessarily make the best county governing body member, or that because a man has a live appreciation of the best interests of the township he does not necessarily have such an appreciation of the best interests of the county.

Number of Members

The fact that in the past counties have traditionally been considered largely administrative and judicial, and not legislative, units, which perform chiefly functions of general state, not local, interest, is unmistakably reflected in the small size and statewide uniformity of county governing bodies.

Half the counties have governing bodies of three members or less, 30 per cent have four or five members, and 20 per cent a larger number, as indicated in Table III. The modal number of governing body members of counties is three; that of cities,

TABLE III
NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

Number of Members	*Number of Counties*
1	118
2	19
3	1,363
4	62
5	872
6	51
7	75
8-10	101
11-30	261
31-50	107
Over 50	21
Total	3,050

even for cities of five to ten thousand population, five. Yet there is a more extreme range of size in counties, varying from one to 82,[3] while city councils vary from two to 50.

New England and western states have the smallest governing bodies of any region, while the southern and some midwestern states—Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—have the largest. New York, with large county boards of supervisors, is the principal exception to this pattern. On the basis of population, however, Nevada, South Dakota, Tennessee and Wisconsin have the largest county governing bodies and Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania the smallest.

The National Municipal League's *Principles of a Model County Government* specifies governing bodies of five to nine members. The bodies of over half the counties in the United States are smaller than the suggested minimum and some 390 are in excess of the suggested maximum. According to this standard many county governing bodies are either too large for adequate deliberation or too small for adequate representation of the various groups within the county. The administrative nature of county responsibilities in the past largely explains the latter phenomenon. An administrative board, it has been felt, should be small. The former has arisen because of the treble accountability of county governing body members in many states—either as county administrative and legislative and town officers, or as county administrative, legislative, and judicial officers. In terms of Table II, boards composed of town supervisors and judge and justices of the peace types have excessively large memberships while the board of commissioners or supervisors type usually has too few.

Twenty-seven states require uniformity of numbers in county governing bodies and several others make only one exception to the uniformity rule. This means that whether the county has a population of 3,000 or 300,000, whether it is rural or urban, whether it contains a homogeneous or diverse population, the size of every governing body within each of these states is the same. Some provision for local variation, such as stipulated in the *Principles of a Model County Government,* would seem desirable in view of the diverse conditions of the counties within most every state.

Eighty per cent of the counties

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[3] Dane County, Wisconsin, has a governing body of 82. Three other counties have boards of more than 82—two in Arkansas and Wayne County, Michigan, with a board of 161. In the census study (op. cit.), however, these three boards have been classified as essentially collateral fiscal agencies. For a more complete explanation, see that report.

elect governing body members as representatives of particular districts or townships. Only 560 of the 3,050 counties elect all governing body members from the county at large, as shown in Table IV. The dependence upon districts takes various forms—21 per cent of the counties elect one member at large and the rest by districts and another 21 per cent elect all members at large but require that they be residents of certain districts within the county. In all regions and with all forms of county government main reliance is upon a district or township method of selecting governing body members.

TABLE IV
METHODS OF SELECTION OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

	Number of Counties	*Number of Members*
All elected by district	874	8,675
Some elected at large, some by district	645	——
All elected at large with district residence requirement	629	2,354
All elected at large	560	2,271
All elected by township (or town), city	297	7,622
All appointed	22	158
Others	23	——
Total	3,050	21,080

The undesirable features of this method of selection is best illustrated by those counties having the board composed of town supervisors type of body. In these counties the rotten borough system of representation is at its worst, with populous townships electing no more representatives than sparsely settled ones and with urban areas grossly underrepresented. Apart from its obvious inequity, the rotten borough system also hinders any consideration of the over-all interests of the county. Logrolling becomes the order of the day, with each representative given a relatively free hand in matters affecting his own township or district.

All authorities on local government agree that election at large is preferable to election by districts. In line with this agreement there has been a noticeable trend in cities toward election at large—55.5 per cent of cities over 5,000 electing all council members at large in 1944. As long as their governing bodies are primarily on a district basis, counties will continue to be much less efficient policy-forming and administrative units than would otherwise be the case.

Terms of Office

Although there is considerable diversity in terms of office from county to county and state to state, as indicated in Table V, the most

TABLE V
TERMS OF OFFICE OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

Term	*Number of Counties*
2 years, nonoverlapping	749
3 years, overlapping	230
4 years, nonoverlapping	622
4 years, overlapping	802
6 years, nonoverlapping	6
6 years, overlapping	141
Township members 1 year, others vary	82
1 member 2 years, 1 member 4 years, every biennial election	126
2 members 2 years, 1 member 4 years	117
Chairman 4 years, others 2 years nonoverlapping	8
Chairman 6 years, others 4 years nonoverlapping	13
Chairman 6 years, others 4 years overlapping	69
Chairman 8 years, others 4 years nonoverlapping	1
Chairman 8 years, others 6 years nonoverlapping	84
Total	3,050

common method is to elect members for four-year overlapping terms. Some change in terms of office would be wise for those few counties having one-year or eight-year terms; the former occur in Michigan with its board composed of town supervisors type while the latter is a common term for the county judge who is chairman of the governing body in many southern states.

Finally, it may be noted that county governing bodies usually select their chairmen annually. In a substantial number of counties in the south, however, the county judge is the chairman of the governing body. In either case something is left to be desired so far as governing body leadership is concerned. A one-year term is hardly long enough to put through a coordinated program. And a chairman who is also the county judge is not necessarily elected by the voters because of his leadership in county policy.

Conclusions

If counties wish to remain important units of local government, there is an imperative need for them to reorganize their governing bodies. Modern functions of a policy-determining nature require a different organizational structure from the older type of administrative and judicial responsibility. New requirements involve, first of all, placing power and responsibility for policy which is made on a county level in the hands of the county governing body. This means that the state must delegate more powers to the counties and that within the county itself the state must not diffuse authority among a multiplicity of boards, commissions and officers.

Secondly, county governing body members must not be expected to be jacks-of-all-trades. They should be accountable to the voters for over-all county policy—functional and administrative—only. They should not be concerned with administrative detail, matters of a judicial character, or act as town or township officers.

The twin evils of too large and too small a number of members of county governing bodies need correction before these bodies can adequately deliberate on county affairs and adequately represent county viewpoints. And the district method of selection must go before governing body members will represent a county-wide viewpoint on matters of policy and administration.

Although there is great diversity between the states in the constitution of county governing bodies, there is too much rigid uniformity within each of them. Counties should be allowed to adapt their governments to their needs. Not only does an urban county require a different governmental structure from a rural county, but all counties require organization today different from that of a century ago.

Neglected Cities Turn to U. S.

State indifference to local problems forces Congress to aid in housing, public works, airports, other fields.

By **DONOH W. HANKS, JR.***

IT MATTERS little to the municipal official whether municipal autonomy is suspended on the purse strings of the federal government or the purse strings of the state. One is no more desirable than the other except as a stop-gap to be employed until Congress and the state legislatures return to municipalities the exclusive power to levy upon certain resources or make up the balance of the municipalities' fiscal needs by allocating a fair share of taxes collected by the state and federal governments. Neither a federal grant nor a state grant is an adequate substitute for an equitable reapportionment of the tax resources.

Congress seems inclined to strengthen the ties between the federal and municipal governments by increasing the cities' dependency upon revenues collected by the national government and granted to the states and local units. In lieu of unavailable local or shared taxes, cities have accepted grants wherever they could get them.

Early in the prewar depression cities first asked their state legislatures for broader powers with which to attack the problems of unemployment. During the war cities with swollen populations and obligations which they could not meet sought aid from the states for necessary community facilities. They found little help from the states and much from the Congress through the Lanham Act.

The state leagues of municipalities have continuously urged the governors and the legislatures to make as much provision as possible for municipal financing out of local resources and to make up the difference by sharing certain types of state-collected revenues not readily collectible at the local level.

The question is whether the states will wake up to the facts of municipal life and displace the new, close federal-municipal relationship by considering and providing for the needs of their political subdivisions; or will the awakening be too late and the results too little? Unless there are substantial gains in this direction or a preferable reallocation of revenue resources among the levels of government, the municipalities will be driven further by state-imposed limitations, or by disinterest on the part of the state governments, to seek more federal assistance despite the possible threat to local

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government which may be inherent in this procedure.

In recent months the state governments have shown some interest in obtaining understanding between the states and cities relative to local governmental financing. Some state officials deplore the federal-aid policies. They fear that such policies undermine the power and functions of the states. Others are still reluctant to recognize realities and to do any more than demand that federal aid to municipalities be channeled through and controlled by agencies of the states in order to give the states a function in the federal-aid machinery.

Service Obligations Cost More

There is no question of the inability of most municipalities to meet their service requirements. Before the war the residential capacity of the nation's communities was not more than 100,000,000. Now at least 112,000,000 residents overtax virtually every municipal service. The municipal appeal for help is forced by desperation.

The situation was called to Congress' attention last year by Representative Colmer's Postwar Economic Policy and Planning Committee which remarked that the "service obligations of municipalities are chronically running ahead of the revenues they can obtain." Although the committee recommended a program of federal aid for public construction, it admonished both the federal and state governments "to give the local governments regular access to sources of revenue that will permit them to program their essential local capital improvements."

If the states cannot or will not heed the cities' pleas and warnings, we know that Congress will. We have examples of this substitute for state action in the WPA, the PWA, federal interest in national health, the emergency housing legislation, proposed federal financing to stabilize public construction and employment, federal aid for school lunches and teachers' salaries, and other measures which Congress is now considering.

Extremely urgent is the 2,700,000-unit veterans' emergency housing program. The comprehensive plan contemplates unprecedented production of low-cost housing by subsidizing the building industry to the extent of $600,000,000 and guaranteeing the market for prefabricated housing. The federal government has taken steps to convert temporary government war housing and barracks, at federal expense, into at least 200,000 temporary dwelling units for veterans' families. An appropriation of $191,900,000 to the Federal Public Housing Authority for this purpose will be supplemented by an additional $250,000,000. The administration has implied its readiness to support an appropriation for grants to municipalities where necessary to assist in this preparation. Officials of the Bureau of Community Facilities of the Federal Works Agency doubt that many cities can obtain financing of the water, sewer and public power extensions and of paving necessary before 2,700,000 sites can be obtained.

At present only California and Massachusetts have provided for necessary local improvements concurrent with the emergency housing program. California appropriated $7,500,000 to finance up to 90 per cent of the non-federal expenditures to obtain additional housing in communities of the state. Massachusetts authorized an increase in municipal debt limits by one-half of one per cent. Two other states, New York and Michigan, have authorized municipalities to cooperate with the program by acquiring sites.

Housing Proposals

Eventually there probably will be general housing and urban redevelopment legislation. Congress has several proposals to increase the federal subsidy of low-rent housing and assist local governments in clearing and redeveloping blighted areas. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which has considerable bipartisan support, has been made a part of the President's emergency housing program. This bill authorizes the National Housing Agency to grant $100,000,000 a year for five years to help absorb the "write down" in value of land acquired by local governments for redevelopment. It also authorizes NHA to borrow $500,000,000 which it may lend to local governments.

Municipal officials long ago endorsed the principle of municipalities' sharing state and federal credit for redevelopment purposes. The American Municipal Association called upon Congress "to authorize grants-in-aid to the political subdivisions to help absorb the losses which may be incident to the acquisition of blighted areas." Congress' problem is how to write legislation that will neither deter private enterprise nor diminish the locality's taxable resources.

Probably as many municipal officials who desire federal credit to help solve the problem of blight and provide low-rent housing also expect resumption eventually of direct federal assistance for certain other types of local public construction.

The municipal attitude toward federal aid for public works seems to be that municipalities should and will finance entirely the local projects which are immediately required; but projects which are properly listed in a long-term plan, if they are to be undertaken ahead of schedule to help provide jobs or to provide housing for veterans under a joint-federal local program, should be undertaken only with financial assistance from the state or federal government.

Federal grants to states and cities for community facilities to serve emergency housing, for hospital construction and for sewage treatment plants probably can be expected this year or next. As for a general federal public works program, it appears that it will not be authorized before nation-wide unemployment reaches a critical level.

Last year Senator Murray suggested legislation implementing the President's aim to synchronize public works with business conditions. The idea is to have the President require the advancing or withholding of federal aid in order to stimulate local programs in times of unemployment, or decelerate them in good times. Something can be said for the plan. The construction industry normally represents about 18 to 20 per cent of the economy, and public works represents about one-fourth or one-fifth of that. Control of the flow of even no more than 3 to 5 per cent of this industry would have some stabilizing effect upon the national economy. Any effort to level the peaks and valleys of employment, with particular reference to the returned service man and the war worker, is a joint responsibility of the various levels of government and of industry.

Federal Money for Planning

President Truman laid down the federal policy in this year's "State of the Union Message." "With respect to public works of strictly local importance," the President said, "state and local governments should proceed without federal assistance except in planning. This rule should be subject to review when and if the prospect of highly adverse general economic developments warrants it. Our long-run objective is to achieve a program of direct federal and federally-assisted public works which is planned in advance and synchronized with business conditions. In this way it can make its greatest contribution to general economic stability."

The President reminded Congress that only $30,000,000 had been appropriated for non-interest-bearing loans to local governments to assist in planning public construction. He recommended that this policy be continued and extended this year and next. The Federal Works Agency, which originally requested $125,000,000 for planning advances, probably will apply for additional funds.

Pointing out that late in 1944 Congress had made provision for highway programs, authorizing funds for the first time to be spent exclusively in urban areas, the President said he hoped early action would be taken to authorize special federal-aid programs in other fields. He listed housing, airports, hospitals, water pollution control facilities and educational plant facilities.

Action is pending on each of these points, and legislation to help build new airports and hospitals has advanced quite far. State and local political connotations are evident in the airport legislation, however. The cause of delay in enactment, after different versions were passed by the House and the Senate, is the conflict of interest between the states and municipalities as to control of the allocations.

House and Senate versions of federal-aid airport programs have been deadlocked in conference committee since mid-October on the issue of whether negotiations for federal grants shall be conducted by the Civil Aeronautics Administration exclusively with the state, or whether grants shall be made to the individual state or local government which sponsors the project and puts up the matching funds. The Senate favors granting $75,000,000 a year for five years exclusively to state agencies, regardless of the state's interest in airports, financial or otherwise. The House version, supported by every one of the 42 state leagues of municipalities, authorizes grants of $650,000,000 for ten years, not exceeding $100,000,000 in any one year. It neither prohibits nor requires channeling the federal funds through state agencies, but authorizes grants directly to the sponsoring government, state or local.

In this conflict municipal officials contend that the cities are trying to maintain authority equal to their responsibility while the states are trying to seize additional authority without the responsibility.

The question has not arisen with reference to federal aid for hospitals. The Hill-Burton bill, authorizing $75,000,000 a year for five years to state and local governments for construction of hospitals, passed the Senate in December with the cities' applause. Apparently municipalities are conditioned to a certain amount of state aid for public health purposes and anticipate state participation in the Hill-Burton program. The bill is before a House committee.

Federal aid for construction of sewage treatment plants is developing in the same pattern as that proposed for construction of hospitals. A trio of measures providing federal loans and grants for sewage treatment plants in order to prevent pollution of streams are before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee. The best known of these, the Barkley-Spence bill, authorizes up to $100,000,000 a year to meet half the cost. Similar legislation passed both houses in 1939 but was killed in conference committee.

Other legislation proposes federal aid to help build state and local school plants, raise teachers' pay, and maintain school lunch programs. It must be observed that legislation in this field is often stymied or clouded when the bills are amended to prohibit allocations in states which maintain separate school plants for various races.

Most municipal officials have despaired of state assistance for stabilization purposes, or even for the normal functions of government whose requirements, as urban population expands, tend to exceed their revenues. State action in California, New York and a few other states merely points up the indifference of the majority of the state governments.

Localities Await Help

The need now is for speed by Congress in extending help. Many municipalities are hesitating before launching vitally necessary public works programs because they want to know for a certainty how far the federal government will go in sharing the cost. A number of municipalities which have received federal planning advances to help finance the planning of public works projects do not want to begin construction until federal or state aid can be obtained.

President Truman warned Congress in his first message after the war that "the majority of state and local governments are awaiting a decision." This is still the fact. Municipalities want to know where they stand. They want and urgently require authority from their respective states to collect or share adequate tax revenues or they must have adequate grants-in-aid from the federal government. Municipalities have a right to forthright, constructive decisions about future revenue.

Missouri's Apportionment Key

New constitution takes responsibility for redistricting from the legislature; its provisions bring speedy results.

By **VICTOR D. BRANNON***

AMONG the first benefits realized from the adoption of Missouri's new constitution on February 27, 1945,[1] are redistricting of the state for the election of senators and reapportionment of representatives among the counties. The machinery and rules provided for these purposes by the new document should be of interest to many other states which have suffered from the failure of legislatures to carry out their responsibility for reapportionment.

Missouri's new constitution takes away from the General Assembly all responsibility for legislative reapportionment. Provision is made for a bipartisan commission appointed by the governor to lay out senatorial districts. Reapportionment of representatives among the counties is made a duty of the elective secretary of state.

This step was taken after many years of legislative inaction. Although the state constitution of 1875 required the General Assembly to carry out a reapportionment at the first session after each decennial federal census, the legislators had never been able to agree upon a plan of senatorial redistricting. They had reapportioned the representatives only in 1882, 1901 and 1921.

Provisions of the new constitution relating to the bases of representation in the two houses of the General Assembly are identical with those of the constitution of 1875.

The various parts of the state are represented in the Senate on the basis of population. Each of the 34 senators is to be elected from a district of "contiguous territory, as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." No county may be divided in the making up of districts composed of more than one county. Hence, each senatorial district consists of one county, a portion of one county, or a group of counties.

In the case of the House of Representatives, the county is given recognition as the primary unit of representation, and population is given less weight than in the Senate. Representatives are to be apportioned among the counties on the basis of a ratio of representation, arrived at by dividing the total population of the state by 200. The following tabulation shows how this ratio is applied to the population of

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*Dr. Brannon, assistant director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, is currently in charge of the institute's work. Since 1944 he has devoted much time to problems of the revision of the Missouri constitution. He appeared before several committees of the Constitutional Convention and, at the request of delegates, gathered information and helped draft sections on such matters as budgeting, accounting and auditing. His report on *The Taxation of Intangibles in Missouri and Other States* won the Governmental Research Association's 1944 award as the outstanding piece of research done by a member.

[1] See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, the REVIEW, April 1945, page 165.

a county to determine the number of representatives to which it is entitled:

Number of Ratios	*Number of Representatives*
1 or less	1
2½	2
4	3
6	4

Above six ratios, one representative is allowed for each two and one-half additional ratios.

It is obvious that this formula for apportioning representatives is designed to neutralize the political effect of city growth. Thus, St. Louis City, with a 1940 census population of 816,048, is entitled to eighteen representatives under the formula. In contrast, there are eighteen rural counties with a combined population of only 157,769 which also are entitled to eighteen representatives.

Growth of Metropolitan Areas

In order to understand the failure of the General Assembly to discharge its constitutional responsibilities for legislative reapportionment, it should be borne in mind that Missouri's two large metropolitan centers—St. Louis and Kansas City—have grown steadily and rapidly since the adoption of the old constitution in 1875. On the other hand, the remainder of the state grew slowly until 1900 and then steadily lost population until the downward trend was temporarily reversed during the economic depression of the 30's. This development is shown below:

Year	*St. Louis City and County and Jackson County (Kansas City)*	*Other Counties*
1880	464,731	1,703,649
1890	648,587	2,030,598
1900	820,471	2,286,194
1910	1,052,968	2,240,367
1920	1,241,480	2,162,575
1930	1,504,007	2,125,360
1940	1,568,106	2,216,558

St. Louis City, St. Louis County and Jackson County (Kansas City) had 21 per cent of the state's total population in 1880. Thirty years later, in 1910, they had 32 per cent of the total. By 1940 they had 41 per cent of the total.

The problem of reapportioning representatives among the counties was not so difficult politically as senatorial redistricting. More representatives could be given to the St. Louis and Kansas City areas, as their populations grew, without reducing the representation of counties elsewhere. Furthermore, the representation formula described above is such that the number of representatives to which the metropolitan areas were entitled increased at a slower rate than their populations. Even under these circumstances, the General Assembly was able to agree upon only three reapportionments between the years 1875 and 1945.

With the size of the Senate definitely fixed by constitutional provision, the St. Louis and Kansas City areas could be given more senators only by reducing the representation of other parts of the state. Such a result raised the questions of which senators and which party would lose seats in the regrouping of the rural counties. The issue of city-country balance was also ever present. These facts explain to a large extent why the legislators were never able to redistrict the state during the entire life of the constitution of 1875.

The constitution of 1875 attempted to take care of one aspect of this problem. It provided that, if the General Assembly should fail to redistrict the state for the election of senators at the first session after a federal census, the duty should be performed by the governor, secretary of state and attorney general, within 30 days after the adjournment of the General Assembly. These three elective officials redistricted the state in 1881, 1891 and 1901.

Court Intervenes

In 1911 the secretary of state and the attorney general prepared a plan of senatorial redistricting, but the governor refused to sign the statement setting forth the plan, or to promulgate it as provided for by the constitution, for the reason that the redistricting was, in his opinion, arbitrarily and unequally done. The State Supreme Court held the redistricting plan to be inoperative because of the refusal of the governor to promulgate it.[2] The court went on to state that, even though the governor should promulgate the plan, it would be invalid because it failed to observe the constitutional requirements that the districts be "as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." It was further held by the court that the three executive officials, in redistricting the state when the General Assemby failed to do so, were exercising legislative authority, and therefore could no more be compelled by mandamus to act than the General Assembly could be.

In 1921, and again in 1931, the governor, secretary of state and attorney general redistricted the state for the election of senators. Both acts were invalidated by the State Supreme Court, however, on the grounds that the constitutional provisions authorizing the three executive officials to redistrict were annulled by the terms of the initiative and referendum adopted in 1908.[3] This amendment specified that the "legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and a house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves the right to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and . . . to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly." It was the opinion of the court that this amendment withdrew from the three executive officials their "legislative" power to redistrict the state in case the General Assembly failed to do so.

These court decisions left Missouri with the senatorial districts established in 1901. With a few exceptions, the districts were then fairly equal in population.

By 1940 the senatorial districts had become grossly inequitable from the standpoint of population. The proper senatorial quotient at that time was 111,314. In contrast, one district made up of three rural counties had a population of only 45,718 or 59 per cent less than the quotient, while the district made up of St. Louis County and two rural counties had a population of 320,512 or 188 per cent more than the quotient. In Jackson County (Kansas City), the average population per district was 238,914 or 115 per cent more than the quotient. In St. Louis

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[2] *State ex rel.* v. *Hitchcock* (1911) 241 Mo. 433, 146 S. W. 40.

[3] *Lashly* v. *Becker* (1921) 290 Mo. 560, 235 S. W. 1017; *Gordon* v. *Becker* (1932) 329 Mo. 1053, 49 S. W. (2d) 146.

City, the average population per district was 136,008 or 22 per cent more than the quotient, but the estimated population for individual districts within the city ranged from 44,252 to 241,955. Of the 34 state senatorial districts, 26 had populations in 1940 which varied from the quotient by more than 25 per cent.

It has been generally alleged in Missouri that the senatorial districts of 1901 were created in such a way that the Democrats would be assured of controlling the Senate. That there was some basis for this charge is indicated by the fact that, during the period from 1901 to 1945, the Republicans have obtained a majority of the senatorial seats only in the 1921 session and the current 1945 session. Even in the 1929 session, when the Republicans had a majority of 103 to 47 in the House of Representatives and had held majorities in the House during the two previous sessions, the Democrats controlled the Senate by 19 to 15.

Senatorial redistricting was one of the most controversial issues before the State Constitutional Convention, which met from September 21, 1943, to September 29, 1944. To have undertaken to lay out new districts would have precipitated a bitter partisan fight. It might have endangered the adoption of the new constitution, both by arousing political opposition and by intensifying city-country rivalry. Many leaders of the convention were of the opinion that the detailed work of redistricting was not a proper function of the convention, and that the convention should limit itself to writing into the constitution provisions for adequate machinery and rules for this function. Fortunately, it would seem, this opinion prevailed.

New Provisions

Under the provisions of the constitution of 1945, the governor is required to appoint a redistricting commission within 90 days after the effective date of the constitution and also within 90 days after each decennial census of the United States. The commission consists of ten members, chosen in equal numbers from lists of ten names submitted by the state committees of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last preceding election. If either state committee fails to submit a list, the governor appoints five members of his own choice from the party of such committee. Each member of the commission receives $15 a day but his total compensation may not exceed $1,000.

It is provided that the commission shall redistrict the state on the basis of a senatorial quotient computed by dividing the total population by 34. The population of no district may vary from the quotient by more than 25 per cent. As pointed out above, no county may be divided in the making of districts composed of more than one county. Where a county is entitled to more than one senator, the commission assigns district numbers, but the county is divided into districts by the county court, except in St. Louis City where this function is performed by the Board of Election Commissioners.

For adoption, a redistricting plan must be approved by seven of the ten commission members. Failure to adopt a plan within six months after the appointment of the commission results in its discharge. The senators to be elected at the next election are in that case elected from the state at large, after which a new commission is appointed. A redistricting plan is not subject to referendum.

The provision for election of senators at large in case the commission fails to redistrict the state is designed to put teeth into the procedure. A candidate is usually in a better position to gauge his strength in his home community than in the state as a whole. Election at large would entail greater uncertainties and increased campaign expense. Also, in a state where the voters frequently switch from one party column to another as in Missouri, there is little inducement for either party to favor election of senators at large.

In accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, Governor Phil M. Donnelly, on May 25, 1945, appointed a senatorial redistricting commission from the lists of nominees submitted by the state committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. The commission filed with the Secretary of State, on October 19, a statement setting forth the new districts.

Senate Plan Approved

The plan drafted by the commission has met with general approval and probably represents as good a job of redistricting as could be done. The districts seem to meet the constitutional requirement that they be "as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." So far as can be determined, the district lines are not drawn to give either political party an unfair advantage.

Under the redistricting plan, St. Louis City will have seven senators instead of the present six. St. Louis County, which now shares one senator with two rural counties, will have two senators by itself. Jackson County (Kansas City) will have four senators instead of two. These two metropolitan centers, with 41 per cent of the state's population in 1940, will have 38 per cent of the senators as compared to only 26 per cent at the present time.

The tabulation below shows the average 1940 population per senator in the metropolitan areas and the remainder of the state under the recent apportionment, as compared to the senatorial quotient of 111,314:

	Average Population Per Senator	*Above-or Below Quotient*
St. Louis City	116,578	+ 4.7%
St. Louis County	137,115	+23.2
Jackson County (Kansas City)	119,457	+ 7.3
Other districts	105,550	— 5.2

The 21 districts outside the St. Louis and Kansas City areas have populations ranging from 85,739 or 23 per cent less than the senatorial quotient to 131,235 or 18 per cent in excess of it. In fourteen of these districts the population is within 15 per cent of the quotient, and in 20 districts it is within 20 per cent of the quotient. Thus, it will be seen that the commission stayed well within the 25 per cent variation permitted by the constitution of 1945.

It is possible, however, that a future redistricting commission may find itself unable to stay within the 25 per cent variation because of the provision that no county shall be divided in the making of districts composed of more than one county. For example, the senatorial quotient based on the 1940 census is 111,314, and a district may thus have a minimum population of 83,485 and a maximum of 139,143. If a county had a population of 150,000 it would clearly be entitled to one senator, but the population of the district would be 35 per cent more than the quotient. The county could not be given two senators, for the population per senator would be 33 per cent less than the quotient. In such case, the 25 per cent requirement could be met only by dividing the county and combining part of it with one or more other counties to make a district, and this procedure is prohibited by the terms of the constitution. What the attitude of the courts would be in this situation remains to be seen.

First Trial Satisfactory

In view of the first experience with the new provisions for senatorial redistricting, it seems that Missouri has found a reasonably satisfactory answer to this troublesome problem. The threat of election of senators at large if the state is not redistricted should be sufficient to assure that this function is performed every ten years. A similar provision ought to be equally effective in assuring redistricting in many other states which may want to benefit from Missouri's experience.

Reapportionment of representatives among the counties by the secretary of state, as provided by the new constitution, has not been tried yet, but this method ought to prove successful. A reapportionment of representatives on the basis of the 1940 census was made by the Constitutional Convention. Under this reapportionment, the number of representatives for St. Louis County is increased from three to seven, the number for St. Louis City is reduced from 19 to 18, and the number for Jackson County (Kansas City) is increased from 10 to 11.

In reapportioning representatives among the counties after each federal census in the future, the secretary of state need simply apply the ratio of representation described above. His work in this connection will be that of making arithmetical calculations and will involve no discretionary power. If he fails to discharge this duty, it should be possible to obtain a writ of mandamus against him, for it would seem that reapportionment is clearly not a legislative function under the new constitution.

The two metropolitan centers will still be underrepresented in the House of Representatives on the basis of their population because of the apportionment formula prescribed by the constitution. Under the reapportionment based on the 1940 census, St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and Jackson County (Kansas City) will have only 23 per cent of the total number of representatives, although they have 41 per cent of the state's population. But they will have the full representation to which they are entitled under the state constitution, and that will be a definite step forward.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Strikes and Strike Threats in Public Employment

Grave Labor Problems in New York City and Houston

THE threatened strike of the Transport Workers Union on the municipally-owned transportation system in New York City, narrowly averted on February 26, focused public attention again on the question of collective bargaining and the right to strike in public employment.

Michael Quill, member of the City Council and national president of the TWU, which is affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, had presented demands to the city's Board of Transportation which included a wage increase of $2 per day and sole collective bargaining rights for the TWU. The latter claims to have a majority of the 32,000 employees of the board, which operates the city-wide rapid transit system and also the street-railway and bus lines in the borough of Brooklyn and part of the borough of Queens. This claim was disputed by the board and by six organizations or unions having members in the city's transportation system, where many employees are also unorganized. An important factor in the situation appeared to be the intention of "District 50" of the United Mine Workers to campaign for as large a membership as possible among the board's employees.

A strike was announced by TWU for February 27 unless the board should accede to the demands. Mayor William F. O'Dwyer was given the unanimous support of the Board of Estimate, the city's primary governing body, in meeting the strike threat. Employees of other city departments were screened to obtain substitute personnel for the transit lines and their power plants, in addition to the non-TWU workers, and the police were placed in readiness for the emergency and the consequent vast disruption in the life of the city.

The question of wage increases had already been made a matter of consideration and negotiation. As to the demand for sole bargaining rights, John J. Bennett, the city's corporation counsel and former state attorney general, rendered to the Mayor his formal opinion stating in part:

"Because of constitutional provision and state laws, it is clear that no one group of civil service employees can be granted sole and exclusive bargaining rights as against a governmental body such as the Board of Transportation."

He also quoted the late President Roosevelt to the effect that collective bargaining, as usually understood, is inapplicable to public employment.

Mayor O'Dwyer telegraphed to Philip Murray, CIO president, who entered the discussions, and on February 26 an agreement was announced whereby TWU withdrew its demand for sole bargaining rights and referred its other claims to a special transit committee of five men and women named by the Mayor to consider working conditions, wages and labor relations for all the city's transportation employees.

The TWU has contracts with some of the privately-owned bus lines in the borough of Manhattan, and had announced that these contracts would be observed and its members would remain at work on these lines.

One thorny element related to the transit labor situation is the annual deficit of $45,000,000 or more by which operating expenses and fixed charges on the city's investment exceed revenues from the five-cent fare, while much expenditure for improvements is called for. A large wage increase would increase the deficit and imperil the ability of the system even to meet operating expenses alone. Real estate and allied interests wish to increase fares so as to make the system self-sustaining if possible; bills to create a transit "authority" with that objective are before the legislature. Others contend that the riders should not pay the full cost of an essential public enterprise that creates or enhances property values. Failure to pay operating expenses, however, would make the fare issue more acute. Various schemes of fare adjustment, including increases partially offset by free transfers, have been proposed.

Mayor O'Dwyer has expressed the hope that the new committee will set a pattern for the solution of similar problems in other city departments and agencies. On February 27 he took the Sanitation Department to task for having continued the recognition of a single union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) as sole bargaining agent for the employees of that department.

Houston Employees Strike

Garbage collection, street maintenance and certain other city departments in Houston, Texas, were halted on February 20 by a strike of the City-County Employees Union (AFL), said to involve 640 employees, whose demands for wage increases of 12½ to 25 per cent had been rejected. Garbage piled up on streets and sidewalks. Picket lines were enjoined on February 23, but were taken over by other unions. After breakdown of negotiations for union recognition and wage increases a threat was made to withdraw all workers from the city-owned water, gas and sewage plants, but was rescinded after a turbulent meeting of the City Council.

The strike lasted seven days in the course of which AFL unions in a sympathy move called a one-day work "holiday" and marched on the City Hall in protest against refusal of the city to negotiate. The city had discharged striking employees, but in an agreement on February 26 ending the strike it restored the men to their former status and instituted a survey of salaries by the Civil Service Commission.

While the current industrial unrest has thus far caused few crises in public employment, the two preceding cases serve to emphasize the importance and the dangers of the situation and the need for better understanding, higher morale, enlightened policies and adequate machinery to promote fair treatment for employees, administrators and the public.

The Committee on Public Employer-Employee Relations of the National Civil Service League has recently issued a comprehensive statement of essentials of public policy as to the relations of government and its employees, and the rights and obligations of administrators, legislators, employees and the general public. It gives careful consideration to the questions of organization, contract, disputes, strikes, and cooperation with and by public employees. (See page 161 of this issue.)

Virginia Restricts Public Employee Unions

Upon the recommendation of Governor Tuck the Virginia legislature at its recent session adopted a resolution declaring it to be against public policy for the state or any of its political subdivisions to sign a contract with a labor union.

The legislature also passed a bill

which provides that any employee of the state or its subdivisions "who, in concert with two or more other such employees for the purpose of obstructing, impeding or suspending any activity or operation of his employing agency, or any other governmental agency, strikes or wilfully refuses to properly perform the duties of his employment" shall be ineligible for reemployment of the state or its subdivisions for a period of one year.

Virginia Makes Progress in Electoral Reforms

The legislature of Virginia, at its recently ended session, gave its initial approval to constitutional amendments designed to improve the state election system. Passage by a subsequent legislature will also be necessary, to be followed by a vote of the people, probably in 1948.

According to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (Virginius Dabney, editor), "No action taken by the General Assembly of 1946 surpasses in importance its adoption of a comprehensive program of suffrage reform . . . This is by all odds the most important development in the field of the franchise that Virginia has seen since the constitutional convention of 1901-02."

The notable features of the program are listed by the *Times-Dispatch* as follows:

"(1) Repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, but not as a revenue-producing measure . . . .

"(2) Provision for annual registration . . . .

"(3) Creation of a Central Electoral Board to supervise elections and hold fraud to a minimum . . . .

"(4) Tightening up of the absent voter laws, which have been the source of such widespread corruption throughout the commonwealth. This barely got through the Senate in acceptable form, since elimination of the vitally important affidavit required from absent voters came within one vote of success in that body. Elimination was prevented by Lieutenant-Governor Collins, who earned public thanks by casting the deciding ballot against it. The physician's certificate required of ill persons, in addition to the affidavit, was cut out of the bill by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. This definitely weakened the controls over absent voter frauds, but enough controls remain to give us a much-improved situation."

Michigan Legislature Aids Veterans, Schools, Institutions

Postwar needs of war veterans were the chief objective of the special session of the Michigan legislature, which adjourned February 21 after three weeks of argument over many other issues. Governor Harry F. Kelly, who suffered many serious wounds when he served in World War I, insisted that problems of the veterans should have first place, though he did not succeed in keeping out of the debates such controversies as financial aid to Michigan cities, aid to public schools, etc.

A trust fund of $50,000,000 was finally created for emergency help to veterans in need after proposals for bonus payments were voted down. Recognizing existence of a large state surplus, accruing chiefly from the sales tax, Governor Kelly decreed that needs of veterans and of state institutions must be satisfied, and that any assignment of state funds for aid of cities might put the state "in the red" in 1947. Not being a candidate for a third two-year term, the Governor was able to have his way in the special session.

Appropriations were voted for a total of $37,000,000, or $10,000,000 more than the state surplus is expected to reach by July 1, 1947. In the list of appropriations were: $5,700,000 for mental hospitals; $3,300,000 to the University of Michigan; $3,000,000 to Michigan State College; various sums to other state agencies for a total of more than $20,000,000. With unspent past appropriations the state can embark on $39,000,000 in construction programs. Another sum of $3,200,000 a year will go to aid public schools, most of it for teachers' salaries. Wayne University, Detroit, will get $2,700,000 to expand facilities for serving thousands of returned veterans. The question of further aid to Wayne in future, and of the measure of state control to be exercised in this municipal institution, was left for future decision. Here is a delicate problem as between city and state.

The big fight of the session was over demands of the cities for some state aid. A year ago they wanted a sixth of the 3 per cent sales tax money for local needs. The Governor held that some cities needed no help and others, not including Detroit, should get from under the fifteen-mill tax limit. This argument will fill the air until the regular session of next January.

On Governor Kelly's insistence the date of the primary was again advanced, this time from September to June 18, though only a tiny handful of voters in service have voted in the primaries of the last two years. Authorization to re-license businesses of veterans may add 500 more saloons in Detroit, which already has three times its previously designated quota. Retroactive homestead tax exemption benefits that might reach $4,000,000 also were voted for veterans who failed to claim them during the years of hostilities.

W. P. Lovett, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

Council Manager Plan Developments

In a special election held the first week in March in **Aberdeen, South Dakota,** a proposal to replace the commission system with the manager plan carried by a vote of 3,782 to 1,831. It carried every precinct in the city but one. The election was preceded by a spirited campaign led by members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. A nine-member council is to be elected in the near future and then the selection of a manager will be made. Aberdeen will be the third and largest manager city in South Dakota, the others being Rapid City and Clark.

The city of **Nevada, Missouri,** adopted the council-manager plan at a special election on February 26. It is the sixth city in that state to adopt the plan, and the second to do so since the new constitution of 1945 gave greater home rule powers to cities. With a population of 8,181 (1940 census), Nevada turned out a vote of 2,649, of which 1,500 were for the manager plan. It was sponsored largely by the organized Veterans of World War II and was unanimously endorsed by the trustees of the Chamber of Commerce. The election was called as the result of a petition signed by many more than the requisite 25 per cent of the vote at the last general election. The primary election for a new City Council was on March 19, the final or general election being on April 2.

After having an optional town manager law on the statute books for seventeen years, during which time no town has adopted the plan, interest has suddenly surged in various localities in New Hampshire. On March 12 **Conway,** by a town meeting vote of 211 to 202, became the first town in the state to adopt the manager plan under the 1929 act. The Board of

Selectmen and the local newspaper opposed the plan but an able citizens' committee worked hard for its adoption.

Voters of the town of **Milford, New Hampshire,** have authorized their selectmen to appoint a superintendent of public works to asume full control of the highway, water and sewer departments, parks and playgrounds, cemeteries, building inspector, maintenance of buildings, etc. The superintendent will hold office at the pleasure of the selectmen and appoint all employees under his direction, fixing their salaries and wages. He will act as budget officer for the selectmen and advise them regarding purchasing for his departments.

The town of **Hanover, New Hampshire,** has voted to employ a town assistant for the selectmen who will be a full-time employee, giving whatever administrative assistance they desire. The intent of the planning board which sponsored the proposal was that such officer should approximate a town manager. The following night the voters of **Hanover** Village voted to participate with the town in hiring the assistant as their administrative official.

Bucksport, Maine, adopted the town manager plan under the state's 1939 enabling act at a special town meeting in January. The selectmen were given authority to employ a manager, and it was decided that the number of selectmen be increased from three to seven. On February 15 the town of **Freeport** also adopted the town manager plan.

The city council of **Charles City, Iowa,** on February 18 passed an ordinance providing for a limited city manager plan, under which all city departments would be under a manager except the police department, which remains under the mayor, and the fire department, under the City Council. A still more restricted plan had been in effect twice before, and was last repealed on July 20, 1931.

In **Edinburg, Texas,** a council-manager ordinance was passed on January 15, and a manager has been appointed.

Vallejo, California, adopted a council-manager charter at a special election on February 19 by a vote of 2,687 to 463; the total vote was about one-fourth of the number of registered voters. The new form of government will supplant a three-man commission.

In **Santa Monica, California,** the Board of Freeholders elected to draft a new charter unanimously decided on February 19 to use the council-manager plan, and to separate completely administrative and policy-making functions of the city government. Twelve members were in attendance and the others approved the plan by proxy.

The City Council of **Revere, Massachusetts,** voted on February 25 for a referendum on "Plan E" (manager-P.R.) at the 1947 municipal election; a petition of 3,000 names was received.

In **Beverly, Massachusetts,** at the annual service clubs' supper on February 20, George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, described the success of council-manager government under Plan E in the latter city.

A committee of 100 has been organized in **Charleston, West Virginia,** to promote a nonpartisan council-manager charter; it is circulating petitions calling for a referendum on framing a new charter.

The Mayor of **Hagerstown, Maryland,** has proposed a commission form of government for that city, but the council-manager plan is advocated by others, including prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce.

Ypsilanti, Michigan, defeated a manager proposal 1,534 to 1,034.

Rochester, Minnesota, has also voted against the manager plan.

Petitions have been circulated in **Kaukauna, Wisconsin,** calling for a referendum on the adoption of the manager plan. The movement has the support of Mayor L. F. Nelson.

In **Sheboygan, Wisconsin,** the question of adoption of the council-manager plan is expected to be submitted to a vote in the near future.

Much interest in the manager plan and in charter adoption or revision generally in **Missouri** cities and counties is reported by the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey. **University City** votes April 2 on whether to draft a charter. In **Hannibal** a citizens' committee and the *Courier-Post* have been working for the manager plan, and the **Poplar Bluff** *American-Republic* has issued an emphatic editorial call for its adoption. Speakers have discussed the merits of the plan at the behest of civic clubs in **Cape Girardeau, Jefferson City** and **Mexico,** and in the latter city the *Daily Ledger* has carried a series of articles on the subject. The **Springfield** *Leader and Press* recently carried an extensive presentation on the operation of Neosho's council manager plan, and that plan or other revamping of municipal government is being discussed in **Columbia, Louisiana, Macon** and **Lebanon.**

The voters of **Junction City, Kansas,** will vote April 2 on the question of whether the city shall adopt the manager plan as provided by state law.

Hot Springs, New Mexico, defeated a council-manager proposal at a special election on February 5, by a vote of 286 to 122. But **Hot Springs, South Dakota,** is showing active interest in the manager plan, which is favored by Mayor D. W. Sewright and the weekly newspaper, the *Hot Springs Star.*

Other municipalities where interest in the plan is manifest include **Franklin, Massachusetts, West Point, Virginia, Sidney, Ohio, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, Norfolk, Beatrice, Hay Springs** and **Nebraska City, Nebraska, Deadwood, South Dakota, Owosso, Michigan, Ada, Oklahoma, Burlingame, California,** and **Grenada** and **Meridian, Mississippi.**

California city managers held their annual spring meeting at Sacramento, February 22 and 23, with an attendance of 29 out of 38 managers in that state. In Michigan 39 managers met in Lansing January 30 to February 1. Eleven Oregon managers met in Portland on January 20.

The ICMA reports that 135 manager appointments were made in 1945, of which seventeen were promotions within the city, 25 were manager promotions from other cities, 25 were former managers returning to manager positions, 32 were from other administrative positions in other cities; the other 36 either came from non-governmental positions or the background had not been learned. The number of departing managers was 90, of which number ten had died, five retired, fourteen went into other governmental service, 41 entered private business and the others into a variety of occupations. The average length of service, as of the end of 1945, had increased to seven years and ten months.

Pennsylvania Local Government Filmed in Action

The Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs has made available to the public a 16-millimeter sound film entitled "Pennsylvania Local Government in Action." It was produced by the motion picture and recording studio of the Pennsylvania State College extension services and takes 22 minutes to run. The department will release it to local government groups, service clubs, civic organizations and schools free of charge.

The film includes several sequences of animation to illustrate governmental organization, and shots of playgrounds and parks, housing, traffic, a health clinic, road building, police, fire company activities, water works, a sewage disposal plant and other local government activities which were filmed in many municipalities throughout the state. It is intended to show the variety and color of local government, to emphasize its importance and indicate some of its most pressing current problems, and also to promote unity of spirit and purpose among Pennsylvania local government officials.

Changing Federal Civil Service to Peacetime Basis

The United States Civil Service Commission, acting under authority of an executive order by President Truman, has issued regulations for the transition of the federal civil service to a peacetime basis. The commission is taking steps toward the resumption of regular civil service examinations for permanent appointments, eligible lists having been exhausted during the war. Instead of any more "war service" appointments, regular temporary appointments will be made where needed pending establishment of eligible lists, with preference for disabled and nondisabled veterans and for displaced federal workers, in the order given. Persons holding war service appointments can compete in the regular examinations.

Special boards of examiners will be created for filling positions in the field services and special committees of expert examiners will take care of scientific, professional and technical positions in Washington. A considerable measure of authority and responsibility for execution of the transitional program will be delegated to the various federal departments, according to the Civil Service Assembly. In this connection the following resolution, adopted by the National Civil Service League at its annual meeting on February 20, is of interest:

"RESOLVED, That the league recognizes the practical difficulties prompting the President's Executive Order authorizing the federal agencies to conduct examinations and establish eligible lists for professional, scientific and technical positions in the departmental services and for all positions in the field services, and believes that this order will expedite reconversion of the federal civil service to a peacetime basis.

"The league believes that the special examiners to be designated by the departments should, while acting in such capacity, be deemed to be agents of the U. S. Civil Service Commission and responsible to the commission for their official acts while serving as special examiners, so that the responsibility for administering civil service examinations throughout the federal service may remain under the direct supervision and control of the commission.

"The league urges the public to be on the alert to scotch any attempts to cover in incompetent war-duration appointees."

Nation-wide Police Traffic Safety Check Planned

The many beneficial results of the brake check program conducted last spring and the alarming current upswing in traffic accidents has caused the Board of Officers of the International Association of Chiefs of Police to re-examine the need for further united action by the police. The Executive Committee of the IACP has voted to launch another activity in the United States and Canada whereby all police and sheriffs will be working simultaneously on the same program. The united attack, to be conducted by the Safety Division of the IACP, will be similar to the brake program but wider in scope, and will include trucks and buses as well as passenger cars. The new program will be called "The Police Traffic Safety Check" keynoting the following points: Check your driving, check your car, check accidents!

The program will be launched May 15, 1946, immediately following President Truman's three-day Highway Safety Conference.

As last year, those involved in an accident or stopped for a traffic violation will be subject to the check. The officer will check these items: brakes (using the one-inch block check, except on trucks and buses), lights (including stop lights), tires with due notation of cuts, fabric breaks and excessive wear, windshield wipers and horns. These conditions will be indicated on a duplicate check list, a copy of which will be given the motorist. Departments and cooperating organizations will be encouraged also to provide for checking cars whose operators ask to have it done, which voluntary action is essential to the success of such an undertaking by the police.

Robert E. Raleigh,
Associate Director
Safety Division, IACP

High State Courts Approve Ban of Overhanging Street Signs

After three years of litigation the city of New Rochelle, New York, has succeeded in obtaining from the New York Court of Appeals unanimous approval of the legality of a local ordinance prohibiting signs that project over public sidewalks and highways. A previous ordinance attempting to do likewise, but too loosely drawn, had been ruled out, but a revised ordinance had been upheld by the Westchester County Supreme Court and the Appellate Division, and the Court of Appeals affirmed without opinion. Marquees on theaters, hotels and public buildings are permitted by the ordinance.

Late in 1945 the Michigan Supreme Court upheld the right of the city of Detroit to control or eliminate overhanging signs on Woodward Avenue.

Merit Systems for Local to International Levels

The recent annual report of the National Civil Service League urges that the principles of the merit system be applied to the staff of the United Nations Organization as well as to our federal, state and local governments. In recommending that the United States take the lead in such a policy the league asserts that this would assure, as well as any device can, impartiality of staff selection, independence of international pressure, competence for performance of responsibilities, and continuity of policies of administration.

The report commends the federal civil service system as having come through the war years with enhanced prestige, despite early confusion and some occasional blundering, and notwithstanding some over-expansion of the federal service inevitable during wartime. It points out that the problems of readjustment from war to peace are almost as challenging as were the demands of war, and stresses the need of keeping and attracting the high professional, scientific, technical and administrative talent which we were able to recruit in backing up the armed forces in order to prevent the vital task of administrative management in the federal government from falling into mediocre hands. The League suggests that three aggressive steps be immediately taken:

(1) Raise the ceiling for salaries in the high executive and administrative positions;

(2) Modernize methods of recruiting so as to bring the most competent potential appointees and the jobs together more expeditiously;

(3) Keep public administrators free of disturbing and time-consuming pressure from job-hunters and those seeking to retain inefficient employees.

The league comments that there is vital need for research in choosing and administering personnel and that public personnel agencies have done little to study and appraise examination methods and other processes to determine their real usefulness.

Concerned with the growing tendency of organized civil service employees to turn to the power of the strike, the league also calls attention to "the tendency to transplant to the public service from private industry certain employer-employee arrangements which are neither necessary nor desirable in the public service." The report points out that it is the responsibility of government to establish machinery to assure that public employees have justice, but it reaffirms its stand that civil service employees must not have the right to strike, that collective bargaining as recognized in private industry is not applicable in the public service, and that the closed shop is inimical to the merit system in the public service.

Recognizing that war veterans are entitled to reasonable preference in appointments to the civil service, the report cautions the public to "take care that advocates of veteran preference, making use of the noble enthusiasm of the people over their returning heroes, do not exploit this enthusiasm in a way which is chiefly useful to politicians anxious to capture soldier votes."

Researcher's Digest

Research Groups Explore Cost of Government

New York, Rhode Island, Various Cities Studied

THOUGH *Trends in Management and Costs of New York State Government* (262 pages) "gives illustrations from one state, its concrete cases also illustrate problems that beset all our states and cities, as well as our federal system, under present-day social and political stresses," says Abbett Pulliam, its author. Mr. Pulliam, executive vice-president of **Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State**, feels it would be hard to find a better laboratory than New York State for study of the problems besetting our government system, with its wide variety of local governments totaling some 7,182 separate taxing units.

"The trends in policies and practices here cited," he says, "show with stark clearness the need for greater understanding of the complex forces of expanding government and the urgent need for adapting our traditional system of checks and balances to the growing modern problems of legislation and administration." The "trends" which the author cites "have led to soaring costs of both state and local government . . . Increases are documented in both intra- and interstate comparisons of operating costs, taxes, debts, surpluses and related financial trends."

"An outstanding management and cost need that emerges from these trends is for a broader and fuller use of checks and balances in government," says Mr. Pulliam. Recommended changes include a new conception of the comptroller's position. "As an elected official he is not subordinate to the governor or to any other officer. He is not a spender, but a challenger and a tester." Suggested management changes include a reduction of state departments to ten, reorganization of all departments headed by boards or commissions to give the governor appointive power over and full direction of them; more reporting on measurements of work done compared to the personnel used; budgeting under accepted modern principles and constitutional requirements; and many others.

Local Finance in Rhode Island

The **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** whose executive director is Robert M. Goodrich, has compiled a statement on local government finances for the 39 cities and towns of the state. Titled *Your Tax Dollar* (eight pages), it sets forth in tabular form per capita costs, sources of income, expenditures, real estate and personal holdings, tax levy and indebtedness for the fiscal year 1944. Commenting that the council had found it necessary in compiling the statistics to reclassify receipts and expenditures to a standard classification, the publication says: "The need for improved and uniform accounting by all local governments is abundantly clear to anyone who has a concern in Rhode Island's governmental affairs. For the improvement of the local government, for the guidance of the General Assembly in establishing state tax policies, for the citizen seeking a congenial residential location, and for the industry seeking a new site, full, reliable and convincing information on the respective conditions in the several local governments is a primary requisite."

In the same state the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has compiled *Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1936-1945* (15 pages), which "undertakes to present in convenient form the financial information authorities usually consider necessary for soundly evaluating municipal credit." Tables set forth assessed valuations, tax rates, tax collections, indebtedness, future debt service requirements, summaries of revenues and expenditures and departmental expenditures. Robert E. Pickup is executive director of the bureau.

Wilmington Studied

A *Study of the Financial Operations of the City of Wilmington* has been prepared by the **Tax Research Bureau of the Delaware Chamber of Commerce,** John W. Nowland, director. Statistics are presented by means of graphs showing the city's total bonded debt from 1933 to the present time and a forecast of the reductions of the existing debt to 1967; total principal to be paid each year; revenues and expenditures from 1936-37 to the current year; bonded debt interest; assessed valuation; etc.

Apportionment of the tax levy in Duluth, with figures running from 1925 to 1946, is set forth by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau's** two-page publication on *Duluth Taxes—1946.* The bureau cites figures showing that taxes for 1946 will be increased by $538,000 over last year. Its executive secretary is Harry Reed.

Inaugurating a new policy, the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association, Inc.,** whose president is John Dawson, has published in a single issue of *The North Dakota Taxpayer* the bulk of the statistical material dealing with state, county and school finances formerly scattered through several numbers. The January issue of 56 pages contains comprehensive tables setting forth debt, revenues, expenditures and taxes for the three levels of government. School figures are listed by counties. In some instances tables show comparative figures as far back as 1890.

"The approval 'by the people' last week of the charter amendment to permit a 2½ mill increase in the Cleveland city operating levy for the current year does not solve the city's financial problem," says the **Cleveland Citizens League**, John E. Bebout, director. "It simply gives the city a few more months in which to seek long-range answers, without the immediate deterioration of municipal services and morale which would certainly have resulted from the failure to obtain additional money for operating this year."

Public Administration Program in Michigan

A new **Institute of Public Administration** with a four-fold program has been established at the University of Michigan, Provost James P. Adams has announced, to be in operation by the summer session. Its purposes are:

1. Provide instruction and counseling for graduate and undergraduate students in public administration;
2. Conduct research on matters of public interest, such as finance and taxation, social security, management, employment;
3. Offer services to public administrative offices and legislative bodies. Frequently these services, as well as research activities, will be carried on in cooperation with off-campus agencies interested in similar problems.
4. Provide "in-service training" to advanced students through cooperation with offices of various units of government and offer short courses to public employees. (This phase of the program will not be started immediately.)

The institute, Provost Adams said, is "a more formal organization and integration of programs of instruction, research and public service in which the university has long maintained a lively interest."

The university's Bureau of Government, directed by Robert S. Ford, associate professor of economics, will become a part of the institute and will function largely as a research and service branch.

John A. Perkins, assistant professor of political science, has been named secretary of the institute's executive committee. His primary duties will be to administer the educational phases of the program, including counseling of students.

Research in matters of public concern will be an important function of the institute. It will accept grants from units of government or other bodies which wish to have special studies made and will train advanced students in research techniques.

Through the in-service training program, when it is in operation, students will have an opportunity to serve in a type of apprenticeship, while the short courses for public employees will open the institute's facilities to officials who wish to add to their abilities in managing public affairs.

The 'Know How' of Effective Research

"Get Facts"—A Manual of Research Procedure is the latest report issued by the **City Club of Portland** (Oregon). "While primarily designed for City Club committee procedure," says the foreword to the seven-page pamphlet, "it is hoped that methods outlined will be found adaptable, at least in part, to the needs of other lay study groups." The report was prepared by an appointed committee headed by Anson S. Frohman, chairman. Discussion covers aims and activities, origination of reports, selection of committee personnel, scope of study, committee proce-

dure and policies, the first meeting, methods of research, preparation of reports, presentation of reports and presentation to club members. An appendix sets forth a "typical outline for procedure in City Club study as used in organizing a successful report." Miss Virginia Shirley is executive secretary of the club.

Robert M. Goodrich, executive director of the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** is author of "Essentials of a Good Research Report," an article appearing in *Notes & References* published by the **Governmental Research Association.** "Experience has demonstrated," says Mr. Goodrich in his summary, "that the research report, when properly used, is an effective technique available to citizen agencies for accomplishing certain purposes. It is by no means the only useful procedure, and in recent years it probably has been used less frequently than was the case twenty or thirty years ago when many of the presently available techniques were being developed. Today the need is more largely one of inducing governments to adopt proven techniques. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to keep ahead of the parade, and to know when old ideas are no longer appropriate. The research report definitely has its usefulness."

Detroit Legislative Districts Need Change

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, has issued a research report on *Representative Districts* (seven pages). State senatorial and congressional districts are discussed, with maps showing present lines and bureau proposals for revision. So far as representation in the State House of Representatives is concerned, the Michigan constitution provides that no city shall be subdivided. Detroit, therefore, elects its 21 state representatives at large "with results that are obvious," says the bureau. This situation, it feels, creates "too large a task for effective, intelligent citizen participation. The bureau suggests that all three present apportionments should be changed and could be acted upon at the forthcoming special legislative session if the Governor so decided. It suggests that the first step is for the legislature to "promote a constitutional amendment permitting the city to be subdivided into representative districts." The legislature has power to adopt new state senatorial and congressional districts—a power which it has failed to use for many years.

Michigan Social Security System Explained

"The purpose of this study is to present a simplified statement of the important features of social security as it exists in Michigan, with some attention to developments and trends," says Claude R. Tharp, author of *Social Security and Related Services in Michigan, Their Administration and Financing*, in his preface. The publication of 180 pages has been issued by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan,** of which Robert S. Ford is director.

The study examines "the administration and financing of social security and certain related services in Michigan." It gives a brief description of methods of administering and financing the services as carried on in that state by federal, state and local agencies. The subject is divided into several categories: public assistance; services for children and handicapped persons; health and medical services; and social insurances, including workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, provided by state and federal laws, old age and survivors' insurance under the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act.

Report on Cleveland Area Released

The report on improvement financing in the Cleveland metropolitan area, made by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, has been released to the public as a basis for discussion and planning. The study was made for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, which was retained by the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research** and the **Cleveland Metropolitan Development Council.**

According to *Greater Cleveland,* organ of the **Cleveland Citizens League,** John E. Bebout, director, the report indicates what the authors consider to be an economically feasible program, presenting the relative advantages and disadvantages of pay-as-you-go and borrowing. It finds that the county is in a position to finance all its proposed construction program and that the city, on the basis of its present tax structure, could safely finance a program involving up to $30,000,000 of tax-supported construction in the next six years. The Cleveland School Board's program can be continued on the basis of its present pay-as-you-go plan and the large suburbs are in a position to "carry out needed public improvements without undue burden on the taxpayer." The authors conclude, however, that a majority of the units within Cuyahoga County are too small to be effective in "either the planning or execution of public works necessary to care for the spreading population of the Cleveland area."

Mr. Burns Weston, executive director of the Development Council, in commenting on the release of the report stated: "The report does not provide a specific program to be followed, but it does reveal the extent of ability of the major political subdivisions to finance their capital improvement needs. . . . One of the significant values of the study has been the creation of an informal coordinating committee of representatives of the city, county, Board of Education and suburban municipalities for the purpose of working out a coordinated course of action. This study would not have been possible without the splendid cooperation of the public officials of the local units of government in this area."

Detroit Civic Award

Eighty-five awards totaling $2,500 will be given to the city and school employees of Detroit who submit what are judged to be the most meritorious suggestions for increasing the efficiency and economy of the city's municipal service, says a recent announcement by Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr. The grand award is $500. Others range from $350 down to 70 awards of $10 each.

Mayor Jeffries recently appointed a committee of city administrative officers to review "what the city does, why it is done, how it might be done," to secure a critical re-evaluation and appraisal of every municipal function and service. The gift of $2,500 by an anonymous donor was received as a means of encouraging municipal employees to participate in the program. Closing date for entries was March 15. Preliminary judgment will be made by members of the Mayor's Administrative Study Committee and the business manager of the Board of Education, who will select the 150 most meritorious suggestions. Final judgment will be made by the Board of Trustees of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.**

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Forms of Government

In order to provide Texas officials and citizens with a "comparative discussion of the major forms of city government in use in this country," says Stuart A. McCorkle, director, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** has issued *Forms of City Government* (34 pages, 50 cents). Covered are the weak and strong mayor forms of government, the commission plan and the council-manager plan, with emphasis on those forms as used in Texas cities.

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City Survey

Mayor-elect de Lesseps Morrison of **New Orleans** has requested the **Bureau of Governmental Research** of that city to undertake three surveys of the city government as an aid to the new administration in eliminating waste and inefficiency, announces Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the bureau. The surveys will cover probable budget requirements for May 15-December 31 this year, needed administrative reorganization of the government, and proposed legislation to make such reorganization effective. The surveys will be conducted simultaneously, says Mr. Moak, who plans to use previous studies by the bureau so far as possible.

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County Home Rule

In Missouri, where the new constitution gives cities and counties considerable latitude in adopting new charters, the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** is publishing a series of articles in its bulletin, *Mind Your Business,* on county home rule charters elsewhere. Victor D. Brannon, assistant director of the institute, is acting as director while Charlton F. Chute is on leave.

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Tax Survey

The Maryland Commission on the Distribution of Tax Revenues, appointed by Governor O'Conor, has arranged to have the **Institute of Public Administration** aid the commission in the planning and coordination of its studies and the specification of data to be furnished by state and local officials, according to Judge Joseph Sherbow, commission chairman. Luther Gulick is director of the institute.

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Three-Platoon Fire Department

According to a report from the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** where Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, firemen of that city are circulating petitions asking the City Council to submit to Des Moines voters a proposed ordinance for the establishment of a three-platoon fire department. If the plan were to be adopted, says the bureau, it would mean an increase of at least 90 firemen and would cost the city about $210,000 more than the present cost of operating the department. "Out of a total of 54 cities between 100,000 and 250,000 reporting in 1945," says the bureau, "not one reported using the three-platoon system."

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Tennessee Labor Legislation

The Development of Labor Legislation in Tennessee (University of Tennessee *Record,* November 1945, 79 pages) is a study made by Virginia Holmes Brown, research associate of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee.** Preface to the publication, a bureau study, was prepared by Lee S. Greene, the bureau's director. Covered are the developments of labor legislation in Tennessee as taken from pertinent statutes, as well as a survey of administrative development and individual enforcement through court procedure. A bibliography and a table of cases are included as appendices.

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Change of Name

The **Ohio Institute,** R. E. Miles, executive director, has been reorganized and will be known henceforth as the **Ohio Welfare Council.** According to a recent announcement the organization "is designed to function as a statewide medium through which individual citizens and organizations may be informed on social welfare, health and governmental problems and through which they may channel their efforts to meet those problems and improve the services of the public and private agencies concerned." Major fields of interest are: (1) social welfare services, public and private, including poor relief, aid to dependent children, care for aged and other forms of public assistance; (2) care, treatment and training of mentally ill, mentally deficient and epileptics; (3) prevention and treatment of delinquency, juvenile and adult, including institutional and non-institutional facilities; (4) public health facilities and services; (5) recreation and leisure time programs.

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New Missouri Bureau?

At its annual meeting the Missouri Municipal League unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the University of Missouri to consider the establishment of a Bureau of Municipal Research. University officials have taken the matter under advisement.

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New Edition of 'Letters'

Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the National Training School for Public Service, has recently reissued, in printed form, his *Letters on Public Administration—from a Dean to His Graduates* (91 pages). The "Letters," issued several years ago as a series of pamphlets, include Being an Executive, Tools of Administration, Heuristics, Statistical Theory in One Easy Lesson. Suggested as possibilities for the future are How to Graft, A Short Glossary of Political Words and Phrases, Citizen Concern with Government.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Women Aid in Good Government

Seek Improvements on Both Federal and Local Levels

THE **National League of Women Voters** is currently "sponsoring thousands of small discussion groups, which include both league and non-league members, men as well as women," says Mrs. Harold A. Stone, a league director. The league's new "Memo," *A National Government to Meet Today's Needs* (19 pages, 10 cents), drafted particularly for such groups, "is especially designed to refresh knowledge of the fundamental structure of our government and provide background for viewing the whole problem of the need for reorganizing both the executive and legislative branches of our government," says Mrs. Stone.

"A great obstacle to thought about our federal government is the notion that to strengthen the president is to weaken the Congress, or vice-versa," cites the pamphlet. "Under our system of checks and balances, most fortunately, these notions are mistaken."

The Memo suggests that "the people should follow with interest the work of the president as he sets about the task of reordering the executive establishments under the new reorganization authority, and see to it that Congress does not veto reasonable plans which come before it," and that they "should let the Congress know that they expect it to set its own house in order." The Memo includes a discussion outline and a selected bibliography.

The league will hold its national convention in Kansas City from April 30 to May 3. Miss Anna Lord Strauss is president.

The **Boston Women's City Club** has gone on record unanimously in favor of the city's adoption of the council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the council (known as Plan E in Massachusetts). This action is an innovation, says Mrs. Roland M. Baker, chairman of the club's Public Affairs Committee, who pointed out that, while the committee has taken a stand on various questions, this is the first time the entire club has taken such action. George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, addressed the club on Plan E, describing its advantages and disadvantages. It had originally been the club's intention, said Mrs. Baker, to have two speakers on the subject, but finding an opponent was "like looking for a left-handed monkey wrench." Those who oppose Plan E are chiefly those who will gain personally by continuance of the *status quo*, the *Christian Science Monitor* reports Mrs. Baker as saying, and because of offices which they now hold none would appear publicly against the plan.

The citizenship class of the **Seattle Women's City Club**, just previous to the vote, made an intensive study of the new charter adopted by Seattle voters on March 12. Freeholder George W. Roberge, of the charter commission, reviewed provisions in a talk before the class.

The **Phoenix League of Women Voters**, just previous to the city's recent primary, sponsored a forum discussion participated in by all candidates for the council under the city's council-manager charter. Candidates were introduced by Mrs. Benton Lee, league president. A question and answer period followed the talks.

Since there is no official provision for a periodic check of voters in Cook County outside of Chicago and a few suburbs, the **Glencoe League of Women Voters**, at the request of the village manager, made a check of Glencoe polling lists. In addition to making the check, each canvasser made a note of all voters who should register or make a transfer of address and urged them to do so.

Louis N. Robinson, former chairman of the State Board of Parole and member of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, discussed the report of Governor Martin's Committee on the Penal and Correctional System of Pennsylvania at a luncheon of the **Philadelphia Civic Club**.

Minneapolis Groups Conduct Fund Drive; Adopt 'Goals'

As the result of an intensive drive, five thousand Minneapolis business and professional firms subscribed $319,310 in the city's ninth annual civic fund campaign. According to *Minneapolis Civic Activities,* this is $50,000 more than was collected last year. At the same time 1,077 new members have been signed up.

The drive was conducted by the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary, on behalf of its seven operating agencies: **Minneapolis Research Bureau, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, Greater Minneapolis Safety Council, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Hennepin County Good Roads Association, Associated Industries of Minneapolis** and **Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis**.

Eight hundred volunteers solicited some ten thousand business and professional firms. A speakers bureau supplied associations and clubs with speakers who gave five-minute talks on the campaign. General campaign manager for the drive was Charles W. Perrine.

The Board of Directors of the Civic Council has adopted a comprehensive community program for a greater Minneapolis. The program is set forth in a report, "Goals for Minneapolis," prepared by a special planning committee headed by Professor William Anderson of the Political Science Department at the University of Minnesota. The report recommends "twelve activities toward which the entire community should bend its energies," as follows:

1. *More industry*—Payrolls are the lifeblood of a prosperous community.

2. *Enlarged transportation*—Continued development of rail, water, highway and air transportation commensurate with a metropolitan area of one million people.

3. *Labor*—A program to maintain harmonious relations between employer and employee based on recognition of mutual rights.

4. *Wholesale markets*—Organized and determined effort to expand Minneapolis' $1,500,000,000 market to help give outlet to its industry and commerce.

5. *Finance*—Positive program for the long-range solution of the city's tax and debt problem as a constructive aid to its expansion and growth.

6. *Conventions, tourists*—Constant endeavor to make Minneapolis a still greater convention city and the tourist gateway to the ten thousand lakes country.

7. *City government*—Modernization of the city's machinery of government.

8. *Public works*—Long range program, tailored to fit into the future requirements of a greater Minneapolis.

9. *Research*—Expand public and private research facilities as the basis for intelligent, constructive civic action.

10. *Better business practices*—Continuous effort to stamp out advertising and selling practices that undermine public confidence in business.

11. *Education*—Foster and expand cultural and educational institutions.

12. *Public safety*—Continuous year-around campaign to make Minneapolis' streets, homes and factories the safest in the country.

New Civic Group for Knoxville

City and county government "responsive to social and economic needs of the citizens," is the goal of a newly organized **Good Government Group** in Knoxville, Tennessee, according to an announcement in that city's *News-Sentinel.* "It is not the purpose of our organization to keep in office any present officeholder," says an announcement by the group, "nor is its purpose to create a new group of officials. It seeks to elect to office well qualified men and to support those in office who are properly discharging their duties . . . One of the immediate aims of the group is to actively encourage every citizen to take part in elections by casting their ballots." Another activity will be to encourage properly qualified candidates to seek office. The group will actively support men with ability who will produce the right kind of government and it will investigate and obtain expert assistance in the analysis of problems of officials, advising the public of these problems and supporting all actions taken for their solution.

A full-time paid executive secretary, with permanent headquarters, is being contemplated. Thomas McCroskey is president and John Coulter, secretary.

New Citizen Service for Educational Groups

Supported by some 80 organizations, most of them national, the **Program Information Exchange**, in New York, is acting as a cooperative service agency administered by a Board of Directors composed of leaders in the field of public education.

The organizations concerned report to PIE all their activities, ideas, successful experiences, publications, etc. Each month the organization's staff and editorial committee examine the programs, not only of these organizations but of other educational agencies, selecting the best for publication in one of the ten issues of the *Program Information Bulletin.* He who runs, therefore, will presumably find it necessary to read only the *Bulletin* to keep informed of the passing parade of the work and publications of the groups concerned.

Typical topics in the *Bulletin* include: how to start a discussion, how to get speakers, reports on how organizations have aroused interest in their communities, timely films and records on public affairs, quick descriptions of new and timely publications on subjects of national or world interest, the latest news of important legislation pending in Congress.

PIE also publishes a year-round classified directory of sources of program materials and its Program Consultation Service gives individual assistance with particular problems.

Numbered among the supporting groups are the American Federation of Labor, American Association of University Women, American Library Association, Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Department of Education, Catholic Association for International Peace, Congress for Industrial Organizations, International Labor Organization, National Councils of Catholic Women, Jewish Women and YMCA, National Education Association, National League of Women Voters, and many others. Evans Clark of the Twentieth Century Fund is chairman; Florence B. Widutis is executive director.

Platform for Yonkers

Something new in politics is commented on by the **Yonkers Committee of 100** in its *Bulletin.* "The citizens, not only of Yonkers but of every municipality in the country," says the *Bulletin*, "are so accustomed to pre-election platforms and promises that they simply pass them off with little expectation of fulfillment after election. But for any group of city officials to publicly proclaim a list of objectives and policies after election and taking office is a decided novelty and one worthy of careful consideration." The action was taken at the organization meeting of the Council when Mayor Curtiss E. Frank, on behalf of the Council majority, presented a statement of major plans, objectives and policies which it will endeavor to accomplish.

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Lion and the Lamb

According to an announcement in *The Citizen*, issued by the **Citizens' League of Port Huron** (Michigan), the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the St. Clair County CIO have joined forces in calling a mass meeting to consider action to improve Port Huron schools. Two hundred and fifty local groups—labor unions, lodges, churches, service clubs, etc.—were asked to send delegates to the meeting at the Port Huron High School auditorium. The Citizens' League was represented by two delegates. Miss Margaret Elliott is executive secretary of the league.

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It Was Good Enough for Father

"Everybody is out of step but Woonsocket," laments the **Taxpayers Association** of that Rhode Island city as it points out that Woonsocket is one of sixteen cities over the entire country with two branches in its City Council. "There will always be somebody who will propound reasons why the city should cling to its outmoded bicameral City Council," says the association, "but it doesn't seem reasonable that 99 out of 100 American cities are out of step and that Woonsocket and a mere handful of other cities are the only ones on the beam."

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Town Meeting

Twenty-five civic groups in Minneapolis, representing labor, women, colleges, churches, business and many other groups, held a "Minneapolis Town Meeting" to discuss "How Should the Minneapolis City Charter Be Reformed?" William Anderson, chairman of the Political Science Department, University of Minnesota, gave background information; Ben Palmer, a lawyer and member of the Minneapolis Library Board, presented the case for the council-manager plan; Claude O. Efnor, business man, the commission plan; Hubert H. Humphrey, mayor of Minneapolis, the strong mayor plan; and Harold H. Seavey, chairman of the Political Committee of the Central Labor Union, evaluated the plans.

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1946 Program

An attractively printed leaflet of fifteen pages is **About the New Jersey Taxpayers Association—1946 Platform and Program.** The leaflet describes the association and its aims, reports on past activities and, as the title implies, announces its forthcoming program and platform.

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Costs of Government

The February issue of *The Tax Digest*, published by the **California Taxpayers' Association**, contains two articles on governmental costs: "City General Government Costs," by Richard Winter, and "State and Local Expenditures—California Third in Spending," by Allen C. Fensel.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** discusses the state budget for 1945-1947 in its *Wisconsin Taxpayer.*

Issues of the *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* carry figures on the population, assessments, budgets and taxes of cities, towns and villages, and revenues and expenditures for education.

Tax Topics, organ of the **Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association,** discusses the city's "record high budget estimates," which, it says, means a drastic jump in the 1946 tax rate.

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Debt in Chicago

"Chicago's Debt Situation" was the theme of an address by Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary of the **Chicago Civic Federation**, delivered before the Committee on Public Finance of the **Union League Club of Chicago.** The talk has been published as a four-page leaflet.

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Photographic Recording

The **Washington, D. C., Taxpayers Association** has urged the installation of a photographic method for copying deeds and other instruments in the office of the Recorder of Deeds before the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The association points out in its *Taxpayers Bulletin* that the method is now in use in some 31 states and quotes various authorities, including the U. S. Bureau of Standards, in refuting the single argument brought against such usage—that the records are not permanent. The *Bulletin* lists a series of advantages of the practice, demonstrating savings which can be made.

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Report on Washington

The **Minnesota Taxpayers Association** is issuing a *Washington Report* to its members to keep them informed on what the nation's capital is doing.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers and Long Beach Choose Managers

UN and Czech Elections
Death of John Humphreys

P. R.–council-manager government in Long Beach, New York, appears to be off to a good start. The new Council, elected by P. R. last November, has chosen as the city's first manager Donald C. Wagner, staff member of the Public Administration Service in Chicago and former borough manager of West Reading and of Ephrata, Pennsylvania. The salary fixed is $7500 a year, the same as that given the out-going mayor for part-time service.

The Council chose as its own president Ralph B. Weiss, New York manufacturer, elected to the Council as an independent candidate on the ticket of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee endorsed by the Long Beach Citizens Union.

Both these selections were made by the votes of the Republican councilman, Frank Barbieri, the American Labor party member, Louis Fuchs, and Mr. Weiss, but the two other members, Robert J. Leik, Democrat, and Former Mayor Charles Gold, independent Democrat, have since declared their confidence in Mr. Wagner and at least one of them has shown a willingness to cooperate with President Weiss.

Before Mr. Wagner was selected there was an episode which illustrated strikingly the value of minority representation. Mr. Weiss, Mr. Barbieri and Mr. Fuchs, after announcing their intention of appointing the best available candidate with actual managerial experience, picked one of the applicants who had presented an impressive record and made a good impression. Before the choice was made official, however, the other two councilmen made inquiries in the applicant's home town and found he had misrepresented his career. The majority then continued its search and finally persuaded Mr. Wagner, a man with qualifications they considered superior to those of all candidates who had sought the position, to accept appointment. The city government was allowed to function for part of the month of January under temporary arrangements rather than risk the results of a hurried selection.

Reappointment in Yonkers

Yonkers also appears to have launched a highly promising administration after a few exciting days at the turn of the year when the outgoing Democratic organization council majority sought to nullify as far as possible the verdict at the polls. Having allowed the city to coast for some months with an acting manager after discharging the former competent incumbent, Robert Craig Montgomery, the lame duck majority suddenly appointed a manager at the very end of December and the latter used his few hours of grace to make several term appointments obviously dictated by the organization.

Upon assuming office in January the City Manager League–Republican fusion majority promptly discharged the new manager and re-appointed Mr. Montgomery. They also took steps to try to undo the term appointments. Whether they succeed in this or not, the direction of the city government now appears to be in competent, trustworthy hands and there is a new atmosphere of hope and confidence as the city faces the next two critical years.

P. R. Suggested for United Nations Elections

The United Nations Assembly spent much time over its elections. Second and third ballots were necessary. Moreover, Mr. Bevin directed attention to "the imperative necessity of putting an end to lobbying and taking the vote as an Assembly."

It may be recalled that the election of the Council of the League of Nations also gave rise to intrigues and bargainings. Viscount Cecil accordingly submitted to the league a memorandum recommending the single transferable vote system (Hare system of P. R.). The Norwegian government was so impressed with the value of this method of voting that it made a formal proposal to the league for its adoption. The sixth committee of the league reported unanimously that the single transferable vote could be applied to the election of the council but, in view of other changes being made at that time in the composition of the council, was unwilling to recommend an additional change.

The first election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council suggests the need for a reconsideration of the question. As long as the United Nations use the present system of election (block vote plus two-thirds majority rule), it will be difficult to avoid lobbying and the atmosphere to which lobbying gives rise. Were the Norwegian proposal adopted there would be no need for lobbying; there would be no need for second or third ballots. The voting delegate would write on his voting paper the names of the nations he desired to support, and the order in which the names were written would indicate the voting delegate's order of preference. One ballot would suffice and the result would be truly representative of the wishes of those voting.

At the recent election one delegate voted for four nations only, when six were to be elected. It was ruled that the ballot paper was valid, but the incident illustrates one of the weaknesses of the block vote. A delegate anxious for the election of a particular state could have voted for that one state only. Such "plumping" would have increased the chances of the election of the state so favored. This is an additional argument for a reconsideration of the method of voting used by the United Nations in the election of the Security Council.

In a debate on January 28 in the British House of Commons, Mr. Zilliacus, Labor member for Gateshead, suggested that each national parliament should elect its representatives to serve in the United Nations Assembly and that the election should be held on the proportional system.

John H. Humphreys, *Secretary*
British Proportional
Representation Society

P. R. to be Used Again in Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia, which used a party list system of proportional representation for parliamentary elections before it was overrun by Nazi Germany, will hold its elections for a National Constituent Assembly on May 26 on the same principle.

News Flashes from Czechoslovakia[1] reports that President Edvard Benes has announced that the elections will be the freest and most democratic ever held in that country. "Voting," said the President, "will be by secret ballot and direct universal suffrage. We shall have proportional representation but the constituencies will be small enough to enable the electors to know for whom they are voting. Six names on a party list are quite enough." There may be as many as eight parties—four Czech and four Slovakian—participating.

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[1] Czechoslovak National Council of America, February 15, 1946.

Meanwhile the country is being governed by President Benes and his cabinet and a Provisional National Assembly chosen under an agreement designed to give arbitrary representation to the various political groups roughly proportional to their supposed strength.

On August 20, 1945, President Benes broadcast a constitutional decree, part of which follows:

"On the advice of my ministers and with the assent of the Slovak National Council, I order:

Provisional Government

"Article 1. Until such time as the Constitutional National Assembly shall meet, elected by general, direct and secret ballot based on the principle of proportional representation, the legislative power shall be vested for the whole territory of Czechoslovakia in the Provisional National Assembly. This assembly shall consist of one house of 300 members, with its seat in Prague. Persons who have reached the age of eighteen are entitled to vote for the Provisional National Assembly; persons over 21 can be elected. Further particulars about electors and candidates at the elections will be regulated by government decree signed by the president.

"Article 2. The Provisional National Assembly is competent to: (1) confirm that the present president shall remain in office in accordance with Clause 58 of the constitution till the election of a new president; (2) carry out the tasks of the National Assembly in accordance with the constitution and other statutes. It will not, however, be allowed to change the constitution, except in cases of unavoidable necessity. Decisions on the constitutional position of Slovakia can only be made if agreed to by a majority of the Slovakian members of the Provisional National Assembly present at the meeting . . .

News Flashes from Czechoslovakia[2] describes the actual make-up of the Provisional National Assembly as follows:

"On October 20 the Czechoslovak Provisional National Assembly was formed. It is composed of 300 members, of which 200 are Czechs and 100 Slovaks.

"The 120 Czech delegates from Bohemia were elected on October 20 in Prague by 2,318 electors, 80 delegates from Moravia were elected at the same time in the city of Brno by 1,319 electors. One hundred Slovak delegates were elected in the city of Banska Bystrica on August 29.

"The electors were chosen by the county national committees.

Seats Apportioned

"By an agreement of the political parties which are represented in the National Front government, the seats in the National Assembly were apportioned as follows: Czech Communist party, 40 members; Czech Social Democrats, 40 members; Czech Socialists (Dr. Benes' party), 40 members; Czech Peoples' (Catholic) party, 40 members; Slovak Democrats, 50 members; Slovak Communists, 50 members.

"In addition several interested Czech groups were given representation: labor unions, ten members; farmers' union, eight members; cooperatives, four members; youth organizations, three members; physical culture organizations, three members; artisans, two members; merchants' organization, two members; outstanding intellectuals, eight members.

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[2] Release 302, November 1, 1945.

"Similarly twenty delegates of interested Slovakian groups were included among the representatives of Slovakia.

"The Provisional National Assembly of Czechoslovakia was formed in almost precisely the same manner as was the first Czechoslovakian Constitutional Assembly in 1918, that is, by an agreement concluded among the political parties represented in the government. In 1918 the German political parties which were then unwilling to cooperate were missing; in 1945 the fascist or semi-fascist parties, guilty of collaboration with the enemy (the Slovak-Hlinka party and Czech Agrarians with their satellites) were excluded.

"The first meeting of the National Assembly was held in Prague on October 28, the Czechoslovakian Independence Day."

John Humphreys, World Leader of P. R.

With the deepest regret and sense of loss we report the death of John H. Humphreys, aged 76, on February 15. Mr. Humphreys was secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society for the last 41 years. More than anyone else he was looked to in all countries as world authority and kindly mentor in the field of P. R.

His book *Proportional Representation*, published in 1911, was for many years the best and most complete source book on the subject. It was due chiefly to his leadership and indefatigable labors that the P. R. Society won support from prominent leaders of all parties and continued its effective work without interruption through good times and bad, chalking up such notable victories as the adoptions of the best form of P. R. for Scottish school boards, for Church of England elections, for the parliament of Malta, for governing boards and committees in India, for university members of the House of Commons, and for national and local elections throughout southern Ireland. He continued in active charge of the society's office until two weeks before his death.

In his later years Mr. Humphreys did a large amount of research in the practical effects of election methods on the course of nations and did more than anyone else to refute the theory that justice in representation to all groups of opinion is inconsistent with stability and effectiveness in the services of government. He corresponded widely with proportionalists in all parts of the world and gave them invaluable help and encouragement.

Mr. Humphreys was an honorary vice-president of the (American) Proportional Representation League, now merged in its activities with the National Municipal League. Many will remember his visit to the first P. R. election in New York City in 1937 and his inspiring address on "Methods of Election and the Making of History" at the National Municipal League convention in Rochester that fall. A few will remember with equal satisfaction his earlier visit at the time of his world tour in 1915-16.

The editor of this department treasures memories of trips to observe and study P. R. elections in Belfast and Dublin, Ireland, and Leyden, Holland, with him in the summer of 1920, a visit to a P. R. debate in the House of Commons under his guidance, and the pleasantest of hikes through the English and Irish countrysides.

We are happy to be able to publish in this issue one of Mr. Humphreys' latest writings, on a subject of world importance to which he gave much time and effort during the last two years.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Clackamas County to Vote on Manager Charter

Petitions Place Plan on May 17th Primary Ballot

CLACKAMAS will be the first Oregon county to vote on adoption of the manager plan under the state's 1944 constitutional amendment and subsequent enabling legislation. A proposed charter, prepared by a Charter Committee with the aid of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon, has been placed on the May 17 primary ballot by petition. If adopted the charter will become effective January 1, 1947.

The proposed charter, differing somewhat from the draft discussed here last month, provides for a county board of five members to be elected this fall. This body will supersede the present county court. The board will appoint a business manager who in turn will appoint the heads of the county departments. The manager may act as head of one or more departments or he may appoint deputies or combine departments.

In a statement to charter committee members, L. A. Henderson, chairman, comments: "Your committee believes that this will all lead toward better coordination and efficiency in the government of the county . . . What with unemployment and old age and welfare taking more of our taxes and with the possibility that in the future the government may take over the Public Gas and Electric Company, thereby cancelling about 20 per cent of our tax money, it behooves ourselves to get our government in shape so that we will get the best possible value for our tax money."

Minnesota County Plans Community Budget

In Blue Earth County, Minnesota, the Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs is developing a community budget which will indicate the amount of money being spent by federal, state and local agencies on specific functions of government, thus helping officials and citizens to analyze the effectiveness with which their total tax dollar is being utilized.

The community budget project is an outgrowth of the work of the Blue Earth County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, which has been studying means of blending federal, state and local government activities for the past two years.[1]

The County Council discovered that there were 298 governmental organizations operating in the county of which 155 were units of local government, 105 were state agencies, and the remainder were federal agencies engaged in activities in the county. The study showed that many government agencies not only operate independently of one another but in some cases work at cross purposes. This has led to bewilderment for the average citizen and lack of interest in local issues and elections.

The purpose of the community budget is not to control or supervise the preparation of individual budgets, but to assist the various agencies by providing a usable report of all governmental activities in the community.

California Studies County Government

Another statewide study of county government has been added to the growing list of literature of local rural government to bring an additional ray of light into this "dark continent of American politics." The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California recently published *County Government Organization in California*,[1] written by Robert W. Binkley, Jr., which describes the basic constitutional and statutory provisions governing California counties.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90.

All California counties are organized either under state law or under provisions of their own charters adopted under Article II of the constitution. The charter counties, as well as the others, operate under a number of restrictions, but because of their relative freedom of action, the former may be identified as "home rule" counties. For example, with certain exceptions, they set county salaries, while in the remainder of the counties such salaries are established by the state legislature. In addition to the city and county of San Francisco, there are nine home rule counties and 48 counties operating under state statutes.

The report consists primarily of tabular studies of legal provisions governing the two types of counties and, in addition, special districts in California. Brief descriptions are given of the boards of supervisors and other county officers. Table I indicates the method of selection, qualifications and length of terms of officers in the non-charter counties. Table II contains similar information regarding boards and commissions in non-charter counties, and Table III indicates the number of constables and justices of peace in each. Tables IV, V and VI furnish similar information, respectively, on the home rule counties. Table VII relates to judicial officers and Table VIII to officers of the special districts.

Census Bureau Reports 1943 County Finances

As a continuation of the series begun several years ago, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued *County Finances, 1943 Compendium*. The earlier reports, covering primarily selected large urban counties, were issued for the years 1940 and 1941. These were followed by a 500-page report for 1942 covering almost all counties.[1] The latter report constituted part of the 1942 decennial *Census of Governments*, and it will continue to serve as the basis for subsequent reports of a more limited nature.

The report for 1943 is approximately 100 pages in length, and it presents data on only a third of the nation's county governments. They include large and small, urban and rural counties, which have been selected as representative for purposes of national estimates. Summaries and estimates are made for each state and for the nation.

General revenues of each county are shown classified on the basis of (1) property taxes, (2) other taxes, (3) aids from other governments, and (4) charges and earnings. General expenditures are shown classified as (1) operations, (2) aids to other governments, (3) capital outlay, (4) interest, and (5) debt retirement. For a limited number of counties (332) expenditures for various functions are shown. For 224 counties capital outlay is classified according to (1) new construction, (2) land and old structures, and (3) major equipment. Such outlay is classified also by function including (1) schools, (2) highways, (3) hospitals, (4) welfare, (5) general control, and (6) other. For 281 counties are shown long- and short-term debt outstanding, issued and retired.

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[1] University of California, Berkeley, August 1945, 69 pages.

[1] See the REVIEW, October 1944, page 491.

After estimating 1943 national averages, the authors of the report concluded that each American living under county government paid theoretically $14.36 for county taxes, or a total of $1,610,000,000. Total expenditures of counties amounted to $1,568,000,000, which was $55,000,000 less than comparable expenditures in 1942. Total county debt of $1,802,000,000 was only slightly in excess of total revenue. Nearly half the county expenditures were devoted to highway and public welfare purposes.

Plans for the 1944 compendium include detailed analyses of county-owned utilities and other enterprises, breakdown of various object expenditures into payroll and other payments, and further detail on various features of county debts.

The information for this report was collected by field agents visiting various state offices and by direct mail collection from county officers.

Ellis County, Kansas, Surveyed

In a report issued by the Fort Hays Kansas State College, the population, housing facilities, agricultural conditions, and retail, wholesale and service establishments of Ellis County, Kansas, are analyzed in order to obtain a complete social picture of the community. The project was undertaken to serve as a pilot study for other communities which might desire to conduct similar surveys as a basis for their postwar community planning activities.

Jefferson County and Louisville Plan Further Consolidation

City-county functional consolidation for Jefferson County and Louisville, Kentucky, may take another step forward through the consolidation of the welfare agencies of the two jurisdictions. The fields of public health and planning already have been consolidated in this manner. The new proposal, involving the creation of a seven-member board appointed jointly by the mayor and the county judge, is under consideration by the Government Committee of the Mayor's Legislative Committee.

Cook County Considers Health Board

The Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois, is considering a proposed resolution to establish a Board of Health to replace the present Public Health Unit in the Bureau of Public Welfare. Under the proposed plan, authorized by a 1943 statute, the members of the Board of Commissioners would serve also as the Board of Health. It would not have jurisdiction in Chicago or other municipalities already employing full-time health departments.

The proposal is an attempt to meet the problem of inadequate authority and facilities under the present arrangement. It is noted that in those areas of the county not served by a full-time health department there is a higher rate of incidence of undulant fever and tuberculosis, as well as inadequate control of drinking water and contagious disease.

Head of Taxpayer Group Urges County Reforms

The president of the Chenango County, New York, Taxpayers Association, at a municipal conference in the State Department of Audit and Control, recently urged that various reforms be adopted immediately for his county. He recommended county assessment to replace town assessment, consolidation of towns of low valuation, better cooperation between the county and the towns regarding use of highway machinery and state aid, fewer election districts, more vigorous tax collection, and greater use of local material for surfacing the county's secondary roads.

New York Towns Resume Meetings

The New York State Association of Towns has resumed its annual meetings which had been suspended because of the war. The 1946 meeting was held February 20-22 in Albany.

Pennsylvania Township Commissioners Discuss Laws

One hundred fifty Pennsylvania township commissioners and their aides recently met in their annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Association of Township Commissioners and discussed, among other subjects, administration of the liquid fuels tax, the municipal employees retirement system, the licensing system for bars and restaurants, and new developments in Pennsylvania local government. Arrangements were made also for the publication of a township commissioners handbook.

Texas County Notes Highway Centralization

Brazos County, Texas, in a recent report to *Better Roads*, has announced that the transition from a precinct basis to a county unit system of highway construction and maintenance has been completed after seven years of gradual transfer.

County Officials' Short Course Reestablished in Texas

In cooperation with the County Judges and Commissioners Association, the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College is renewing its sponsorship of a short course for county officials and employees. The course, which was resumed in March, had been suspended because of wartime travel restrictions.

The course considers various phases of county work, and in many instances county officials appear on the program to provide information regarding their practical experiences.

Michigan County Develops Outdoor Recreation Plans

Over a period of 30 years, Iron County, Michigan, has succeeded in developing a program that has protected its forests and preserved the scenic beauty of its rural areas. The first forest land was acquired by the county in 1918. Subsequently, much similar property was purchased to provide roadside parks and picnic areas. Other property was purchased to preserve historic Indian village sites and burial grounds. Today the county owns 3,000 acres of parks and roadside timber. The areas are under the jurisdiction of the county road commissioners who are designated *ex-officio* as county park trustees.

Federal Aid Highway Plans Progress

In a survey recently completed, the editors of *Better Roads* ascertained that 45 out of the 48 states have completed their designation of the secondary roads which are to be assisted by federal aid grants under the provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act passed in December 1944. Not all plans, however, have as yet been approved by the U. S. Public Roads Administration.

The 1944 act required that funds were to be expended in states in which the secondary roads were under local control, "on a system of such roads selected by the state highway departments in cooperation with the county supervisors, county commissioners or other appropriate local road officials and the commissioner of public roads."

Three plans of consulting county officials, as required by law, were noted. In some states the state highway departments made tentative selection of routes and submitted such plans to counties for review, concurrence or suggested changes. In other states the counties were invited to make the original designations which were then sent to the state for review, and in the third group of states the routes were selected jointly at conferences attended by representatives of the states and the counties. Approximately a third of the states used each of the three plans. Disagreements on route selections were minor.

Total mileage of secondary roads under the proposed plans reaches approximately 300,000. About half the roads would be under state jurisdiction and half under local. In a few states the proposed expenditures would be entirely upon county-administered roads. States in which the expenditures would be predominantly upon county roads include Alabama, Arkansas, California, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, South Dakota, Tennessee, Washington and Wisconsin.

In a fourth of the states counties will participate to an appreciable degree in designing the projects of highway construction. Fewer counties will actually participate in construction. As required by the law, most construction will be undertaken on a contractual basis.

Funds to match the federal aid for the secondary road programs will be raised in most states by the states rather than by the counties. In an appreciable number, however, the states will match the funds for state-administered highways and counties will be expected to match the federal funds allocated for county road improvement.

The cost and character of the projects will vary widely. In some instances, the cost will be as low as $5,000 per mile, but at the other extreme costs have been estimated at $100,000 per mile. Formulas used by the states for distribution of funds among the counties varied in complexity and in the factors considered. Considered in three or more states were population, area, road mileage, valuation, motor vehicle registration, value of farm products and the number of farms in each county.

Another Wisconsin County Acquires Extensive Forests

Marinette County, Wisconsin, now has over one-fourth of its total area included in a forestry project developed and financed jointly by the county and the state.[1] Forest work has included thinning and weeding in natural growth areas and the planting of more than sixteen million trees in denuded areas. The planting has been done by members of the CCC, the WPA and by county employees.

The forests are created under a state law which permits counties to transform tax-deeded lands into county forests. The state pays the counties taxes and aids amounting to approximately 20 cents per acre annually, but it then collects a tax of 50 per cent of the appraised value of the standing trees immediately before cutting.

A secondary purpose of county forests is to provide recreational areas. Marinette County has established paths, camping grounds and special facilities for youth camps.

Similar laws for the establishment of county forests have been enacted by Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Illinois and California.

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[1] The forestry program of Douglas County, Wisconsin, was reported in the REVIEW, December 1945, page 585.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Budget Troubles Beset New York City Mayor

O'Dwyer Appeals to State for Seven New Local Taxes

FACED with an over-all increase of nearly eighty million dollars in budget appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, as compared with appropriations for 1945-46, Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City in mid-February asked the state legislature to authorize seven new revenues estimated by him to yield an additional $102,000,000 annually to the city. With the proposed doubling of the city sales tax earlier requested to finance subway rehabilitation,[1] the Mayor's program proposes to make available to the city an additional $142,000,000 annually. The Mayor asked that the city be allowed to determine which taxes should actually be utilized.

The new revenue program was first presented to legislative leaders at Albany by Robert Moses, Republican, the Mayor's public works coordinator, and it was later disclosed that at the very same time City Comptroller Lazarus Joseph was asking a joint meeting of the Senate and Assembly Ways and Means Committees to revise the Moore Commission's proposed program of state aid to give New York City a larger share.[2] The Moses-O'Dwyer program, as outlined in a memorandum submitted by the Mayor to State Comptroller Moore, called for new revenue authorizations as follows:

An additional tax of 5 per cent on pari-mutuel play to be levied on race tracks in Queens and Nassau Counties (the latter outside New York City) with all the tax in Queens and one-fourth in Nassau to go to New York City, together with amendment of the present pari-mutuel law to give New York City one-fourth of the existing 4 per cent state tax on associations operating tracks in New York City, estimated to yield $12,500,000 annually;

Doubling of the rate of the New York City business tax from one-twentieth to one-tenth of one per cent in the case of ordinary businesses and from one-tenth to one-fifth of one per cent in the case of financial institutions, estimated to yield an additional $12,000,000;

A tax on payrolls to be paid by employers, at the rate of one-half of one per cent, estimated to yield $30,000,000;

A tax of 5 per cent on all room rentals of $2 or more per day, levied on hotels, estimated to yield $7,000,000;

A 5 per cent admissions tax, estimated to yield $12,500,000;

A 5 per cent tax on telephone, electric, telegraph, steam and gas bills, estimated to yield $18,000,000;

A tax of 5 per cent on "all luxury items" sold at retail, "such as furs, jewelry, toilet goods, luggage, etc.," to be levied only in the event the present federal tax is reduced to prewar rates, estimated to yield $10,000,000.

Previously, the Mayor had asked for an increase of the city sales tax from the present 1 per cent rate to the original 2 per cent rate, the proceeds of the added 1 per cent to be used to finance rehabilitation of the city subway system. This request was renewed in the memorandum, and while the Mayor did not set a figure for the annual yield it is generally estimated at about $40,000,000.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 92.

[2] See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 147.

The Republicans in the legislature received the program with openly expressed delight, seeing it as potentially helpful in the next city and state campaigns. Legislative members of the Mayor's own party were resentful, however, pointing out that with half the state's population, New York City will contribute next year about 60 per cent of the state's $670,000,000 revenue but will receive back only about $137,000,000. Governor Dewey's 50 per cent cut in the state income tax was described as at the expense of New York City.

Bills to enact the program were not immediately introduced in the legislature, and it shortly became apparent that the program was in for some hurried revision. The payroll tax and the 5 per cent levy on utility bills (which are already subject to the 1 per cent city sales tax) immediately aroused strong opposition, while other items of the proposal received their share of criticism also. Three weeks after the proposals were first made, it appears that the Mayor would settle for four or five new items—the doubling of the sales tax to 2 per cent but with collections to go into the general fund instead of half for subway rehabilitation, doubling of the business tax, imposition of the 5 per cent tax on hotel room rentals over $2 per day, the taxes on pari-mutuel receipts, and perhaps the 5 per cent amusement tax.

The rumpus over the request for the new levies focused attention on the subway situation and the five-cent fare, with numerous proposals that the fare be increased to make the subways self-liquidating. Actually, this would meet only a part of the immediate problem—balancing the 1946-47 budget, which must be ready by April 1—since to the present the deficit has been in debt service, which is payable outside the city's 2 per cent tax rate limit. If the subway debt service were taken out of the tax budget, however, the general fund tax rate—which has been held considerably below the 2 per cent limit for reasons of political expediency—could be raised to the full legal maximum without raising total city taxes. Further, the transit system on a self-sustaining basis would no longer pose any special problem as to capital needs, since its rehabilitation could be financed by borrowing outside the city debt limit. The Mayor has stated, however, that he wants a referendum before the fare is raised, and that this could not be done in time for this year's budget.

There seems little doubt that some part of the Moses-O'Dwyer program will be enacted by the legislature, with the Democratic minority reluctantly going along because it has no alternative now. Comptroller Joseph's efforts to secure a greater amount of state aid were of course nullified by the submission of the tax proposals, and the legislature enacted the Moore Commission recommendations in the state budget so that New York City can expect no more than under the Moore formula for the next year at least.

State Debt Drops to Fifteen-Year Low

Gross debt of the states in 1945 was at the lowest point since 1930, according to the latest Census Bureau compilation of state debt.[1] The downward trend began in 1940, but the 11.5 per cent reduction shown from 1944 to 1945 was the largest for the war period. War-expanded revenues and the cessation of borrowing because of wartime restrictions on new construction were of course instrumental in the decline.

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[1] *State Debt in 1945.* Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C., November 1945. 16 pages.

The state's gross debt had reached its peak in 1940 at $3,642,000,000, a figure half again as large as that in 1930. From 1940 the debt was reduced to $2,792,000,000 in 1944 and to $2,471,000,000 in 1945. Gross long-term debt less sinking funds declined from $2,627,000,000 in 1940 to $2,100,000,000 in 1944 and $1,839,000,000 in 1945. Gross debt in 1945 was thus 32.2 per cent below that of 1940, while gross debt less sinking funds was down 30 per cent for the same period.

In 1945 one state—Nevada—had no gross debt as classified by the Census Bureau. The largest gross debt was shown by New York, with $571,993,000, while California with $172,929,000 stood second, Louisiana with $164,359,000 third, and Arkansas with $139,494,000 fourth. Illinois and North Carolina also showed gross debts of over $100,000,000.

The bureau found that seven-eighths of the gross debt (which is now practically all long-term debt, the 1945 figure including only $25,000 short-term debt) was backed by the full faith and credit of the states. The remainder represented debt for the payment of which only specific revenues were pledged. However, over one-fourth of the general obligation debt also had the backing of specific pledged revenue.

An important corollary of the reduction in gross debt is, of course, the attendant reduction in interest charges. In 1940 the states paid $131,516,000 in interest, but this was reduced to $93,901,000 in 1945, a drop of 28.6 per cent.

MFOA to Meet in June

The Municipal Finance Officers Association has announced that it will hold its 1946 annual convention June 10-13 at Richmond, Virginia. While the program has not been announced in detail, it is stated to tentatively include discussions of salary increases, new municipal revenues, and the financing of public improvements.

Patman Housing Bill Goes to Senate

With housing a major problem in virtually all the nation's large cities and in many of the smaller ones as well, special interest is attached to the fate of the program of Housing Expeditor Wilson Wyatt, former mayor of Louisville, as formulated in the Patman housing bill. This bill, shorn of its original $600,000,000 appropriation for subsidies and of its authority to impose ceilings on existing housing and amended in many other particulars to weaken the administration housing program, was passed by the House on March 6 and sent to the Senate, where it is expected that an effort will be made to restore some of its original features.

It is interesting to note that on the eve of the House action in ripping out much of the authority the President and Mr. Wyatt had asked for, the Department of Commerce had released revised estimates of new construction in 1946. The department estimated that instead of the $7,500,000,000 of new construction previously forecast, the impact of the Wyatt housing program made a new construction volume of $9,000,000,000 this year more likely. The revised estimate was based on four assumptions:

First, that rigid restrictions would be imposed on non-residential construction not already under way;

Second, that it will be possible to produce enough of the various materials to meet unrestricted construction requirements;

Third, that construction costs will

remain at about their present levels;

Fourth, that the average conventional dwelling will be priced at about $6,000 and will be limited to five rooms, with an average construction cost of about $4,800. For prefabricated units, the approximate cost is hypothecated at $4,200, for conversions at $500, and for temporary re-use units and trailers at $1,500 each.

Aside from the pressing need for new housing as such, it has become increasingly evident that delays in new construction are potentially troublesome for their possible impact on local finances. The effects of real estate speculation and inflated prices are already evident in assessed valuations of real property. The National Association of Assessing Officers reports that in the last five years farm values have increased 60 per cent, while in the larger cities the general rise in real estate values is already beginning to be reflected. To the extent that these increased values are incorporated into assessment rolls, and are not subsequently supported by taxable improvements, local governments will face a particularly troublesome situation when deflation occurs. This is primarily because a large number of local governments are now in the process of authorizing and issuing bonds for public improvements deferred during the war period, and in many cases these programs are being predicated on wartime increases in taxable values.

California to Match Localities on Public Works Construction

Overriding the veto of Governor Earl Warren, the California legislature in February appropriated $90,000,000 from the state surplus for city and county public works construction. The money will be allocated half to the cities and half to the counties with all the city share and most of the county share required to be matched dollar for dollar by local resources.

The $45,000,000 allocated to the cities (it will be divided on the basis of population, nearly nine dollars per capita based on the 1940 census) will be earmarked first for sanitary sewer plants and trunk and outfall sewers. If, however, a State Allocation Board created by the act finds in conjunction with the State Board of Public Health that existing sewage facilities are adequate or that provision for new and needed works has been otherwise provided for, the funds may be expended for construction of major streets and bridges, for schools, storm drains and improvements to existing publicly owned waterworks systems.

The money allocated to the counties must be applied one-third for county roads; the remaining two-thirds may be expended for hospitals and sanitariums, detention homes, schools, sewage facilities, sanitation facilities, roads, highways, tubes, bridges, road and highway facilities, flood control, fire protection and prevention facilities and harbor facilities. Each county may spend $75,000 of its allocation without matching, but all sums in excess of that amount must be matched dollar for dollar.

In matching the state funds, grants of current revenues received from the state may be used (as, for example, gasoline tax money for street improvements), as may any federal, state or local money lawfully available for the expenditure. Further, a city may allocate money to another jurisdiction, as to the school district, a sanitary district, etc.

The grant for construction follows the state's action in 1944 appropriating $10,000,000 for the preparation of engineering plans and acquisition of sites. This action required cities and counties to match the state money.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Income Tax Suggested for Britain

Sweden's Example Cited; Has Used Tax Since 1864

THE income tax as a supplement to local rates in England is the center of much debate among local finance experts.[1] The problem in England is essentially the same as that in the United States: increasing local services, especially those of a broad social character, with local tax bases remaining the same.

The Association of Rating and Valuation Officers in its *Report on Reconstruction* (1945) recommends larger central government grants as a solution. Local government services should be classified as either services affecting property or social services affecting the individual. The former, the association's report contends, should be paid for entirely from local rates, while for the latter local units should receive substantial grants from the central government and pay any additional expense from local rates.

As an alternative to larger grants, the local income tax is rejected by the association on two grounds. Many administrative difficulties are envisioned, and it is felt that a local income tax would interfere materially with the usefulness of the national income tax as a source of revenue.

To the views of the association, Lady Simon has made a vigorous reply in which she cites the experience of Sweden: "There is a general agreement that rates—if inevitable—are bad, since they tax a prime necessity of life, a house. If the charges that naturally belong to property should be met in this way, it is more and more coming to be regarded as unfair that social services should also be assessed on a rental basis.

"The solution suggested in the report, that this charge should be met out of national taxation, does not square with the autonomy of which local authorities are so rightly jealous. If all the money for education, public health, housing, etc., came from the central government, local authorities would become mere agents of the central government with no control of policy.

Sweden's Experience

"Since 1864 Sweden, which has a form of local government very similar to ours [England's], has financed its local expenditures by means of a local income tax. Every individual with an income over a certain amount sends in each year a statement of his income; industrial and business undertakings do the same. This forms the basis both of national and of local income taxes. Deductions and allowances are then made and the taxation office informs each local authority of the amount of the taxable income of its area. When the local council has made up its estimates for the coming year it then decides upon the rate of local income tax which will produce the necessary money.

"The rate of income tax differs of course in each area and is expressed as a percentage. A man who owns a house pays on the value of this house as well as on his income both to the state and to the local authority. This part of the local income tax can be considered as paying for the property charges. It is levied on the owner, but presumably when the house is let, the amount is reflected in the rent.

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[1] For arguments against the adoption of the local income tax, see *Report on Reconstruction*, Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1945; the opposite view is presented in "A Local Income Tax," by Lady Simon, *Journal* of the Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, October 1945.

"The charge for the social services is met by a local income tax levied accordingly to ability to pay, but the amount raised is entirely within the control of the local authority. The state gives grants also in order to even out discrepancies between the wealth of the different areas. A local income tax of course cannot do that; it can only ensure that the money that is raised locally is raised on a fair basis. Some areas have more rich people and more prosperous industries than others, and the only method by which poorer areas can be helped is by grants raised on a national basis.

"One argument against a local income tax is that in wartime national taxation has to increase so heavily that if local authorities raised money on the same basis people might be paying excessively large income taxes. But if we decided in England to raise part of our local funds on property and part on income, a defense regulation introduced on the outbreak of war could increase the proportion to be levied on property for the period of the war, or limit the proportion that could be levied on income.

"It is surely time that we studied a system which avoids taxing a necessity of life and is based on ability to pay, before asserting dogmatically that there is no alternative to our present system."

Rating System Criticisms

A correspondent of the *London Times* has pointed out that the main defect of the rating system has been that local rates have not proved very expansive as a sole source of revenue. Besides this more general criticism, particular aspects of the present practice are defective: tax exemption of agricultural land and buildings and of industrial and freight transport properties, undervaluation, etc. More uniform assessments and less tax exemption are the answers to these problems.

The larger problem of lack of revenue productiveness can best be met by national grants. For "whatever is done to remedy the defects and weaknesses of the present rating system will not remove the need for very large exchequer grants."

New Electoral Law Proposed for Netherlands

A new electoral law,[1] lowering the voting age from 25 to 23 and abolishing compulsory voting, was submitted to the lower house of Parliament by the Netherlands government in December. The bill contains a provision enabling all Netherlanders serving in the armed forces or at sea to vote; it also modifies the present electoral law which withholds the franchise from women married to husbands unable to vote.

Special provisions for the forthcoming 1946 elections are included in the bill. It recommends that municipal elections should not be held at the same time as those for Parliament and provincial legislatures, but gives the government power to hold the latter on the same day. Municipal candidates would be nominated on the second Tuesday of next June and the length of municipal council terms would be reduced from four to three years.

Trade Union Disputes Act to Be Repealed

The British Government has now issued its bill for the repeal of the Trade Disputes and Trades Union Act of 1927. The act was passed by the Baldwin government and, in the words of the London *Times*, was an "admittedly punitive measure" following the general strike of 1926.

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[1] See *Netherlands News*, January 1, 1946, page 69.

The importance of the repeal of the act for local government lies in two of its provisions. First of all, Britain's civil service unions—all organizations enrolling workers employed directly by the state or by localities—were forbidden to affiliate with either the Trade Union Congress or the Labor party, while local authorities and public utilities were forbidden to make trade union membership a condition of employment.

Secondly, trade unionists wishing to pay political contributions to the Labor party where their union was affiliated with Labor, had to sign a special authorization instead of indicating when they wished not to make this payment.

When the act is repealed the law will go back to where it was in 1926. The immediate effect will be that civil service unions can at once rejoin the TUC and the Labor party. Those unions already affiliated with the party will make larger contributions to Labor's funds, because there is always a considerable section of members who won't bother to refuse to make political payments, just as under the reverse procedure they did not bother to make them.

With Labor in control of a far larger number of local authorities than in 1926, the power to make trade unionism a condition of employment, if used to the limit, will give tremendous impetus to unions enrolling municipal employees. It is, however, an interesting fact that the National Association of Local Government Officers, mainly local government administrative, professional, technical and clerical employees, has consistently refused to affiliate with either the TUC or the Labor party.[1]

Actually, the Labor government would have had to tackle the question of civil service affiliation with the TUC whatever it did about the other clauses of the act, because nationalization is going to bring additional millions of workers within the field of state service. Under existing law, for example, it might be argued that public ownership of the mines would automatically detach the National Union of Mineworkers from the other unions of the TUC.[2]

Regionalization in Queensland

The Queensland minister for public works has informed the local authorities association that the administration does not intend to implement the suggestion of a committee which called for the amalgamation of all local units into 25 enlarged areas. The administration does plan to regionalize hospital activities and perhaps one or more other special functions.

Municipal Elections in Italy

Beginning March 10 and continuing for four successive Sundays, the communes of Italy have been holding their first free municipal elections in over twenty years. On the first Sunday 427 communes held elections; the other 7,000 voting the following weeks.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1944, page 496.

[2] Condensed from "Britain to Repeal Trade Disputes Act," by Gordon Schaffer, British Information Services, January 31, 1946.

Books in Review

The Management of Your Government. By Harold D. Smith. Foreword by Eric Johnston. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. vii, 179 pp. $2.50.

This small volume will no doubt be widely read because the author has become well known throughout the country as the wartime director of the United States Bureau of the Budget. Now that the war is over governmental management and budgeting again assume something of major importance in the public mind. A great many Americans are already wondering what the possibilities are of reducing the vast machinery of the federal government to such proportions that its costs may be met without excessive and burdensome taxes, even as we have come to know taxation during the war period. For this reason, if for no other, they will turn to Mr. Smith's book to see what he thinks of the prospect. And they are likely to be disappointed, since they will find no positive pronouncements on the subject. Instead they will find discussions that point to much larger spheres of influence and enormously greater expenditures for the federal government than in the prewar period. This is indicated by the emphasis on vast public works, full employment, extended social security and general economic reconstruction.

Mr. Smith's book has a striking title and is easy to read. But the various chapters are loosely put together and the continuity is poor, probably because of the fact that the book consists of a series of papers written at different times and for various occasions. It is to be regretted that Mr. Smith did not take the time to rewrite the text and thus make it conform more closely to the general theme. Parts of it are exceedingly sketchy, sometimes repetitious, and complex processes are often oversimplified in an obvious effort to be popular.

While the casual reader may find the contents of the book quite satisfying, the specialist in governmental administration and finance is likely to be disappointed. In the discussion of budgeting, for example, the latter will expect more than the cursory treatment found in chapters 6 and 7. If the budget is, as the author claims (page 82), "at the very core of democratic government," it would seem to require more discussion in a book of this nature than a mere 30 pages, many of which are given to historical matter. Nor is the specialist likely to agree with all of the new-found budgetary "principles" (pages 90-93), which the author admits have not yet been translated into reality. The question may be fairly raised in this connection as to just when a fond hope becomes a principle.

Now, a few words about the contents of the book. The text is divided into four sections—democracy and public administration, the management of the government's business, intergovernmental relations, and retrospect and prospect. The first section deals in broad, general terms with management, planning and bureaucracy in government. The second section, aside from a discursive treatment of the government's wartime job, is concerned with the history and work of the Bureau of the Budget and with the development of the federal budget and budgetary methods. It concludes with the injunction (page 99) that "we must learn to think of the budget not as an imcomprehensible book but as a living process of democratic policy formation and policy execution." The third section discusses mainly the role of state and local governments in the national fiscal policy. It admonishes the states and cities to cooperate with the federal government in developing a national fiscal policy, but avoids all discussion of federalism which is the real snag in any such cooperation. The final section is a miscellany. Perhaps the most interesting part of it is the attempt to explain the purpose of the so-called "nation's budget," a brief statistical summary of the operations of business and government, which was first included in the President's budget message of January 1945.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

The Kentucky State Budget System. By James W. Martin and Vera Briscoe. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1945. 103 pp.

This is a useful study describing the development of the budget system in Kentucky, which is similar to that in many of the states. The difficulties encountered run true to form with difficulties experienced by most of the states in early attempts to establish an effective budget system.

An outstanding mistake made in Kentucky—and this occurred in many other states—was the attempt to establish an effective budget system before the state had established a good administrative organization. Although the earliest efforts at establishing a budget system in Kentucky were in 1918, the state government was not reorganized into departments under the governor's supervision and management until 1936. Until this was done there could not be an effective budget system.

This study points out a number of weaknesses in the budget system during its development. The revenues of the state were largely restricted by law for specific expenditure and no public official was responsible for either preparing or administering a budget plan. Rather a commission of three administrators was established. The state's financial structure was disintegrated and the accounting records did not produce adequate financial information necessary as a basis for a budget plan and for budget control.

The changes which were brought about in 1934 and 1936 to establish a more effective budget system were the reorganization of the state government previously mentioned, abandoning, to a large extent, the scheme of blanket authorization to spend money, adopting the executive budget type of system, and the installation of budgetary control procedure.

It appears from the study that the outstanding weakness at the present time is that the Division of the Budget has not been elevated to a position in which it can effectively study the needs of the spending agencies and thereby render more service to the governor in planning expenditures.

Edward B. Logan,
Budget Secretary
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

New York Advancing. Edited by Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 7, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. xxxv, 393 pp. Photographs, maps, charts. $1.

This volume is actually a consolidated report of all departments of the city government for the last seven years of the LaGuardia administration. It visualizes the many problems of all agencies of the city's government with descriptive text. Photographs are used profusely.

The introductory chapter, entitled "My final report," is an over-all picture of the city's operation, prepared by Mayor LaGuardia. The presidents of the five boroughs have also contributed, as have the commissioners of city departments.

The final chapter is devoted to statistics and tables of information, with lists of city publications. This, with a table of contents and a subject index, makes the report easily used as a reference tool.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Elections

Elections Calendar for 1946. By Richard C. Spencer and Anna A. Meck. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 4 pp.

Federal Government

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1944-45. Compiled under supervision of Morris H. Hansen. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. xiii, 1,023 pp. $1.75.

Land

Land Assembly for Urban Redevelopment. Objectives of a Program, Elements of Finance, Kind and Extent of Public Aid, Scope and Ultimate Cost, Place in a Community Plan. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 39 pp. Ten cents.

Law

Studying Law. Edited by Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Selection from the writings of Albert J. Beveridge, John Maxcy Zane, Munroe Smith, Roscoe Pound, Arthur L. Goodhart, Eugene Wambaugh, John H. Wigmore, Charles B. Stevens. New York City, Washington Square Publishing Corporation, 1945. 753 pp. $4.75.

Libraries

Library Extension—Problems and Solutions. Papers Presented Before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 21-26, 1944. Edited by Carleton B. Joeckel. Chicago 37, University of Chicago Press, 1946. 260 pp. $3.50.

Municipal Government

City Problems of 1945-1946. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors, New York City, December 10-12, 1945. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. iii, 163 pp.

Victory Conference on Municipal Problems. Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the American Municipal Association, November 15, 16, 17, 1945, Chicago. Chicago, The American Municipal Association, 1945. 110 pp. $2.

Planning

Rebuilding our Communities. By Walter Gropius. Chicago, Paul Theobald, 1945. 61 pp., Illus.

Report and Recommendations for the Year Ending December 31, 1945. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1946. viii, 167 pp.

Public Health

Public Health. By Thomas Parran, etc., Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, February 1946. 37 pp. 35 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Problems Arising from Changes in School District Boundaries. By Neil Ford Garvey. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1946. 118 pp. Paperbound, $1.50; clothbound, $2.

Municipal Finance—A Preview 1945-1955. By Carl H. Chatters, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* February 1946. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Where Did the Money Come From? Where Did the Money Go To? What Was the Money Used For? (Know Your Government Series, Bulletin No. 14). Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1946. 68 pp.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Pension System Abuses

THE establishment of sound pension systems for public employees presents a major problem to all governments, especially to the governments of municipalities. Officials and others studying the matter will be well advised to examine the numerous weaknesses and abuses of the past with a view to their prevention in the future.

In some places abuses have come so frequently that citizens are losing their capacity for indignation.

During the last of his three terms, the "reform" mayor of a great city made at least three sly attempts to reinstate disgraced and discredited public employees to make them eligible for life pensions. Each attempt was exposed. He himself retired on a fat pension although his earning power today is greater than at any previous time in his life.

In recent weeks an even more shocking situation has been disclosed. It seems that, in the closing days of his administration, the mayor of an eastern city of 150,000 population paid more than $15,000 from the city's (not his own) funds into the state employees retirement system, plus another $1,400 of his own, to enable him to "retire" at the ripe old age of 54 on a life pension of about $3,500 annually. Should his wife survive him she would continue to get this tidy income for life.

Quite apart from the gentleman's conceit in placing such a high value on his service (which, by the way, was followed by a reform movement and the installation of the council-manager plan), it is astonishing that he was able to feather his own nest with the taxpayers' money without so much as a "by your leave" to the taxpayers or the City Council.

Here the reader expects, of course, that the city now proceeds to get its money back or have someone arrested or something of the sort. But not so! An expertly counselled citizens' organization dug into the scandal and finally threw up its hands in despair. Red faced, the present City Council says there doesn't seem to be anything it can do. The former mayor keeps mum except to say it's legal.

It's about time for the establishment of sound principles on which to base the whole philosophy of pensions for public employees.

To begin with, the only proper purpose for the expenditure of public money is in the public interest, for the public good.

Pensions are deferred compensation to make municipal service more attractive and to insure the retention of high grade employees.

They are to improve morale by assuring employees they will not suffer hardship when disabled or aged.

No good public purpose is served by permitting relatively young public employees, even firemen and policemen, to retire on generous incomes at the height of their productive capacity.

No good public purpose is served by forcing the taxpayers to shell out as liberally for a disloyal, discredited employee as for one who has faithfully discharged his responsibilities.

Elected officials should not be eligible for pensions unless, possibly, after they have grown too old in the public's service to make a living at something else or unless their public service has impaired their earning power. Actually, it is usually enhanced by their public service.

The thinking about pensions has become pretty sloppy. Cities which, in an honest effort to do the right thing, have assumed seriously large annual obligations for unsound systems will find it increasingly necessary to tighten the rules and eliminate the abuses and weaknesses.

Politician Normal, Fouling Things Up

SAYS a letter from a widely known civic leader who served with distinction in Italy with Allied Military Government:

"One night I was sharing a room in a small hotel near the front with another AMG officer. There was an air raid on. German planes overhead seem to give men an impulse to brag.

"So my companion, who was a politician from a southern city, proceeded to tell me how, when he was an aid to a certain general, he passed on all AMG officers after the high-powered personnel group was through making recommendations. He said it didn't make any difference what the personnel experts said; he just wrote out the rank and school for any and all applicants according to his own opinions (prejudices) and the general signed them without even looking at them.

" 'And,' said he, 'anybody who had any recommendations from the National Municipal League or any other reform group, I just marked down a couple of grades and sent to the worst school.'

"I said, 'Why, you blank, blank so-and-so, I had a letter in my folder from the National Municipal League!'

" 'Well, if you did, brother, that just cost you a couple of grades in rank. Let that be a lesson to you not to fool around with that kind of company.'

"He didn't even bat an eye. And he didn't know how close he came to being killed . . . and not by the air raid."

Comment on this would be superfluous. It might, however, help show why an opinion poll disclosed that seven out of ten parents are dead set against having their children go into public life, why people distrust the orthodox style of politicians and, perhaps, why so many dyed-in-the-wool politicians emerged with high rank in AMG while men with outstanding qualifications drew low rank and disagreeable assignments.

Apparently it is just too much to expect that, even when the vital pattern of future relations with other nations is being developed, the professional politician will be able to rise above the instincts of a ward heeler.

The Disappearing Boundaries

Citizens Regional Planning Council of Greater Kansas City covers two states, five counties, numerous cities.

By **WILLIAM M. SYMON***

TWO years ago a "Citizens Planning Council" for Greater Kansas City—crossing state, county and city lines—was conceived in the minds of certain aggressive and nonpartisan business leaders of the area. Final plans for the organization were not completed until some nine months after the original idea was proposed. Meanwhile the various local and general problems of the entire five-county area of Platte, Clay and Jackson Counties in Missouri and Johnson and Wyandotte Counties in Kansas were thoroughly studied and analyzed.

Following the plan originally drafted, the council was sponsored by the mayors of the four principal cities: Kansas City, North Kansas City and Independence, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, and by the chamber of commerce presidents in those cities. These eight individuals, by position and not by name, became the Board of Trustees. They in turn selected a Board of Governors composed of business men and women, Negroes, housewives and labor leaders of the four cities. Under this board were eight major committees and under these eight major groups were 32 subcommittees, each dealing with some important phase of area development.

It was soon found that this arrangement worked to the disadvantage of the smaller community. As a result of the experiences of the first few months, the Board of Trustees was enlarged to include the presiding judge or commissioner of the five counties, and instead of just a Citizens Planning Council, which drew its committee members indiscriminately from the five counties and four communities, it became a Citizens Regional Planning Council which was in effect a "holding company" for the individual Citizens Planning Councils which have been set up, or will be established, in each community.

As a result there now exists a Citizens Planning Council in Independence, Excelsior Springs, North Kansas City and Kansas City, Missouri, and in Kansas City, Kansas. The offices of the original Citizens Planning Council in Kansas City, Missouri, are now the offices of the Citizens Regional Planning Council.

Before the year closes such towns as Liberty, Parkville, Platte City, Smithville, Raytown, and Lee's Summit, Missouri, and Olathe, Overland Park, Lenexa, Bonner Springs, Shawnee and Merriam, Kansas, should have their individual Citizens Planning Councils. Any constructive

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*Mr. Symon is executive director of the Citizens Regional Planning Council of which he writes. An officer in World War I and a former newspaper man with the *Kansas City Journal* and the *Kansas City Star,* Mr. Symon became affiliated with the Kansas City, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce in 1921, eventually becoming its executive manager. Since 1935 he has been in general organization work, taking over his present assignment in September of 1944.

plans affecting the entire area will find all these groups banded together in an effort to find an area solution.

The planning council in each city or town has its own committees of citizens in the community which deal with local planning first. These same committee members are also members of like committees of the Citizens Regional Planning Council. They all meet as the regional group when the call goes out for discussion of some project affecting the entire area.

To get some idea of the area, one should imagine a wheel with spokes 35 miles long with the hub located where the Kansas-Missouri state line touches the Missouri River. Along the spokes lie the other cities and towns which now have or plan to have their own local planning councils. The wheel covers a lot of acres but not too many for regional problems.

In spite of the changes that have had to be made, the original Citizens Planning Council was, from the beginning, regional in scope if not in name. Business leaders in Kansas City realized during the war that the postwar period would bring new problems to cities and counties—commercial problems, civic problems, cultural problems. They saw that into the laps of the city fathers, the chambers of commerce, the real estate boards and other agencies would be hastily dumped questions on aviation, traffic, highways, public works, construction, employment, education, blighted areas and others of like nature—questions which the public would want answered at once.

No single group, political or business, was equipped to do the job. The signs all pointed to a new nonpolitical organization which would analyze, coordinate and promote such worthwhile plans as might be introduced by any or all groups, communities or individuals. Furthermore, these business leaders realized that, in the majority of cases, such plans must have the confidence of the public as a whole. Therefore, they reasoned, the public should have a part in perfecting such plans. To accomplish this the public would have to constitute the organization.

Council Setup

The Citizens Regional Planning Council has a modest budget, an executive director, a small staff and sufficient space for committee meetings. Hundreds of organizations in the two Kansas Cities, the larger towns and counties in the area have designated members from their own groups who now serve on one or more of the council's major committees or subcommittees. Some six thousand names are recorded as members of these committees, for which chairmen and vice-chairmen have been appointed.

With the exception of the Survey and Research and the Publicity Committees, all major committees have subcommittees which, by combining some which overlapped, have been gradually reduced from 32 to 25. As they now stand the Transportation Committee has subcommittees on air, urban and rural transportation, highways and trafficways, railroads, and rivers. The

Business and Industry Committee has two subcommittees: reconversion and trade and manufacturing. Under the Cultural and Recreational Committee we find such groups as armory, education, memorial, outdoor theater, music, stadium, and zoo. The Social Welfare Committee has subcommittees for child welfare, community centers and playgrounds, health and hospitals, and veterans' assistance. The Legislative and Taxation Committee has two divisions, one for Missouri and one for Kansas. The Urban Development and Conservation Committee has subcommittees for blighted areas, expansion of boundaries, neighborhood development, parks, flood control, and public works.

Representative Committees

Each committee represents a fine cross-section of the public and in each will be found citizens of various races, opposite political and religious beliefs, labor divisions, big business corporations and small business owners. Any one person or group may walk into the office of the Citizens Regional Planning Council and be placed upon any or all committees desired.

We should emphasize the fact that these councils are not intended to take the place of any other organization. Neither are they organizations created for the purpose of *doing* things. Their primary purpose is to consider and recommend certain plans and proposed developments—and thereafter adopt a persistently aggressive follow-up procedure in order to make those plans come true.

In the functioning of both the local and regional planning councils these basic fundamentals are observed:

1. Each council and the regional group are concerned only with planning;

2. They are not, in any way, a part of the city or county government.

3. They do not supplant city or county plan groups. On the contrary, they consider all plans proposed by such groups and seek their cooperation in obtaining the voluminous data which may be found always in their files.

4. They draw upon other organizations such as the chambers of commerce, the Midwest Research Council and like organizations for such information and assistance as may be needed in formulating recommendations—and give active support to the various plans and ideas of these groups which are found beneficial and feasible.

5. They serve as a clearing house for all ideas and plans and act as an effective force in bringing to completion all plans that are considered of advantage to both the individual communities and the entire area.

6. Both regional and local groups seek to create among the entire citizenry a thorough knowledge and interest in the economic, cultural and social needs of the area. In the past many a worthwhile bond issue has been defeated by the vote of the public because of the lack of such knowledge.

The councils do *not* attempt the following:

1. To attract new industries. That is the job of the chambers of commerce, the real estate boards and others. They will, however, seek to create in the area the "favorable" background needed to attract industries.

2. They do not endeavor to bring about the actual accomplishment of any project. These are usually civic, city or county responsibilities. But, they educate the public as to the advisability of the projects concerned and create the psychological reaction necessary to the achievement of the project.

3. They do not consider costs or budgets. Their interest is with the needs and requirements of those living within the two-state, five-county area.

The councils are not concerned with politics, group advantages or individual likes or dislikes. Their sole aim is the general advancement of the area.

Veterans' Assistance Planned

Long before V-E and V-J Days, the various local planning councils had given the impetus necessary to the formation of veterans' assistance groups in their respective cities. These organizations were set up when the need arrived and now are functioning successfully.

In the same way plans are being coordinated and crystallized in the various cities and communities for World War II memorials, outdoor theaters, stadiums, community playgrounds, bridges, viaducts, trafficways, libraries, reconversion problems and other needs, and the public, being on the committees which study these problems, is gaining a community interest and, better still, developing a community pride.

Problems Ahead

Matters being studied are master plans for aviation, for housing, for employment, for reconversion, for construction, for a program of public works which may dwarf anything we have ever known before, for education, for expansion of boundaries, for neighborhood development, for health, for reduction of juvenile delinquency and for many, many others. Problems of the people, by the people, and for the people.

In the meantime Greater Kansas City wrinkles its brow over the problems to be studied, the many and varied interests to be coordinated, and consoles itself with the thought that even though the Citizens Planning Councils bring to completion only two or three projects annually they will have more than justified their existence. There are postwar ideas yet to come which will play a vital part in the future of Greater Kansas City. The Citizens Regional Planning Council and the local councils want to be ready for them.

Confused County Picture II

State carpenters build another story on the ramshackle structure by adding many boards for special functions.

By **EDWARD W. WEIDNER***

THE confused and overlapping pattern of county administration and policy-making cannot be illustrated better than by reference to the special function boards and commissions attached to these units of government. Somewhat isolated so far as effective central county control of their activities is concerned, these boards and commissions present a major obstacle to responsible, efficient and economical county government. Their importance is emphasized by a recent trend toward their more frequent use; it is significant that this trend reflects the growth of functions of county government during the last fifteen years.

Traditionally, no mention is made of special function boards and commissions when county government structure is discussed. It would thus appear to the unsophisticated reader that the only undue complexities in county government are a result of its independently elected officers. It is no longer adequate to mention special function boards when describing particular functions only. They have an important relationship to county government structure, administration and policy as a whole which needs to be fully explored.

County special function boards and commissions are plural-membered bodies operating on a county level, empowered to perform a particular function such as health, welfare or planning. Their relation to the general county governing body varies. At one extreme some of them are subject to detailed supervision and financial control by that body; at the other extreme some of them have such a tenuous relationship to the general governing body that they are almost independent special units of government. There are, of course, *ad hoc* or special units operating within many counties; they are characterized on a county level by not being dependent upon the county governing body for their finances or their administrative or policy decisions.[1] When some degree of such dependence does exist, these bodies may be called county special function boards and commissions.

No one knows how many county special function boards and commissions exist. Some counties have none while others have eight or ten. We do know how many special boards are authorized for counties by the general laws of the states. The me-

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*This is the second of a series of three articles by Mr. Weidner, instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. The statistical material presented was gathered by Mr. Weidner as consultant to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, in the summer of 1945, and is a summary of the more extensive information contained in a report, *County Boards and Commissions*, prepared by him for the division. Interpretations are those of the author.

[1] For a more complete definition of special units of government and a tabulation of them see *Governmental Units in the United States, 1942*, published by the Bureau of the Census.

dian state authorizes special function boards or commissions for one or more counties for eleven different functions. Some of the authorizations permit variations as to organization for a particular function; the median state authorizes fifteen special boards if each of the variations is counted separately. See Table I.

TABLE I
AUTHORIZATIONS IN GENERAL STATE LAWS FOR COUNTY SPECIAL FUNCTION BOARDS OR COMMISSIONS

Functions Having One or More Boards Authorized	*Number*
Total United States	534
Median number per state	11
Range per state	0-24
Number of Authorizations (Each Authorized Variation Counted Separately)	
Total United States	761
Median number per state	15
Range per state	0-47

The distribution of states according to the number of functions for which they authorize county special boards discloses that 31 states authorize boards for six to fifteen functions (see Table II). In this group may be found nearly all states south of the Ohio River and west of the Mississippi. Four New England states—New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont and Connecticut—and Delaware authorize special boards for five or less functions; New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin authorize boards for over twenty. States with county governing bodies composed of town representatives and states with large metropolitan areas tend to emphasize county special function boards and commissions while the New England states, where counties are not important units, place less reliance upon the idea.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF FUNCTIONS HAVING ONE OR MORE COUNTY SPECIAL FUNCTION BOARDS OR COMMISSIONS AUTHORIZED IN THE GENERAL LAWS OF THE STATES

Number of States	*Number of Functions*
2	0
3	1-5
16	6-10
15	11-15
7	16-20
4	21-24
47[a]	533

[a]Rhode Island has no counties.

These numbers are impressive. But what they mean in terms of county uniformity and area of administration, the functions counties perform and central control of policy and administration, is the crucial point for the future of county government.

Uniformity and Area

There is an amazing diversity of practice among the states in general state law authorizations of county special function boards and commissions—diversity as to their number, their functions and methods of selection. Yet there is a quite uniform practice within each of the states. Three-fourths of all authorizations apply alike to all counties within the respective state.

Caution is necessary in interpreting this fact, however, for two reasons. First, no account is taken of local legislation; second, no account is taken of optional authorizations which a county may or may not utilize. The former is particularly important in states like Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, while the latter's importance is illustrated

TABLE III
AREA OF JURISDICTION AND OPTIONAL OR MANDATORY CHARACTER OF COUNTY SPECIAL FUNCTION BOARDS OR COMMISSIONS

Type of Authorization	*Number of Authorizations in General State Laws*
Optional—	
For Some Counties	108
For All Counties	334
Mandatory—	
For Some Counties	94
For All Counties	225
Total	761
Area of Jurisdiction	
Intra-County	31
County	625
City-County	39
Inter-County	66
Total	761

by the fact that three-fifths of all authorizations are optional.

It should not be assumed that, because the laws make mandatory two-fifths of the authorizations of special function boards, all such boards are actually in existence, since legal requirements and actual practice are frequently different. Allowing for all these circumstances, there still remains an impressive amount of uniform and mandatory legislation.

The uniform and mandatory character of county special function board authorizations reflects the prevalent view that counties are mainly administrative subdivisions of the state. It would be desirable to extend further the optional as opposed to the mandatory type of authorization to give counties more leeway in adapting their organization and functions to their needs. These needs involve varying local interests as well as statewide interests. The alternative to uniform legislation relating to particular functions is not local legislation which has still greater evils. The alternative is more home rule so that the legislature does not have to pass an act authorizing each activity.

More important, to say that there is considerable uniformity within each of the states is not to say that it is a uniformity of simplicity. The contrary is true. With great diversity in their powers, jurisdiction and methods of selection, these numerous boards create a crazy-quilt pattern of county government organization and lines of administrative responsibility. There is little need for any legislation of this type whether of a uniform character or not.

County special function boards and commissions usually have a county-wide jurisdiction, as indicated by Table III. Significant is the recent trend toward city-county and inter-county areas. Some states have adopted general enabling laws which permit counties or a county and a city to jointly administer any functions which they are permitted to perform separately. Frequently a board is specified as the administrative device. As counties acquire more and more functions and retain their old boundaries, inter-county and city-county boards and commissions will be used increasingly as remedies for inadequate local units of government.

Functions

Of the many functions which one or more counties in the United States perform, 49 of them can be administered by special function boards or commissions on the basis of general state law authorizations. The fifteen functions for which special boards are most frequently authorized are: agriculture, airports, assessment, elections, finance, health, highways, hospitals, libraries, penal, personnel, planning, recreation, schools and welfare.[2]

It should not be concluded that there is only one board authorized for each function. The particular functions have been further subdivided with special boards authorized to perform only one phase of various functions. For example, one hospital board may administer the county general hospital while another administers the tuberculosis hospital. In other cases both a planning and a zoning board are authorized. The county library and the county law library are sometimes under the control of different boards. Two boards in the welfare field are common, one to administer the categorical aid program and one to supervise the county's institutions.

A cursory survey of the statute books will reveal that county special function boards and commissions are being authorized currently in large numbers. As a matter of fact, eight of the fifteen functions for which boards are authorized most frequently are largely outgrowths of the last fifteen years. Airport boards clearly fall into this class. Many states authorize two types of health boards, one for part-time health departments and another for full-time departments, the latter an addition of the last ten years. Various finance boards—especially those dealing with tax limitations—were added during the last depression. Personnel, planning and recreation boards on a county level are all recent developments, as are welfare boards for the categorical aid program. The current trend toward more county general hospitals is unmistakable and board type of organization is common.

The more recently authorized types of boards reflect the changes that are being made in county functions. Functions of a primarily local concern such as airports, planning and parks are being added to the older functions of primarily statewide concern such as election and assessment administration and schools and penal institutions. Boards for the former functions are likely to be optional, not uniform within a state, and have a county-wide, city-county, or intercounty jurisdiction, while the latter type are likely to be uniform and mandatory with county-wide jurisdiction only.

Thus county government has been greatly affected by the more positive approach to political problems which has characterized all levels of government in the last fifteen years. But it is a cause for concern that this positive approach has resulted in a greater lack of coordination in county administration and policy-formation. While cities and states have reorganized their governments along modern lines, counties have had further complications introduced. The reliance which state legislatures have put upon special function boards and commissions on a county level indicates both a lack of confidence in the existing county general governing body and administrative hierarchy and dissatisfaction with the areas of counties as inadequate for units of government. The way out is clear: more adequate areas and more streamlined governmental structures.

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[2] For a complete tabulation see the Census report, *County Boards and Commissions.*

Over-all Control

If control of the special function boards and commissions were vested in the general governing body or a county executive, the county government picture would not be as confused as it might seem at first. Unfortunately, this is usually not the case, as indicated in Table IV. Of 761 authorizations, only 306 provide for control by selection by the county governing body. There is virtually no control of these boards by any county executives since the latter are almost non-existent.

Authorized methods of selecting special function boards are numerous. Only a few members are elected directly by the voters. The two most common methods are appointment by the general county governing body or by governing body members serving in an ex-officio capacity. This is an element of unity in an otherwise overly-complicated picture. Other county officials sometimes serve in an ex officio capacity on these boards, and state agencies and court officers frequently appoint some of their members.

TABLE IV
METHODS OF SELECTION OF COUNTY SPECIAL FUNCTION BOARDS OR COMMISSIONS

Method of Selection	*Number of Authorizations in General State Laws*
Members selected in same way:	
All elected	15
All appointed by:	
Governing body	226
State agency	17
Court	35
Other	27
All ex-officio:	
Governing body	80
Other	52
Total	452
Members selected in different ways:	
Partly elected	4
Partly appointed by:	
Governing body	123
State agency	27
Court	28
Other	58
Partly ex-officio:	
Governing body	170
Other	193
Total	603
Selection method not specified	40

The main variation regionally as to methods of selection is a tendency in southern states to favor appointments by state agencies or court officials. It is noticeable that the more recently acquired county functions which specify the special board type of organization are usually more under control of the governing body through selection methods than the older, state-delegated functions.

With three- to five-year overlapping terms common for special function board members, with the methods of selecting them diverse, and with the frequent failure of state legislatures to vest complete financial control of special boards in general county governing bodies, coordination of policy and administration

(Continued on Page 239)

Guarding the States' Money

Current methods largely makeshift; legislature holding purse strings should assume post-audit responsibility.

By **VERA BRISCOE***

AN examination of financial transactions after they are completed is recognized in both private business and government as an essential complement of efficient administration. This check, or post-audit, should serve both as a method of holding financial administrators accountable and as an instrument for testing the soundness of public policy.

The methods employed to enforce accountability in state governments are to a considerable extent makeshifts, largely because of the manner in which the auditor is chosen, the failure to distinguish between administrative pre-audit control and legislative post-audit control and improper methods of making the audit. The United States has not set an example for the states; in fact, it is the one leading national government of the world which is almost wholly lacking in a satisfactory check on the execution of its finances.[1]

The auditing agency should be independent of the administrative branch. The degree of independence can be measured by the method of selection of the auditor and by the character of the duties he performs.

Although the executive branch administers the financial plan and promotes legislation relative to it, control of the public purse in the final analysis rests with the legislative body. This body authorizes the expenditure of money, designates the sources from which money may be collected and shapes the administration to perform the work. For this reason the legislative body should be responsible for the audit of administrative accounts and records so that it may be assured that its orders have been faithfully carried out.

Independence of the auditor rests in part on his owing no political allegiance to the administration. Selection of the head of the agency by means of administrative appointment, by the governor or other executive official, is not a satisfactory method of securing independence of the administration.[2] Two alternative and superior methods of selection have appeared in state practice: popular vote and appointment by the legislature.[3] The second alternative

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[1] A. E. Buck, *The Budget in Governments Today*, 1934, page 57.

[2] In spite of this fact appointment by the chief executive was found in nine states, and appointment by the governor subject to legislative approval was employed in nine others in 1942. James W. Martin, Robert L. Sawyer and S. Marie Fraser, *The State Auditor*, 1942, page 9. This report has been relied on at several points in this article.

[3] These are the principal alternatives. In 1942, however, two states provided for

method is most frequently favored by experts because of the auditor's paramount allegiance to the legislature, because excellence in campaigning does not forecast auditing efficiency and because a smaller body can determine more proficiently the merits of an individual for a position of a highly technical nature.[4] Either process of selection preserves independence of the auditor from political control by the administration better than does appointment by the chief executive, but experience in the states reveals that popularly elected officials are quite often heavily encumbered with administrative duties.[5] Also there is a special danger of spoils in an elective office.

The position of auditor of public accounts was established in Kentucky by the legislature in its first year of statehood and, although the character and scope of functions have changed from time to time, the method of selection has always been by popular vote. Even though the office is treated as a political position, Kentucky is one of the three states (Colorado and Massachusetts are the other two), out of the group of 21 which in 1942 elected their auditing officials, that limits the functions of the auditor to post-auditing.

The comptroller general of the United States, who, nominally, is the national auditing official, holds a strategic position by virtue of the manner in which he is selected. This officer is appointed by the President, serves for a term of fifteen years, and is removable only by joint resolution of Congress or by impeachment.[6] The long tenure of his office in combination with the method of his selection means virtually that the comptroller general is not effectively responsible to the President, the Congress or the people.

Internal and External Control

The functions of financial control have been described by one writer[7] as being of two distinct types: (a) internal control, which is thought of in both American business and government as the "comptroller's" or "financial executive's" job of exercising a current and continuous check on financial conduct of affairs through approving vouchers, issuing warrants for payment, and generally "locking the door before the horse is stolen," and (b) external control, which is a periodic audit or check on the validity of the financial conduct after it has been completed.

If a good post-audit is to be effected, it is important that the internal control be separated from the external control. The principal objection to mixing comptroller with

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civil service appointment, in one state the comptroller general performed auditing duties, and in one the budget commissioner appointed the auditing official.

[4] However, in 1942, only five states permitted legislatures to select auditing officials, while in 21 states the auditor was chosen by popular vote. Senate Bill No. 27, 48th Texas legislature (1943), which became operative in 1945, adds Texas to the list of states whose legislatures select the auditors.

[5] *Loc. cit.* and George C. S. Benson, *Financial Control and Integration,* 1934.

[6] Harvey C. Mansfield, "The General Accounting Office," in President's Committee on Administrative Management, *Report with Special Studies,* page 174.

[7] Benson, *op. cit.*, chapter 1.

auditing functions is that doing so places the auditor in the position of reviewing his own work, a practice which is poor assurance of an impartial check on administration. This defect is especially obvious in the federal government, in which the comptroller general is also delegated duties such as (a) rendering advance decisions to department heads and disbursing officers regarding the use of appropriations, (b) maintaining general fund accounts relating to appropriations and personal accounts of fiscal officers, (c) settling claims for and against the federal government, and (d) prescribing accounting procedures for the several departments and establishments.[8] Two other objections to a post-auditor's performing administrative duties are that it prevents clear-cut assignment of executive responsibility and thus interferes with the dispatch of public business and that it consumes the auditor's time with operating activities so that he cannot pay proper attention to post-audit duties.

Prior to 1936 the fiscal organization in Kentucky was such that there was no official in a position to present an unbiased analysis of the state's operations to the people and the legislature. The auditor of public accounts was an independently selected official who had delegated to him such comptroller duties as keeping the central accounts of the state, auditing, adjusting and reporting to the attorney general for settlement of claims for and against the commonwealth, approving expenditures and issuing warrants for payment. Although the state inspector and examiner was the chief auditing official he was handicapped both because he performed administrative duties and because he was responsible to the governor.

In a fundamental policy change the General Assembly of 1936 relieved the auditor of public accounts of his bookkeeping and other administrative duties and made him solely responsible for the state post-audit. The purpose of this portion of the reorganization act was "to provide for the independent auditing of the accounts and financial transactions of all spending agencies of the state through a disinterested auditor, who is entirely independent of the state administration whose affairs he is called upon to audit." His duties as post-auditor include:

(1) Auditing all state accounts; (2) auditing accounts of all local officials handling state funds; (3) investigating the accounting for and verifying the existence of all state property; (4) investigating the estimates of resources and receipts; (5) assisting the Legislative Council in hearings and investigations; (6) reporting to the governor, Legislative Council and commissioner of finance any unauthorized, illegal, irregular or unsafe expenditures or handling of state funds; (7) preparing a separate report of each audit and investigation and reporting biennially to the General Assembly.

In order to perform these duties the auditor and his agents have access to all books, accounts, reports, vouchers, correspondence, records, money and property of the agencies which they are required to audit and he may compel witnesses to testify in any investigation he may make.

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[8] Mansfield, *loc. cit.* For a defense of the comptroller general's status as both a comptroller and an auditor see Daniel T. Selko, *The Administration of Federal Finances,* 1937, pages 52, 54 ff.

By virtue of the same act the office of state inspector and examiner was abolished and the comptroller and budget functions were placed in the Department of Finance. Thus, an appointive officer, responsible to the governor, pre-audits and controls disbursements; and an elective officer, responsible to the people through the election process and to the General Assembly through legal stipulation of duties, checks on the legality, regularity and propriety of expenditures after they have been made. Since this distribution of financial functions has been made, Kentucky is placed among the few states whose auditors are free from administrative assignments.

Scope of Post-audit

The scope and frequency of post-audits vary among the states. Audits sometimes extend to state offices and institutions, counties, cities, towns, villages, school districts and other special districts—sometimes to only a part of these; agencies may be audited annually, biennially, semi-annually or at irregular intervals. A comprehensive state audit would include both receipts and expenditures and would cover all state governmental agencies. Further, the check would be made at the conclusion of each fiscal period.

The Kentucky law stipulates: "The auditor shall audit annually, and at such other times as may be deemed expedient, the accounts of all state agencies, all private and semi-private agencies receiving state aid or having responsibility for the handling of any state funds, the accounts, records and transactions of the budget units, and the general accounts of the state."

However, the degree of regularity as reported by the auditor who went into office in 1940 was as follows: out of 172 units, including departments, divisions, institutions, boards, etc., nineteen had not been examined within two years; two within three years; one within five years; one within eight years; and for 50 others the lapse of time was undetermined.

The revenue receipts collected by the Department of Revenue have not been subjected to a regular audit in recent years. This means, essentially, that the major portion of the state's revenues is not independently checked despite the fact that the law requires an annual audit of both receipts and expenditures. Two classes of expenditure which are omitted from the state audit are federal grants made to state agencies for specific purposes and not requiring a matching of funds by the state and expenditures of certain corporations. It is the opinion of the auditor that a review of federal grants, though administered by state agencies, would be unnecessary duplication, if not outside his jurisdiction. The second class is not a major item; the Armory Corporation and the Children's Home Corporation are the only examples.[9] Omitting these two types of expenditure is not so serious as failing to cover every state spending agency at least once a year in accordance with the law, and particularly failing to audit all the operations of the Department of Revenue regularly. It should also be emphasized that the legal requirements concerning the scope of the post-audit do not indicate that the audits are thorough. There is reason to believe that some of the audits made in Kentucky are more perfunctory than exhaustive. The expenditures of the auditor of public account's office during the past three years have ranged from approximately $44,000 to $48,000;[10] this is a small appropriation in view of the amount of work required of that office. Inadequate financial support of any agency is usually reflected in the quality and quantity of its work.

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[9] Mark Harris, *The Government Cor-*

The organization of the Kentucky auditor's office is drawn along functional lines so that the state departmental and institutional audits and the county audits are in separate divisions; and the assistant auditor[11] assumes direct supervision over state audits. In making audits of state governmental agencies the auditor is confronted with varied laws, records, organizational schemes and activities, so that the procedure followed must be fitted to the situation. Fortunately for the auditor the Department of Finance operates a good system of internal control, which makes the task of checking the commonwealth's expenditures less burdensome. The work of the Department of Finance, however, does not duplicate that of the auditor. The situation is analogous to the internal administrative control and outside audit of private business, and in both private and public affairs efficient administrative accounting reduces the auditor's work.

Post-audit Agencies' Personnel

The personnel of the audit agencies can greatly influence the effectiveness of their work. According to the Martin, Sawyer and Fraser report experience in the various states has indicated that those agencies which require high education and experience standards, demonstrated by means of merit tests, are in a relatively favorable position to perform post-audits efficiently.

Few state laws exceed the minimum age and citizenship requirements for the chief auditing official,[12] but the low requirements of the head of the agency are often counterbalanced by specifying that some of the administrative assistants meet certain qualifications. This is the situation in Kentucky, where the auditor is required only to be 30 years of age and a resident citizen of the state at least two years preceding his election but the assistant auditor must meet not only the same

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poration in Kentucky (unpublished master's thesis, University of Kentucky), 1940, page 88.

[10] Commonwealth of Kentucky, *The Executive Budget*, for the biennium 1944-46, page 49.

[11] Appointed by the auditor of public accounts and required to be a certified public accountant.

[12] In Maryland and Texas the auditors are required to be certified public accountants and in Maine the auditor must be a certified public accountant or have experience as an auditor of public accounts.

citizenship requirement but also be a certified public accountant. Kentucky has been without an assistant auditor, however, since he resigned two years ago. The law further requires that any other assistants making audits must be persons qualified by at least two years practical experience in auditing or one year of experience and one year of formal training in auditing in an accredited college or university.

In many states the classification of the audit staff is under the supervision of the state's personnel agency, while in others the whole question is left to the head of the audit department. Since 1936 in Kentucky the Division of Personnel Efficiency of the Department of Finance has supervised the merit examinations for auditors and determined the list of qualified applicants from which the auditor makes appointments. There seems to be no objection to placing the audit staffing problem within the purview of a state's civil service. The fact that an outside agency sets up standards to assist in recruiting competent personnel does not detract from the auditor's independence. Indeed, by such a plan the auditor is spared the political pressure of patronage requests.

To operate effectively the auditor must have a staff of adequate size and quality. The size of the state audit staffs varies considerably, ranging, according to a 1942 study, from five in Nevada to over 700 in New York; the size seems to be principally a result of local political and general administrative conditions and depends partly upon the amount of work other than auditing which is delegated to the agency. The Kentucky audit staff usually comprises sixteen persons, nine of whom are auditors and seven of whom are clerks and stenographers.

Audit Reports

The auditor in Kentucky, as is true in most states, is required by statute to make two types of reports: (1) an individual report of each examination, copies of which go to the governor, the commissioner of finance, each member of the Legislative Council, and to the head of each department or agency concerned; (2) a second summary report of all audits to be made at the close of each biennium, covering the activities of that period, copies of which are transmitted to each member of the General Assembly, the governor, five copies to the state librarian, and five copies to the librarian of the University of Kentucky.

The first type of report is far more informative and detailed than the latter. Usually each individual report contains a letter of transmittal, a list of the principal officials of the agency involved, a consolidated statement of receipts and expenditures followed by detailed analyses, and certain other statistical information such as salary schedules of employees. Some, though not all, contain written summaries of the auditor's findings and recommendations. Many of the individual audits are reported with little or no tabular data, and are primarily opinions based on surveys and not audit reports in the strict meaning of the term. The biennial summary reports set forth general financial statements relative to the expenditures of each state agency and each county; much of this information can be found in the biennial reports of the Department of Finance.

An auditor has no direct authority to enforce his recommendations or to remedy abuses in financial administration. He must rely upon persuasion and the good reception of his reports by the legislature and political leaders. As expressed by the Texas auditor, "Whatever power the state auditor exercises must be, in the final analysis, the power of publicity. The potency of the office lies in its reports."[13] For this reason as much care must be taken in the presentation of the data as diligence in obtaining it. The role of the nagging critic should be avoided, and the tone of the reports should be such that the criticisms are clearly intended primarily for the use of administrators. This does not mean that abuses should be concealed. The auditor will strengthen his position and show the value of a post-audit if he publicizes fraudulent or other irregular practices. But small irregularities need not be made to appear much more impressive than their significance warrants, and favorable comments should not be omitted. The Kentucky reports can be highly commended for the tone and clarity of the comments, both favorable and adverse.

CONFUSED COUNTY PICTURE II

(Continued from Page 232)

within these units of government is made difficult, if not impossible. Even more desirable than coordination is accountability to the voters. With such a confused picture, it is difficult for the voters to place responsibility upon any one official or body for failure to make county government more efficient.

Conclusion

If counties are to remain important in our system of government, they must adapt their structure to meet the needs of a more positive approach to our political problems. The creation of numerous special function boards and commissions which confuse responsibility and prevent adequate coordination does not contribute to local self-government. Instead, in this period of expanding government activities, it contributes to the growth of state centralization. If counties cannot adequately perform modern functions, the states will.

Counties have had adequate warning. In several instances states are now performing functions which previously were county-administered. As new activities have been added to county responsibilities, state legislatures have found it necessary to give control over many of these fields to *ad hoc* units of government or to county special boards and commissions. This indicates a lack of confidence in present county government structures.

It is time that the counties accepted the challenge and reorganized their governments.

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[13] State Auditor and Efficiency Expert, *General Report to the Legislature of the State of Texas*, 1932, page 2.

Voters Take the Law in Hand

Sole Washington reapportionment made since legislative act of 1901 was adoption by voters of 1930 initiative measure.

By DONALD H. WEBSTER*

THE history of the legislative apportionment problem in the state of Washington has been to a large extent a struggle between the rapidly growing and the slowly growing sections of the state rather than a struggle between the urban and rural or the eastern and western sections. It is true, however, that the most consistently rapid growth has occurred around the metropolitan areas in the western portion of the state.

The state of Washington is divided into 39 counties varying in size from 172 to 5,295 square miles and varying in population from 3,200 to 631,000 inhabitants[1] with a density of population ranging from 2.1 to 236.4 persons per square mile. It is apparent, therefore, that the county does not provide either by area or population a degree of equality suitable for legislative representation. County boundaries, nevertheless, have been used to a considerable extent as boundaries for senatorial and representative districts. The advantage of representation, therefore, has been held by the more sparsely populated rural counties which have consistently been successful in blocking legislative bills proposing redistricting and reapportionment.

The fight for reapportionment has often been led by the King County delegation in its effort to secure greater representation in the House and Senate, whereas the opposition has most consistently come from the agricultural counties east of the Cascades which have feared the domination of the legislature by Seattle, located in Washington's most populous county.[2]

The constitution of the state of Washington adopted in 1889 provides for a bicameral legislature composed of a House of Representatives of not less than 63 nor more than 99 members and for a Senate whose membership shall not be less than one-third nor more than one-half of the number of members in the House of Representatives. The present legislature has a Senate membership of 46 and a House membership of 99. Members of the House are elected for a term of two years and members of the Senate for four years. The terms of office of senators is such that one-half the members are retired every two years. The constitution further provides that members of the Senate shall be elected by single districts of contiguous territory at the same time and in the same manner as members of the House of Representatives. No representative district shall be divided in the formation of a senatorial district. Representation in both the Senate and the House is based upon population excluding Indians not taxed, soldiers and sailors and officers of the United States Army and Navy in active service.[3]

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[1] Based on 1945 estimates.

[2] It is of interest to note, however, that the opposition leadership has frequently come from counties west of the mountains.

Legislative Inaction

The constitution contains two specific mandates to the legislature which, since 1901, have been honored in the breach: (1) that the legislature shall provide by law for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the state in the year 1895 and every ten years thereafter, and (2) that at the first session after such enumeration and also after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States the legislature shall apportion and district anew the membership of the Senate and the House of Representatives according to the number of inhabitants. Thus the constitution requires two reapportionments every ten years.[4]

In 1900 the population of the state was 518,103. Using this as a basis, the legislature in 1901 made an apportionment of legislative membership. Under this law[5] legislative members continued to be elected for a period of 30 years at the end of which time a reapportionment was compelled by popular initiative measure. The apportionment act of 1901 created 42 single-member senatorial districts and 56 representative districts. Representative districts established varied from one to three members. Each county, regardless of population, was given at least one representative. Some of the more populous counties were divided into two or more senatorial and representative districts.

From 1900 to 1910 the population of Washington grew from 518,103 to 1,141,990, an increase of 120.4 per cent. Although King County, the most populous in the state, grew from 110,053 to 284,638, an increase of 159 per cent, western Washington as a whole grew at only a slightly higher rate than eastern Washington during this period. From 1920 to 1930, however, western Washington grew at almost four times the rate of eastern Washington. Some of the agricultural counties in eastern Washington declined in population after 1910. Seattle grew considerably faster than either Spokane or Tacoma, the second and third largest cities of the state.

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[3] Population figures used herein are based on United States census and state estimates. No segregation of military personnel is made in the use of the 1930 or 1940 figures. Estimates used for 1943 and 1945 include only civilian population. Total Indian population in the state in 1940 was 11,394.

[4] The logical explanation for the provision requiring a state census midway between the federal censuses is that the rapid growth of population between 1880 and 1890 from 75,116 to 349,390 led the constitution makers to expect this rapid growth to continue.

[5] The only changes resulted from the formation of three new counties in eastern Washington, each comprising a new representative district with one representative. No new senatorial districts were created. The new counties were incorporated in existing senatorial districts.

From 1901 to 1930 many attempts were made during the various sessions of the legislature to redistrict and reapportion representation in the legislature but all such attempts were successfully blocked by the combine of the small counties.[6]

Initiative Measure

By 1930 the disparity in representation among various districts had become so great that it was hardly possible to speak of representation as having any particular relation to population. In that year a group of leaders from the under-represented areas drew up plans to redistrict the state and reapportion representation by means of an initiative measure. Although the Washington constitution had been amended in 1912 to provide for popular initiative, no attempt had been made to secure a reapportionment by this means prior to 1930. The procedure was immediately challenged in the courts on the ground that the power and authority to apportion and district was vested in the legislature and it did not involve the act of law-making given to the people by the initiative amendment. The Supreme Court, however, noted the continued failure of the legislature to observe the constitutional mandate and held that the method of districting and apportioning was by law which could be enacted by initiative.[7]

After a bitter fight over the initiative measure it was passed by a narrow margin of less than 1,000.[8] The vote was 116,436 for the measure to 115,541 against. Only six counties out of the 39 returned majorities in favor of the measure. The overwhelming vote in King County was sufficient, however, to carry it. Under the provisions of Initiative 57 the number of senators was increased from 42 to 46 and the number of representatives from 97 to 99. Representative districts were made to correspond to the same geographical areas as the single-member senatorial districts. Each representative district had at least two representatives and in some instances three. County boundaries were made to serve primarily as the boundaries for the senatorial and representative districts. Seven districts were made up of single counties. Five districts each comprised two counties, three districts each comprised three counties, and one district consisted of four counties. Five of the more populous counties were subdivided to make 26 districts. In four counties, county lines were crossed to form the same number of districts.

Although this measure did not provide exact representation according to population it did achieve much greater equity than existed under the previous law. Based on the 1930 population the theoretical quota for each district, if a perfect apportionment were made, would have been 15,792 for the House of

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[6] Frequently referred to as the control of the legislature by the "Cow Counties."

[7] *State Ex Rel. Miller* v. *Hinkle* 156 Wash. 289, 286 Pac. 839.

[8] Remington's Revised Statutes 8137-2, 8137-3. (Initiative No. 57)

Representatives and 33,987 for the Senate. Many of the under-represented counties still did not attain parity with most of the agricutural counties. In King, for example, where representation in the House was increased from 17 to 24, the average number of persons represented by each representative was 19,313, whereas in the representative district comprising the rural counties of Ferry, Lincoln and Adams, the average representation was 11,944 and in the district comprising Asotin, Columbia and Garfield the average representation was 8,562.

Need Still Great

The passage of Initiative 57 in 1930 abated the struggle over reapportionment temporarily but it did not end it. Although no reapportionment act has been passed since that date various proposals have been introduced in the legislature for reapportionment.[9] Some have been coupled with plans for a one-house legislature, some included proposals to give each county one representative regardless of size, and place a maximum limitation on the number of representatives from any single county, and others have contained various provisions for apportionment, as for example by the secretary of state, the governor or other officials of the executive branch in case of failure of the legislature to carry out the constitutional mandate.

Between 1930 and 1940 the population of the state of Washington increased 172,795 or approximately 11.1 per cent. King County, although receiving 24 per cent of these additional inhabitants, increased at a percentage rate of 8.9. Pierce County increased at approximately the same percentage as the state average. Spokane, the third county in size, increased at the rate of 9.4. On a percentage basis shifts in population between 1930 and 1940 ranged from a loss of 19.6 per cent in Adams County to a gain of 170.6 per cent in Cowlitz County. In the matter of numbers, however, almost half the state's increase went to the four Puget Sound counties of King, Pierce, Kitsap and Snohomish, although only Snohomish increased at a rate above the state average.

Changes in population since 1940 have tended greatly to increase the existing disparity in representation. Since 1940 the state has witnessed considerable shift in population. This shift is due partly to the dislocation caused by the war and, while it is not likely to continue to the same degree, there is little evidence that the trend of the past five years will be reversed by any considerable movement of population from the metropolitan to the rural areas. The estimates of the Bureau of the Census indicate that between April 1, 1940, and November 1, 1943, the population of the state of Washington rose from 1,719,143 to 1,905,239, a gain of 186,096 or 10.8 per cent. At the same time 26 of the 39 counties showed a population loss of 65,525. It is of interest to note that 22 of these 26 counties were already over-represented in the House and 18 in the Senate on the basis of the 1940 census. Gains were shown in 13 of the 39 counties for a total of 251,621 persons. Western Washington showed gains in eight counties for a total of 225,729, whereas eastern Washington showed gains in five counties, 25,892. Of this population gain 88.6 went to the four counties of western Washington, King, Kitsap, Pierce and Clark, and 32 per cent went to King County alone. The greatest percentage of gain is to be found in Kitsap which increased its population during the three years by 113 per cent. All four of the counties receiving the 88.6 per cent of the total gains in population already were under-represented in the legislature on the basis of the 1940 population. It appears that the same general trend has continued in 1945. The 1945 population estimates, however, indicate that a number of counties which showed losses in 1943 have regained a substantial proportion of their 1940 population.

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[9] In 1942 a further attempt at reapportionment was made by Initiative No. 11 to the legislature. The proponents failed to secure the required 50,000 signatures on the petition.

Disparities in Representation

Since 1940 four counties have more than doubled their population and one has more than trebled. On the other hand, a number of the agricultural counties have gained very little or have actually lost population since 1920. Garfield County, for example, had a population of 3,875 in 1920; 3,662 in 1930, and 3,383 in 1940 and an estimated population of 3,200 in 1945. A similar history is found in Douglas, Columbia, Ferry, Asotin and others.

Kitsap County, comprising representative and senatorial districts 23, with a present civilian population estimated at approximately 120,000, or about 6 per cent of the state's population, has a representation in the state legislature slightly over 2 per cent. This shows up with greater inequity when compared with senatorial and representative district number 10, which has the same number of representatives and senators, although it possesses less than 17,000 inhabitants and represents less than 1 per cent of the state's population. In other words, a representative from Kitsap County represents more than seven times as many inhabitants as does a representative from legislative district number 10. The present population of the four Puget Sound counties of King, Kitsap, Pierce and Snohomish represent over 50 per cent of the state's population, but these counties have only approximately 41 per cent representation in the House and 43 per cent representation in the Senate.

Inequities in representation, however, are not exclusively those between the urban and the rural counties or the western and eastern parts of the state. In the counties comprising more than one legislative district considerable disparity is to be found. King County, for example, is divided into twelve legislative districts, represented by twelve senators and 24 representatives. Of the twelve senatorial districts in King County, six were under-represented and six were over-represented. In the House, ten representative districts were under-represented, whereas two were over-represented. On the basis of the 1940 population each senator represented an average of 37,743 people. In King County, representation ranged from 31,713 in district 36 to 69,182 in district 31 with a county average of 42,082. The disparity is even greater between these two districts on the basis of estimated number of inhabitants for 1945 which indicates a population of 35,122 in district 36 and a population of 92,111 in district 31. The average representation in King County in 1945 was 50,330 for each senator against the state's theoretical quota of 44,600 and 25,165 for each representative against the average for the state of 20,750.

A check of Pierce County shows three districts under-represented and two districts over-represented. Population by districts varied in 1940 from 17,972 in district 27 to 51,602 in district 29 and in 1945 from 18,917 in district 27 to 56,170 in district 29. The county of Spokane shows an under-representation in two senatorial and representative districts and an over-representation in three. The average for the county showed an over-representation in both branches for 1940 and 1945. The number of inhabitants by legislative districts varied in 1940 from 18,754 in district 6 to 48,951 in district 3 and varied in 1945 from 20,790 in district 6 to 52,921 in district 3.

Out of the 21 representative districts in the state showing under-representation in 1940, eighteen are located west of the mountains and out of the twenty senatorial districts showing under-representation, seventeen are western districts. Of the 25 over-represented districts in the House, thirteen are eastern districts. Of the 26 over-represented senatorial districts, half are from the east and half from the west side. However, nine of the over-represented senatorial districts on the west side are located in King, Pierce and Snohomish Counties, each having an average under-representation, whereas only one over-represented district on the east side is located in a county with an average under-representation.

Conclusions

Numerous other comparisons might be made from the population figures. Many of these are self-evident from the data herein presented. The obvious conclusions from this study are that in Washington representation according to population exists as a constitutional principle but not as a fact; that representation in the legislature from the beginning of statehood has been in favor of the sparsely populated areas and to the disadvantage of the urban sections; that inequalities of representation are not limited to those between urban and rural districts; that the rapid and unequal growth in population in the different sections of the state has served to increase the existing disparity of representation; that the sections in which future growth may be expected are on the whole already under-represented; that the history of redistricting and reapportionment in the state gives little hope that the constitutional mandate of representation according to population will be carried out in the future by act of the legislature.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Twenty-three New Manager Communities

1946 Adoptions Forecast Record in Growth of Plan

DURING the past month there have been twenty-three adoptions of the council-manager plan reported to the National Municipal League. This department has already reported adoptions this year by thirteen communities, a 1946 total so far of 36 as compared with 26 for the entire year 1945. The largest number of adoptions in any one year was 48 in 1921. Thus, 1946 may break all previous records.

A few of the adoptions now reported occurred prior to 1946, but have not previously been noted.

The city of **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** has recently been authorized by statute to employ a city manager.

At an election on April 2 the voters of **Junction City, Kansas,** adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,205 to 834. The plan is to take effect in April 1947, when a new council or commission of three members will be elected. The candidate receiving the most votes at that time will serve for four years, the other two for two years each. The same plan will be followed at subsequent elections, which will be at two-year intervals instead of annually as at present. The manager will appoint and remove all heads of departments and all employees, all appointments to be on the basis of merit.

On April 11 voters of **Redding, California,** overwhelmingly approved an ordinance providing the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,062 to 459.

The town of **Richmond, Maine,** adopted the town manager plan recently by a vote of 143 to 67. **Madawaska, Monroe, Island Falls** and **Stonington** are other Maine towns that have recently decided upon the manager plan.

The Council of **South Boston, Virginia,** has recently created the post of city manager to take over many administrative functions now performed by that body and the mayor. **Falls Church, Virginia,** has also adopted the manager plan.

In **Lancaster, South Carolina,** the City Council has appointed its first city manager.

Delray Beach, Florida, adopted a city manager ordinance on February 4. **Green Cove Springs,** in the same state, has also passed such an ordinance recently.

The City Council of **Saline, Michigan,** unanimously adopted a manager ordinance on March 22, to take effect July 1. The manager will be responsible for all departments, purchasing, employment of all personnel, preparation of the budget, etc. **Fremont, Michigan,** is also about to employ a city manager, as all three members of the City Commission are so busy as to require a full-time manager, who will also serve as city engineer.

In Iowa the city of **Shenandoah** has been added to the number having city managers by reason of an ordinance.

South Salt Lake, Utah, has adopted a city manager ordinance.

Voters of **Bonham, Texas,** decided 617 to 287 on April 2 to change the city charter so as to provide for the council-manager form of government. The city attorney, who with the mayor opposed the change, claimed that the question on the ballot was too vague.

The City Council of **Odessa, Texas,** passed a manager ordinance on March 27.

Two cities in Alaska adopted the council-manager plan on April 2 by overwhelming votes after vigorous campaigns. In **Anchorage** the vote was 1,136 to 216; in **Fairbanks,** 651 to 249.

The International City Managers' Association has added the city of **Quebec** and the village of **Val d'Or,** both in the province of Quebec, Canada, to its official list of manager cities. Both have had managers for some time.

In **Morris, Minnesota,** the manager plan was continued in a new home rule charter adopted in December by a vote of 214 to 26. The manager plan, in use since 1914, had proven so satisfactory there was no suggestion that it be abandoned.

Mount Clemens, Michigan, defeated a proposed manager charter on April 1 by 886 to 824.

The *News and Herald* of **Winnsboro, South Carolina,** is advocating study of the manager plan for that municipality and for **Fairfield County,** within which it is situated.

The council-manager plan has been favorably discussed in the borough of **Medford Lakes, New Jersey,** and an election on the subject has been planned for May 7.

A report favoring the manager plan was presented to the town meeting in **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** in March, and it is planned to present the question of adopting the plan to the voters.

In **Cocoa, Florida,** where, as noted in March (page 127) a manager ordinance was adopted on January 15, a manager has been appointed and is engaged in drafting a council-manager charter.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Fayetteville, North Carolina,** is aiding in a movement to change that city's present aldermanic government to a modern form such as council-manager.

The **Crookston, Minnesota,** Charter commission has voted to submit a council-manager charter to the voters for adoption in November, and intends to conduct an educational program.

Mayor Ewing of **Nevada, Missouri,** which recently adopted the council-manager plan, reports that the five candidates who were endorsed by the council-manager advocates have been elected.

Petitions have been circulated in **Hot Springs, South Dakota,** calling for a special election on adoption of the manager plan.

The town of **Lebanon, New Hampshire,** has deferred action on the town manager plan which, however, has been favorably reported by an official committee.

In **Burlingame, California,** a council-manager ordinance failed of adoption, but a Board of Freeholders was chosen to draft a new charter.

Two new members of the **El Centro, California,** City Council are pledged to the council-manager plan.

Interest in the council-manager plan is reported to be active in **Passaic, New Jersey**; **Sidney, Ohio**; **Fargo, North Dakota**; **Delta, Colorado**; **South Charleston, West Virginia**; **Rice Lake, Wisconsin**; **Ada, Oklahoma**; **Bellingham, Washington,** and **Alice, Texas.**

University City, Missouri, Elects Charter Commission

A commission to frame a home rule charter for University City, Missouri, was authorized by the voters on April 2, the vote being 4,693 to 1,025. Thirteen members of the commission were elected at the same time. The League of Women Voters had organized a Nonpartisan Citizens Committee for a Home Rule Charter, which coordinated various other groups and after consultation prepared a slate of thirteen candidates. No others filed.

Seattle Adopts New City Charter

At the March 12 city election the voters of Seattle, Washington, approved the new charter prepared and submitted by the Freeholders Charter Commission, by some 60,000 votes as against 25,000. Although Mayor Devin, newly elected, will have a two-year term as heretofore, the next mayor will serve for four years, as will also the councilmen elected after present council terms expire. The next election will be in 1948, and thereafter in even-numbered years. Mayor Devin will shortly appoint a police chief after a competitive examination, as required by the new charter. Other charter changes were given in the REVIEW for December 1945, on pages 569-570.

At the election the voters also approved the three-platoon system for firemen—without a provision for the added cost of about $600,000.

Connecticut Municipalities Vie in Report Contests

Modernization of annual town reports, with a view toward making them more informative, attractive and easy to read, is commanding an increasing interest among town officials and citizens in Connecticut. The movement toward modernizing reports launched by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council three years ago has been stimulated by widespread newspaper interest and comment and by citizen commendation of the improved reports which have been published. Since that time at least 34 towns and cities have given special attention to the improvement of their reports and some excellent results have been obtained.

The establishment of two annual report contests, conducted by the New England Council and the University of Connecticut, has further stimulated interest. The New England Council contest, which is open to municipalities in all six New England states, saw several Connecticut reports entered, with Bloomfield and Greenwich taking top honors in their respective divisions. In addition Wethersfield and New Haven each took a third place honor and Stratford a fourth.

In the University of Connecticut statewide contest, which was initiated last year at the suggestion of the council, 40 towns and cities entered reports. Five divisions were established according to population with provision for three winners in each division. In Division No. 1, for towns under 1,000 population, no highest award was given because of the limited number of entries. The winners in the other divisions were the towns of Old Lyme, Bloomfield and East Hartford and the city of New Haven. The judges in the contest were Maurice Sherman, president of *The Hartford Courant*; Sidney A. Edwards, managing director of the Connecticut Development Commission; and Howard I. Comstock, public relations counsel of Bridgeport.

Most of the Connecticut towns entering these contests availed themselves of the consultation service of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, which offers advice and assistance with respect to the arrangement of the financial data, format and other main features of the reports. The widespread publicity resulting from the contests has caused many other towns to request advice and information concerning the improvement of their reports to be published this year.

The council has observed that these improved reports are paying dividends in increased citizen interest in local affairs. More copies of the reports are being distributed than formerly and many towns have discovered that they can publish the new type of report at much lower cost than that of the old dry, statistical form.

It is anticipated that both the New England and Connecticut contests will be held again for 1946 reports.

Carter W. Atkins
Executive Director
Connecticut Public
Expenditure Council

New Mexico League Urges City Planning

At its annual meeting at Albuquerque in January the New Mexico Municipal League voted to ask the next legislature for legislation to facilitate city and regional planning. Other topics which caused much discussion were largely on the subject of additional municipal revenues. Mayor J. R. Castler of Raton was re-elected president and Mayor Manuel Lujan of Santa Fe secretary-treasurer.

Local Governments Form Administrative Council

An official Administrative Council has been established in Lane County, Oregon, including the executive heads of the major local governments—county, cities (including Eugene and Springfield) and school districts.[1] According to W. M. Tugman, managing editor of the Eugene *Register-Guard*, the Administrative Council was suggested by the Central Lane Planning Council, with the idea that the administrative officers were in a position to do a good job of planning and programming, which the planning council could review, criticize and either support or oppose.

The Administrative Council has tried to set a precedent of simultaneous projection of major projects in each division over the next ten years.

Constitution Reform Leads Kentucky Legislative Acts

An outstanding accomplishment of the recently ended session of the Kentucky legislature was the provision for a vote of the people, in November 1947, on the question of calling a convention to write a new constitution for the first time since 1892. (See also note following.)

The *Louisville Courier-Journal*, in commenting on the difficulties of intelligent lawmaking in the crowded 60-day session, added: "Ironically, the one measure which would have helped to remedy this recurring biennial situation, that providing for continuing legislative research between sessions, failed to pass." However, the editor considered that the session was exceptionally constructive, stressing the constitutional issue, the provision of a more adequate budget and the retention of the state income tax. Aside from these points the list of achievements was stated to include "the House's resounding defeat of the bill aimed at TVA by privately-owned utilities companies, the raising of the truck weight limit, the improvement of the mine safety laws and the fair attitude in general evinced in labor matters, the increase in the permissive tax rate in public school districts, the reform of the State Fair Board, the consideration shown to Louisville (except in the sad case of the civil service ripper bill) and to other municipalities."

Kentucky to Vote on Constitutional Convention

The people of Kentucky will vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention at the regular election in November 1947. This chance to replace the 55-year-old constitution with a modern document was made possible by action of the General Assembly which in 1944 and again in 1946 passed, unanimously in the Senate and by overwhelming majorities in the House (three dissenting votes each time) a resolution calling for a constitutional convention. All proposals to submit constitutional amendments to popular vote were defeated in the recent session on the ground that to submit amendments at the same time that the people must vote on the question of a constitutional convention would confuse the issue.

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[1] See also "By Their Own Bootstraps," the Review, September, October, December, 1944, and May, 1945.

Since the favorable action of the 1944 session, considerable interest in the subject has been manifested in certain parts of the state, and various organizations, such as the Advisory Postwar Planning Commission and the Committee for Kentucky, have actively advocated constitutional change. Final action by the General Assembly was taken March 5, 1946, and on March 18, at a dinner meeting in Frankfort, plans were laid for a vigorous campaign to secure a favorable vote in 1947. The Frankfort meeting was attended by political, educational and journalistic leaders and representatives of women's clubs, civic and business groups, organized labor, Parent-Teacher Associations, League of Women Voters, veterans and others. Forty-five persons were present and many additional leaders, unable to attend, expressed interest in the subject.

The plan of action that was approved by the meeting included a campaign between now and next November, mainly among members of civic groups, women's clubs and the like. Beginning after the election in 1946 the plan is to prosecute a "grass roots" campaign for approximately a year.

The persons attending the meeting constituted themselves a Committee for a New State Constitution and elected temporary officers. They also provided for an executive committee to carry on the immediate campaign and for another meeting in about six months at which time a permanent organization will be set up.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Reapportionment Sought for Louisiana Legislature

Although the legislature of Louisiana has twice ignored the mandate in the 1921 constitution requiring legislative reapportionment after each decennial federal census, the possibility remains that action may occur in 1946, in time for the 1948 elections. In the 1944 session Representative Percy Roberts, of East Baton Rouge, and other members introduced proposals for such action, which was deferred to 1946 to permit further study.

According to the *Baton Rouge Advocate* three parishes (counties) are due for additional representatives—East Baton Rouge and Jefferson, one each, and Caddo, one or two. Ward 9 in New Orleans is also said to be entitled to another. As the constitution limits the house membership to 101 and there are now 100 members, this would mean a reduction of the number of representatives of certain parishes and of one or two wards in New Orleans.

Police Restricted as to Union Membership

The United States Conference of Mayors, in *The United States Municipal News* for April 15, calls attention to a decision of the Mississippi Supreme Court on January 14 in *City of Jackson* v. *McLeod* (24 So. 2nd 319), wherein the Court upheld dismissal of 34 policemen in Jackson, who had joined a local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and had refused to resign therefrom. The Court pointed out that police must perform their duties without favoritism and should be "free from obligation of any other allegiance whatsoever."

A regulation of the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners, issued on March 12, is also referred to. It forbids membership in any police officers' organization identified in any way with a trade association, federation or labor union that admits to membership persons who are not members of the Los Angeles Police Department or who are not otherwise employees of the city.

ASPA Elects New Officers

At its annual conference in Philadelphia on March 26 and 27, the American Society of Public Administration elected the following: president, Charles S. Ascher; vice president, Miss Loula Dunn; council members, Paul H. Appleby, Clarence A. Berdahl, Louis Brownlow, Harold D. Smith, Grace Kneedler Ohlson, Frank M. Rarig, Jr., Wayne Coy, James W. Fesler, Walter Gellhorn, Luther Gulick, Herman Kehrli and Robert E. Merriam.

The first six of the council members carry over from last year; the others are new members, except Luther Gulick who is a member by virtue of his former presidency of the society.

Missouri Governor Signs Home Rule Bill

Governor Donnelly of Missouri has signed legislation permitting all cities with populations of 10,000 and over in that state to frame and adopt their own charters. This is in line with the permissive provisions of the new constitution.

Researcher's Digest

Connecticut Group to Make State-Local Survey

Governor Baldwin Requests Aid on Financial Study

THE **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,, Inc.**, is expanding its program to include a comprehensive survey, requested by Governor Baldwin, of the financial relationships between the state and the towns, "with particular reference to the development of the most equitable method of distributing the state grants to the towns for educational purposes." Acting with the council is a state committee composed of State Finance Commissioner James B. Lowell, chairman, and Walter W. Walsh, tax commissioner, and Finis E. Engleman, acting commissioner of education.

"The present system of distributing the grants does not allocate the money in accordance with the relative wealth or taxpaying ability of the towns nor in proportion to the educational needs of the respective communities," says *News and Views*, published by the council. The study will necessitate collection and analysis of data on taxation, revenues and expenditures, governmental services and needs of the state and towns, including activities of the federal government as they affect Connecticut. Included also will be data of an economic nature—population, industrial and business trends, and income of the people of the state, covering agriculture, commerce, industry and other significant factors. An analysis of the system of educational grants in other states will be made for purposes of comparison.

"The council regards a study such

as this to be essential to the planning and development of the most efficient relationships between the state and local governments on administrative and taxation matters," says the bulletin. "Furthermore, it seems clear, as we face the difficult and competitive economic problems of the future as well as high taxes at all levels of government, that every possible improvement in governmental efficiency becomes a necessity. We will cooperate with state and municipal officials and citizen groups to that end."

Carter W. Atkins is executive director of the council.

Researchers Report and Celebrate

The **Governmental Research Association** has issued its *Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Conference*,[1] which was held in Detroit, December 13, 14 and 15, 1945. The volume contains certain of the addresses made at the conference (not including those already published in the association's monthly *Notes & References*), as well as the annual reports of G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, and Alvin A. Burger, treasurer. The association has also published an attractive twelve-page pamphlet containing its constitution and by-laws.

The year 1946 finds the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis**, Victor D. Brannon, acting director, celebrating its silver anniversary with a new publication, *25 Years of Governmental Research—1922-1946* (sixteen pages). The pamphlet describes the work of the organization by answers to a series of questions printed in large red letters: "What Has the Institute Done to Expose 'Crackpot' Financial Programs? to Save Money for Taxpayers? to Improve Governmental Procedure? to Improve the Structure of Government? for Civic Education? What Part Did the Institute Play in Getting a New State Constitution?" Letters of congratulation from other research groups are reproduced. Comments from local newspapers are quoted.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** published the proceedings of its Nineteenth Annual Meeting in its *Bulletin* for March (six pages). One hundred twenty members were present to enjoy a beef stew served by members of Company F of the New York State National Guard and listen to reports and addresses. George L. Nichols is managing director of the bureau.

A recent issue of *Bureau Notes* of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** contains an announcement by Clifford B. Longley, president, that 1946 marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the bureau. Mr. Longley calls attention to the growth in number and complexity of problems needing independent citizen attention. He commends Dr. Lent D. Upson, the bureau's director from its founding until two years ago. "To Dr. Upson," says Mr. Longley, "this community owes a large obligation."

Civic Group Publishes Volume of Statistics

The number of hours of sunshine in Georgia cities, the hardness of public water supplies, organization charts of the state's government and of the Democratic party, tons of carload revenue freight originated and terminated in Georgia, state tax source, rates and collections, quality of diets of certain non-relief families, births, army rejectees, dwelling unit statistics, postal savings deposits, farm statistics, school and college attendance—these are just a few of the vast array of statistics presented in 226 tables to be found in

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[1] New York, 1946. 71 pages, $2.

Georgia Facts in Figures (179 pages). The author is Lyle R. Chubb, research secretary of the **Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia,** publisher of the volume. According to its introduction by Josephine Wilkins, administrator of the organization, four years of work have gone into preparation of the volume, which is designed to facilitate comparisons of Georgia with the rest of the nation, many of the tables including nation-wide figures.

The Citizens Fact-Finding Movement was established in 1937 as a coordinating agency through which seventeen Georgia organizations might jointly seek basic information about their state. Among them are state service clubs—Civitan, Kiwanis, Lion, Pilot, Rotary—the American Association of University Women, Georgia Education Association, Council of Church Women, Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Federation of Women's Clubs, League of Women Voters, Library and Press Associations and others.

"Perhaps no section of the nation faces more complex difficulties than does the South," says Miss Wilkins. "Its people have before them challenging opportunities and upon them grave responsibilities . . . This volume is published in the hope that it will be of some aid in our efforts to fulfill here at home the promises of our democracy which abroad we have defended at such cost."

More Local Government Financial Studies

Budgetary Procedure and Control is a ten-page research report issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. Dr. Irving Tenner, consultant in governmental finance and accounting, was retained by the bureau to conduct the study. Recommendations, not intended to cover all aspects of the city's budget process, are directed toward improvement of the fundamental pattern of budgetary procedure. They include a reorganization of the budget bureau —to be a separate agency independent of the comptroller's office with the budget director responsible to the mayor.

Several issues of *Just a Moment,* issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** are devoted to Buffalo city finances. One recent bulletin discusses the mayor's budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1946. "Under difficult conditions," it states, "we believe that Mayor Dowd and his director of the budget, Mr. Lanning, have produced a creditable budget of which there will be little adverse criticism."

Other bulletins contain the pay-as-you-go plan formulated for Buffalo by the drafting subcommittee of the General Committee of Fifteen as well as an article on "State Assistance to City of Buffalo Taxes." Sidney Detmers is the bureau's managing director.

"Storm clouds gathering," warns the **Pennsylvania Economy League Inc., Western Division,** in its discussion of "Allegheny County Finances in 1946." "The Pennsylvania Economy League is not an alarmist organization," says Leslie J. Reese, director, in his introduction to the thirteen-page pamphlet. But, Mr. Reese points out, "the county has been operated on a deficit basis in every recent year except 1937 . . . Under such circumstances it becomes important to eliminate deficit financing and to put the county on a pay-as-you-go operating basis."

Other recent publications of the Pennsylvania Economy League include *State Aids Local Revenues via Liquid Fuels Tax* (eleven pages) and *The Local Tax Collection Law (Act 394 of 1945—An Analysis and Suggested Forms* (45 pages).

A companion piece to *Your Tax Dollar*, issued by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council** and commented on in this department last month, is *Your Report on Revenues—A Survey of Revenue Sources for Rhode Island Cities and Towns Over 15,000 Population* (20 pages). Covered for the seven cities and two towns discussed are the general property tax, land valuations, building valuations, tangible and intangible personal property, tax rates and levies and other revenues. Comparisons are made with certain cities of other states in the same population classes. Robert M. Goodrich is the council's executive director.

County and school taxes for 1944 and 1945 and municipal taxes for 1945 are listed by the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association** in its March issue of *North Dakota Taxpayer*, H. C. Young, editor.

A Change in Name

The Governmental Reference Service of the University of Tennessee has become the **Bureau of Public Administration** of the university. The recently augmented staff includes Lee S. Greene, director, Virginia Holmes Brown and Evan A. Iverson, research associates.

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Local Planning Problems

"Real city planning now appears to be in prospect," comments the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, in *Your Tax Dollar*. The bulletin recites the steps by which the Commission on City Plan will act. The commission is not "primarily an originating body, but a body to coordinate, consolidate and to schedule, from the over-all viewpoint, the public improvements" on which city departments and others can produce sound evidence as to their need.

Making It Brief

A condensation of *An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area*, by Frank L. Kidner and Philip Neff (see the REVIEW for November, page 510) has been prepared by Molly Lewin. The 24-page pamphlet has been published by the **Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles**—which also published the original version—from which it may be secured without charge. Even the title has been abbreviated. It is now *Los Angeles—The Economic Outlook*.

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Stay-at-Home Voters

"In some sense the non-voters are more responsible for the quality of civic government than the voters," says the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** in its *White Paper* on "Non-voting on January 1st, 1946." The bulletin points out that non-voters outnumbered voters for aldermen from about two to one to seven to one in various parts of the city. "It is quite unusual for one not to use his ticket to a ringside seat at a hockey game, but not at a civic election," says the bulletin. "But then the standing of the Maple Leafs may be at stake in the former case and only the selection of men and women to supervise the expenditure of $35,000,000 in the second."

The bureau devoted one of its bulletins to a list of the names of all officials in the city government as a reference for local citizens. Horace L. Brittain is its managing director.

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Sound Pension System

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** has made an important contribution to sound pension procedure by aiding in the drafting of the Connecticut Municipal Employees' Retirement Fund Act, passed by the 1945 legislature. The act permits any county, city, town, borough or fire district to join the fund for any class of employees not already covered by a pension system. (See also the REVIEW, May 1945, page 244.)

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School Costs Rise

Operating costs for San Francisco schools rose in the past ten years—from 1934-5 to 1944-5—58½ per cent, points out the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** where Alfred Smith is director. But, says the bureau's *News Bulletin,* during the same period attendance in all groups fell off 9½ per cent. A major factor in the rise, in addition to substantial salary increases, was reduction in the size of classes. Costs per pupil in average daily attendance are shown for each category of schools for the year 1934-5 and that for 1944-5, together with the ten-year increase—amount and per cent.

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Researchers Join Survey Staff

The **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** has recruited a temporary staff to aid in the conduct of the city government surveys which Mayor Morrison has asked it to undertake.[1] Lennox L. Moak, executive director, reports that among them are Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration, Walter Harris of Public Administration Service, Walter H. Haldeman of the Chicago Civic Federation, Wilfred D. Webb of the University of Texas, and Carl Schneider of the American Public Works Association.

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Philadelphia's Water Supply

Several recent issues of *Citizens' Business,* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, have been devoted chiefly to the problems of where and how Philadelphians may secure a decent and sufficient water supply. Commenting that present sources—the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers—are badly polluted and that purification processes are costing the city great sums of money, the bureau discusses the report of a Board of Consulting Engineers appointed to investigate possible new sources.

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New Haven Assessments

The **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council,** of which M. W. Dewees is executive director, has reported to the Mayor, the Board of Assessors, the Board of Finance and the Board of Aldermen on the *Assessment of Real Estate in the City of New Haven* (33 pages). The purpose of the report, as set forth in its introduction, is to "examine the ratio of the assessed valuation to the sale price paid for all possible properties sold in the years 1940 and 1944 by kind, value and location in order to provide factual material for determining the quality of the work done by the Board of Assessors." The report commends the Board of Assessors for its improvement in the quality of assessing between 1940 and 1944 and urges it to speed its efforts to install necessary records so that property assessment in New Haven "may be made in the most uniform manner possible and in accordance with the latest proved procedures." It strongly recommends, however, "for the long range," that the city charter be amended to substitute a single appointed city assessor, removable only for cause, for the Board of Assessors.

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[1] See April REVIEW, page 196.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Conference Marks Citizenship Day

Independence Square Scene of Philadelphia Meetings

SEEKING to bring to the attention of the nation the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship, the Committee on Citizenship of the National Education Association has taken several positive steps in that direction.

One important step is the National Conference on Citizenship, planned by the committee, with the advice and cooperation of the Department of Justice, for May 17-19 in Philadelphia. A hundred national organizations have been invited to participate. Writing in the *Journal* of the National Education Association, Richard B. Kennan, associate secretary of the NEA Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, says that the "conference will have as its major goal the focusing of national attention on the value of American citizenship, together with its duties and responsibilities, and ways and means by which various organizations and community groups may cooperate and contribute to the advancement of citizenship."

The first two days of the conference will be devoted to a series of work and discussion groups as well as luncheons and dinners to be addressed by such outstanding figures as Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Ugo Carusi, United States Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, Attorney General Tom Clark and Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde. Discussion groups will meet at the American Philosophical Society and in the old Customs House, now the headquarters of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.

The third day (May 19) is National Citizenship Day and will be devoted to Philadelphia's local observance at Independence Square, with ceremonies around the Liberty Bell.

The committee, headed by Earle T. Hawkins, chairman, is distributing a colorful poster and a 36-page manual on planning the observance of National Citizenship Day.[1] The latter lists various types of programs, making suggestions for the participation of schools, libraries, churches and civic groups, as well as the community as a whole. "Organization for Action" is the title of a chapter giving helpful information on establishment of working committees etc., to promote wide participation. A bibliography lists references on citizenship as well as general works on government, politics and democracy.

Knoxville Fights City Manager Ouster

Believing that the action of Mayor Caswell Walker and five other council members in dismissing City Manager Paul Morton was against the city's best interests, Knoxville citizens have organized a **Citizens Protective League** to promote their recall. The organization has filed petitions containing the signatures necessary to place the question on the ballot and has nominated candidates to replace the six councilmen should the recall be successful.

Mass meetings have been held, one having a reported attendance of over two thousand. Labor organizations, women, churches, Negro groups and others are taking part in the campaign.

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[1] Write Committee on Citizenship, National Education Association, Washington, D. C. Posters are ten for 50 cents; the manual 25 cents per copy; discounts are available on quantity orders.

Ralston Matheny, president of the newly formed league, issued a warning that poll taxes must be paid in order to vote in the recall election. The election commission reports that two thousand persons registered to vote in less than a week after the Morton ouster. One thousand persons obtained poll tax receipts in a single day. One official estimate said that over 50,000 Knox County citizens are now eligible to vote—a record high in Knoxville history.

Cincinnati Civic Committee Fights "Satisfied Stagnation"

Calling attention to the fact that the city of Cincinnati has fallen into an attitude of "satisfied stagnation" the **City Charter Committee** seeks to arouse action on the city's master plan and the many other problems confronting the community. Its *Charter News Letter* quotes the *Enquirer*, a local newspaper, which said editorially: "We will get nowhere with being satisfied with past accomplishments. Our predecessors built a great city but we must keep moving forward, for a static city is a dead city."

The *News Letter* points to the fact that despite the "general public acceptance accorded the city's master plan" over the past year there "seems already developing an undercurrent of resistance to the changes" for which it calls. It points out that city officials are proposing the reconstruction—not repair—of streets which may be entirely eliminated in the master plan. The action of these officials may be correct, says the *News Letter*, "but if this be so, the new master plan some day is going down in history as one of the most expensive pieces of fancy and ineffective blue-printing that this city has ever undertaken."

The committee's Board of Directors has elected Charles P. Taft, former city councilman, as president to succeed Harry R. Drackett, president since 1938, who had asked to be relieved of his responsibilities. "One of the original members of the charter board," says the *News Letter*, "former chairman of the Charter Men's Division, three times elected to City Council, and the late President's personal draftee for important war administration posts in Washington, Charlie Taft is to the Charter Committee as Mt. Adams is to the Cincinnati landscape—a familiar, colorful, focal point, whose acceptance of the responsibilities of leadership is one of the most hopeful portents for the future of government in Cincinnati." Mrs. Elizabeth C. Reid, also a former councilman—the first and only woman elected under the city's P. R.-manager charter—was chosen vice president in charge of organization. Other officers elected include some of the "most enthusiastic and inspiring recruits the charter movement has had."

One of the first steps of the new officers was to set up a series of separate lay committees to maintain a close check on developments in connection with specific civic questions. Another was to press for attack on two of the city's foremost problems—metropolitan integration and unification and smoke elimination.

Mrs. Reid, as vice-president in charge of organization, has announced that the Charter Women's Club, under the direction of Mrs. Max Bradford Bohm, has resumed its monthly luncheons with speakers on current civic problems. Young people are urged by Miss Marjorie O'Hare, president of the Young Charterites, to become interested in that group. The Civic Advisory Committee is being organized to advise the Board of Directors and charter councilmen on neighborhood problems. The Library Committee, headed by Miss Julia Bentley, will study and summarize new publications on file at the Municipal Reference Library to provide the board and councilmen with up-to-date reports on new ideas from other cities.

Forest Frank is executive director of the Charter Committee.

Civic Groups Seek Constructive Legislation

The *Citizens Union News*, a new publication of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York**, gets off to a good start in its first issue with a description of bills before the Governor for his signature. The list is divided into "bad bills," "Citizens Union bills," "other bills in line with C. U. Program." Members are urged to write the Governor regarding the legislation. The *News* also contains a report on bills supported by the union which made some progress. "The judgments in this report," says the *News*, "are based on the work of the Citizens Union Committee on Legislation, which has met regularly during the legislative sessions of the New York State legislature, passing on hundreds of measures." The union's secretary, George H. Hallett, Jr., was in Albany nearly every active day of the session.

The Lens, publication of the **Massachusetts Civic League**, lists bills on that organization's legislative program, asking members to get in touch with their state senators and representatives regarding them. The bills listed are graded: "Endorsed" means that the league is recorded at the public hearing or by letter to Senate and House chairmen of committee hearing the bill; "support" means that not only is the league recorded at the hearing but results of its research on bills are available to legislators and efforts are made to encourage the passage of the bill; "disapprove" indicates that the league is recorded against the bill at the public hearing or by letter; "oppose" indicates that results of research are used to discourage passage of bad bills and that intensive efforts are made to point out their dangers to legislators. Miss Katherine V. Lyford is the league's director of research.

Municipal Employee Contest Suggests Six Million Savings

Proposals for savings of more than six million dollars a year to New York City have been received in a contest among active and retired municipal employees for the best suggestions to eliminate unnecessary city expense. The **Good Government Civil Service Contest Committee,** sponsored by the **New York City Citizens Budget Commission,** has received a total of 312 economy proposals. Some of them are of such merit, announces the budget commission, that they have already been submitted to the city's budget director.

The contest committee will award fifteen prizes. First prize is a $200 United States E bond, with fourteen other prizes in bonds and cash. In addition to Major General Dennis E. Nolan, chairman of the committee, Peter Grimm, William Church Osborn and Harold Reigelman, all representing the Citizens Budget Commission, members of the committee include Charles Gilman, auditor of the Bureau of Finance of the Board of Education; Lewis F. Lang, first deputy comptroller of the city; James A. Sherry, chief clerk of the Park Department; Lester B. Stone, former assistant director of the budget; and Albert Williams, deputy police commissioner.

Conferences Seek Solution to Housing Problems

Representatives of veteran, labor, civic, welfare, religious, educational, minority, women's, youth-serving and men's service organizations attended the recent **Citizen-Government Conference on the Housing Emergency.** The conference was called by Administrator Wilson Wyatt of the National Housing agency to get the advice of citizen group delegates on housing policies and procedures and to discuss how their organizations could help in the emergency. The meeting was attended also by various representatives of governmental agencies interested in housing. Mr. Wyatt has announced that the suggestions made at the conference were so helpful, another, on new aspects of the program, is being arranged for the near future.

A **Housing in Rochester Conference,** sponsored by the Gannett Newspapers, was participated in by the Better Housing Association, whose president, Mrs. Leonard W. Jones, and chairman of research, Mrs. R. Holmes Bloomer, aided in organizing and planning the all-day meeting. Two recently organized committees, the Veterans Housing Committee and the Citizens Housing Committee, are urging the appointment of a Housing Authority or an official Citizens Committee. A Housing Authority—a committee to survey housing needs and plan solutions on a community-wide basis—must be authorized by the city council and the state legislature.

With the Women Voters

"The Institute on National Governmental Reorganization, held at the University of Minnesota Center for Continuation Study, was a success in every sense of that word," reports the *Minneapolis League-O-Gram,* published by that city's **League of Women Voters.** The institute, in which the League participated, was under the leadership of Professors William Anderson and Lloyd M. Short of the university. Reorganization problems of both the executive and legislative branches of the government were discussed by members of the university's faculty.

The **Tennessee League of Women Voters** is working actively to secure a new constitution for the state. It has prepared a pamphlet on the subject for general circularization.

The **Connecticut League of Women Voters** in *The Connecticut Voter* (Mrs. Alexander Marcus, editor) devotes the seventh article in its series on "Know Your State" to education.

The **Janesville, Wisconsin, League** has had a series of three meetings on "Know Your Town."

The **Madison, Wisconsin, League** has urged Mayor Kraege to appoint a committee to investigate racial discrimination.

The **Boston League of Women Voters** has issued two small folders on Plan E—an optional charter on the state's statute books providing the city manager plan and proportional representation for all cities of the state but Boston. A bill is before the legislature which would make the plan applicable to that city. Mrs. Thomas Mahony is president of the League.

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University Women Active

The March issue of the *General Director's Letter* (Dr. Kathryn McHale) of the **American Association of University Women** urges its members to inform themselves on the problem of modernizing Congress. Material on the subject has been mailed to members for study.

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First with Traffic Study

"First city in Michigan to have a complete new kind of traffic survey, Port Huron is also the first small city in the United States to employ the Metropolitan Area Traffic Study," boasts the **Port Huron Citizens' League**

(Miss Margaret Elliott, executive secretary) in *The Citizen.* The study covered the Port Huron-Marysville metropolitan area as a joint federal-state-local project.

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Young Voters

One of the most important of the 1946 objectives of the **Hamilton County** (Cincinnati) **Good Government League** will be the development of a Young Voters' group for which a committee is making initial plans. An invitation will be extended to voters in their twenties. The league's annual report, submitted at its eleventh annual meeting by Mrs. Mark C. Feder, secretary, is published in the league's bulletin, *Good Government.* League committee reports on the city, county, courts and law, civil service, legislation and schools are included.

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In-service Training

The **Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois**, in cooperation with the **Chicago Woman's City Club**, held a meeting at which Miss Alice E. Kennedy, supervisor of recruitment and training for the Illinois Civil Service Commission, spoke. Miss Kennedy described the in-service training opportunities which the commission offers in cooperation with the University of Illinois, through which 671 state employees were aided last year.

The training program is offering opportunities for veterans with the state to continue their education while they work. An interesting new plan for in-service training for veterans has been worked out between the Civil Service Commission and the Illinois Veterans' Commission.

A serious blow to the merit system in Illinois was struck by the General Assembly, warned Miss Kennedy, when it took the power of classification from the Civil Service Commission and gave it to the Governor. Already the number of classifications has increased from 500-odd, set up by the new classification plan in 1943, to about 635.

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Ten Years of Social Security

The *Montana Taxpayer*, organ of the **Montana Taxpayers' Association,** published statistics on social security, pointing to a total expenditure by the state over the past ten years of about $95,000,000 for all purposes. Charts demonstrate trends in expenditures for age-old assistance and aid to dependent children. Fred Bennion is executive secretary of the association.

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Their Good Deed

Boy Scouts in Beloit, Wisconsin, have distributed to every home in the city copies of *The Municipal Reporter*, an eight-page broadside published annually as the city's report on the work of city departments, their accomplishments and their plans for the future.

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Political Procrastination

"Procrastination is the thief of time," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in *Civic Affairs*, proving its point by listing some of the projects which the city should long ago have completed but which have hung fire for many years. For instance, a sewerage treatment and disposal system was demanded as far back as 1905 by the State Department of Health. But in the past 41 years, despite demands from the state, the program is far from finished. "Had the city fulfilled its agreement and completed this project on a pay-as-you-go basis before the last two world wars," says *Civic Affairs*, "taxpayers would have been saved many millions of dollars and we would not by now be dumping over 80 per cent of our raw sewerage into the sources of our drinking water—or floating a *$42,000,000 loan with which to build these projects that should have been completed many years ago.*"

Another instance of procrastination is in connection with voting machines. In 1929, by a vote of four to one, the people of Philadelphia authorized the county commissioners to install voting machines in every district, this to be done not later than 1930. Seventeen years have passed and still one third of the voters are using the old-fashioned paper ballots, with all the extra cost and possibility of manipulation they entail.

The committee, of which Harry K. Butcher is secretary, lists branch tax offices, the Philadelphia General Hospital, antiquated police and fire departments as other victims of the policy of procrastination. "Constantly, through the years, the Committee of Seventy has fought militantly against procrastination by our political leaders and municipal authorities . . . The committee can show a record of many accomplishments . . . But to achieve greater effectiveness, to accomplish still more, the Committee of Seventy must have the active support of the voters of Philadelphia."

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Regional Planning

The **Toledo Regional Planning Association**—"a citizens organization dedicated to achieving a better community through long range planning"—held its second annual meeting in March. Harland Bartholomew, well known planning consultant, addressed the association on "Rebuilding Our American Cities." The meeting elected officers for the new year, including a board of directors representative of labor, business, religious and civic groups. Mrs. Nelson Morris is secretary of the association.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Used for Palestine Elections

Massachusetts Keeps Plan E Chicago University Councils

WE learn through the British P. R. Society that a party list system of P. R. is in use for the elected Assembly of Palestinian Jews, with the whole country as a single election area, and also for local Jewish communities in Palestine. Possible changes in the method are being considered, including the Hare system or single transferable vote form of P. R. used almost exclusively in English-speaking P. R. communities. Conservative elements are recommending single-member districts, without minority representation.

In connection with the work of the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry the extension of P. R. in improved form to elections for all of Palestine, with both Jews and Arabs participating, has been proposed from several quarters. A memorandum prepared by the British P. R. Society presents the case in some detail and points out that even if the country were partitioned into Jewish and Arab spheres there would be large minorities in each which should be given the protection of representation.

Wilson M. Southam, editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, on October 13 last sent the following cable to the *London Times*, with copies to Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin of Great Britain and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes of the United States:

"Your special correspondent on 4 October quotes the Palestine Royal

Commission's report as favoring partition for offering the best possibility for permanent peace between the Arabs and the Jews. This naturally and usually means a geographical one. Mr. Atiyah of the Arab office rejects such partition.

"Professor Judah Magnes, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, believes a guarantee of parity of population and agreed cooperation between Arabs and Jews would bring peace.

P. R. the Way Out

"I suggest for the consideration of the harassed British Government, the Arab office and the Jewish Agency for Palestine that the best way out for both races and for permanent peace would be an electoral partition not a geographic one. All Palestine could be divided into large multi-member electoral districts. If elections for civic, provincial and national legislative bodies were then held on the modern, just, fair to all, Hare proportional representation system, which brought peace to Eire since 1922, each race would elect its quota of representatives in due proportion to its numerical voting strength. The majority would rule but the minority would be represented. As Professor Coupland of All Souls College so discerningly said, 'What minorities need is not so much protection against the abuse of power as participation in its exercise.' This electoral system will guarantee the minorities' participation in political government. This would give the Jews 'a homeland' to which they have a right to return as claimed by Mr. Zaslani of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"Such an electoral partition would make practical the bipartisan resolution of the United States Congress as proposed on December 11 that Palestine 'ultimately be established as a free and independent democratic state with full citizenship rights for its inhabitants without discrimination based on racial or religious factors.'"

Greece Voted by P. R.

We learn from the Greek Government Office of Information that the Greek national elections of March 31 were conducted by a party list system of proportional representation similar to that used in some of the country's elections before the war.

P. R.–Manager Repealer Killed in Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Senate has defeated another attempt to repeal "Plan E," the combination of P. R. and the city manager plan used in Cambridge and Lowell and available by petition and popular vote to all other cities in the state except Boston. It did so by accepting, by a standing vote of ten to six, an adverse committee report on a proposal by Edna Lawrence Spencer of Cambridge to remove the law from the statute books.

The Plan E law was defended by Senators Edward M. Rowe of Cambridge and Joseph F. Montminy of Lowell, both Republicans, who praised its operation in their cities. To a charge that P. R. is "Communistic," Senator Sumner D. Whittier, Republican, of Everett, chairman of the Election Laws Committee, replied that "if Communists are interested in this, they are not getting elected in Cambridge."

The Senate without debate killed other measures by Mrs. Spencer which would have:

1. Provided for a referendum on the repeal of P. R. in Cambridge next fall;
2. Decreased the number of petitioners required to secure a vote on repeal in any Plan E city;
3. Raised the pay of city councillors in Plan E cities.

P. R. in University of Chicago Constitution

In a report of September 25, 1945, on *The State of the University*, President Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, gives the following account of the university's new constitution, which makes a double use of P. R. for the selection of faculty agencies with important educational powers:

"In my last report I referred to the fact that the question of relations among the administration, faculty and trustees was being considered by the Committee on Instruction and Research of the Board of Trustees with the advice of an elected committee of the University Senate. The Committee on Instruction and Research recommended and the Board of Trustees adopted, on the basis of a statesmanlike report written by Laird Bell, the chairman of the committee, a constitution for the university which gives promise of being a major contribution to the management of large universities. It seems certain to make the University of Chicago more democratic and more efficient.

Council Elected by P. R.

"The University Senate was formerly limited to full professors. It now includes, in addition, the associate professors and those assistant professors who have been members of the faculty for three years. The legislative powers of the old Senate are transferred to a Council composed of 51 members elected from the Senate for three-year terms by the Hare system of proportional representation together with five ex officio members from the central administration. The Council meets once a month.

"The Council elects, by the Hare system, a committee of seven with the chancellor and the president as ex officio but non-voting members. This committee is chosen annually. It meets every two weeks with the chancellor and the president and is to report to the Council its opinion on all matters coming before the Council.

"Actions of the Council may be vetoed by the chancellor; proposals of the chancellor may be disapproved by the Council. In these cases the Council or the chancellor may appeal to the Board of Trustees for a final decision.

"Although the statutes did not require it, the practice of the administration had been to make appointments to the faculty only with the approval of the department concerned. The new constitution gives the chancellor the privilege of recommending appointments to the board after consulting the department involved, even though the department does not approve.

More Democratic Setup

"The effect of the new constitution is to give the supreme academic body, the Council, a very democratic base, but to make it, at the same time, small enough to be efficient. The executive veto power enables the board to prevent divagations from established or desirable university policy; the Council's power of disapproving proposals of the executive is a safeguard against autocracy. The change in the practice in regard to appointments makes it possible to improve a department which does not want to be improved.

"The constitution places responsibilities on the Board of Trustees which it has not been willing to assume in the past. The board may now be called on to decide purely educational questions, including the question whether a proposed appointee has the academic qualifications demanded of a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. In the past such issues have, in effect, been decided by the faculty, since the executive has had no veto power and has not made faculty appointments without faculty consent.

"Some dangers undoubtedly lurk in a plan which may require a lay group to decide educational questions. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that the greatest danger in American universities is that which comes from the inertia of academic vested interests —a danger far greater in endowed universities than the danger of ill-considered action by a disinterested group of laymen. In our own case the board has a long tradition of self-restraint in academic matters, which means that it will decide only those educational questions which cannot be amicably settled by the faculty and the administration. The number of those questions should be small; for the communication between the faculty and the administration is greatly improved by having a small Council representing the faculty and a small committee representing the Council meet frequently with the principal officers of the university."

P. R. in a Judicial Selection Poll

In November the White Plains Lawyers Club conducted by P. R. a poll of the lawyers practicing in Westchester County, New York, to select three candidates to recommend to Governor Thomas E. Dewey for appointment to fill a vacancy in the office of county judge. The number of ballots received was 304. They were canvassed in less than two hours according to rules supplied by the National Municipal League. The results were made known to the Republican Executive Committee of the county, which met later the same day, and that committee recommended one of the three selected in the poll, Elbert T. Gallagher. The Governor followed the recommendation and appointed Mr. Gallagher to fill out the unexpired term.

P. R. Urged by a Maryland Democrat

The following account is taken from the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of February 23:

"Adoption of proportional representation in Maryland so that Baltimore and the state could benefit from the presence of 'a respectable threatening minority at Annapolis' was demanded today by a majority member of the House of Delegates, Leon A. Rubenstein, Democrat of the fourth district.

"He attributed 'inadequacies of legislative action' both in Annapolis and in the City Council to the absence of sufficient minority party representation. He pointed out that although Republicans in Baltimore account for 37 per cent of registration, they have not been able to elect one member to the Maryland legislature or the City Council.

"Mr. Rubenstein also declared that the colored people furnished 20 per cent of the city population, but they had not been able to elect a member to the City Council since 1927 and had never elected a delegate to the legislature.

"'To cure the situation, it would perhaps be too much to ask a registered Democrat, whose father before him was a Democrat, to scratch the ticket and vote for a Republican,' Mr. Rubenstein said.

"'A like solution, however, could be found in amending our election laws so that candidates for office shall hereafter be elected by proportionate representation. This method of election, now in effect in New York City, assures to minority parties the opportunity of electing to office the reasonable proportion that their vote bears to the total vote cast. This method of election is the essence of democratic principle.'

"(For example, the Republicans, furnishing 37 per cent of the total vote, would have 37 per cent of the elected representatives.)

"At Annapolis, the Republicans now occupy 22 of the 123 seats in the House and nine of the 29 seats in the Senate. If there were a 'respectable threatening minority,' Mr. Rubenstein declared, the Baltimore city delegates would find many opportunities to effect agreements that would assure Baltimore 'some semblance of fair play in legislative cake-cutting.' "

New South Wales Union Petitions for P. R.

In October 1945 the New South Wales branch of the Australian Tramways and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association, which has used P. R. for its own elections for many years, petitioned the provincial Legislative Assembly that P. R. be prescribed for the election of local aldermen throughout the province. The petition cited examples of elections of aldermen by minorities at the expense of divided majorities and said that the union had found the P. R. system "simple, just, effective."

The only plan of P. R. now used or seriously considered in Australia is the Hare system or single transferable vote. One small city in New South Wales—Armidale—has had the system in use for some years, and it is also used in the indirect elections of the province's upper house and, continuously since 1907, in electing the single-house legislature of Tasmania.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Planning Progresses

New State Laws Authorize Formation of Local Boards

IN ITS report on planning activities in 1945 the American Society of Planning Officials concludes that the counties of California probably possess the best record of consistent achievement in planning for the past several years. Southern counties have been especially active in planning public works programs. New 1945 state legislation in planning includes a Colorado statute authorizing county boards to adopt building codes in unincorporated areas, a Michigan statute authorizing the establishment of county planning commissions, a similar statute in North Carolina but specifically including joint county-city planning agencies, and a special Minnesota statute applicable only to Ramsey County outside the limits of St. Paul.

Specific county planning achievements that are commended in the report include the airport survey conducted by the Dade County, Florida, Coordinating and Planning Commission, the adult education program in planning sponsored by the Story County, Iowa, unofficial postwar planning council in which sixteen organizations participated, and the report on needs for local markets issued by the Westchester County, New York, Planning Board. Identified as the newest county planning board is that established recently by Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio.

Permanent Registration in Knox County

Knox County (Knoxville), Tennessee, now is operating under its system of permanent registration authorized by a private act of the 1945 legislature. From August to November 1, 1945, nearly 50,000 voters registered under the new plan. Originally there had been some delays because of litigation, but when the questions in dispute were settled, the act was put into effect as planned.

The act provides that registration of voters shall be continuous and permanent, with reregistration necessary only when the voter moves, changes his name, loses his right to vote through court action, or fails to vote in statewide elections during four successive years. Reregistration in a different precinct requires official certification that the former registration has been canceled.

Minnesota Highway Department Creates County Division

Under authorization of the 1945 legislature, the Minnesota Department of Highways, on August 16, 1945, established a Division of Counties to act as a liaison office on highway matters between the county engineers and the various state and federal offices. One of its first tasks has been that of processing the secondary road improvement applications submitted by 82 of Minnesota's 87 counties. Approximately half these counties had had no previous experience in handling federal-aid construction projects.

Other tasks have included redefinition of the county engineers' civil service status, standardization of bridge plans, assisting the first annual meeting of the Minnesota County Highway Engineers' Institute, and installation of new accounting systems in various county engineers' offices. The accounting systems installed were based on a model plan developed jointly by the Highway Department and the Association of County Highway Engineers.

Fiscal Year of Missouri Counties Adjudicated

Henry Rolfes, Jr., of the Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph, reports that among the problems raised by the adoption of Missouri's new constitution was that of whether the provision declaring that the fiscal year of "the state and all of its agencies" begins on July first was intended to apply to counties as well as to administrative agencies of the state. Some of the state's leading jurists, in lengthy informal opinions, have quoted judicial decisions in which counties were identified as "agencies" of the state. On the other hand, the state legislature enacted a statute recently specifying the calendar year as the fiscal year for counties, upon the assumption that the provision above was not applicable.

Because of the monetary problems arising from the uncertainties of this situation, a test case was submitted to the State Supreme Court late in February 1946. The court ruled that "agencies" referred only to administrative agencies of the state government as distinguished from political subdivisions. It pointed out that this distinction was maintained throughout the constitution. In answer to the objection that differences in fiscal years between the state and its counties would result in confusion, the court replied that the remedy lay within the jurisdiction of the state legislature.

Georgia County Considers City-County Consolidation

Although Bibb County and Macon, Georgia, already have far more integrated governmental functions than other counties of the state, the grand jury recently recommended complete consolidation of the two units in the interests of "efficiency and economy." Both the County Commission and the City Council authorized their officials to investigate the proposal. These selected officials, in cooperation with officials of the Macon Chamber of Commerce, are at present engaged in a study of the benefits and objections to the plan as applied to their city and county.

The city and the county already have achieved marked success in functional consolidation in the fields of public education and public health.

Missouri Counties Progress Toward Home Rule

Three Missouri counties report continuing progress in their efforts to secure home rule charters. The St. Louis County Court has called a meeting of representative citizens to discuss procedures for obtaining a charter. Buchanan County (St. Joseph) has virtually completed its task of circulating petitions for the appointment of a bipartisan committee to draft a new charter. Petitions for a similar objective are being circulated in Jackson County (Kansas City).

Minnesota Safety Council Makes Awards to Counties

In addition to the traffic safety campaign for municipalities, the Minnesota Safety Council in 1945 organized a similar program for counties. Awards were based partly on traffic accident statistics for 1945 and partly on the record of civic groups participating in promotion of traffic safety activities.

Counties which won the 1945 plaques and certificates in their respective population classes were St. Louis, Becker, Douglas, Nicollet, Houston and Grant.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Los Angeles Considers Sales Tax

Cigarette Tax, Business Licenses Also Proposed

A PROPOSED finance program designed to add $12,600,000 in new revenue annually is under consideration by Los Angeles. The mainstay of the program, for which the City Council has directed that ordinances be drafted, is a municipal sales and use tax of one-half of one per cent, estimated to produce $7,000,000 annually.

Estimated to produce $4,000,000 annually is a cigarette tax of two cents per pack, while licensing of about 50 trades and professions not previously licensed is estimated to add about $1,000,000 per year. The occupation tax would be based on gross compensation, and would amount to $12 per year on compensation up to $12,000 and $1 per $1,000 on amounts in excess of that figure. An additional $600,000 is anticipated annually from revisions in the present business license tax by the establishment of minimum fees for wholesalers and the discontinuance of the present practice of graduating the fee.

The $7,000,000 of new revenues, if enacted, will just about double Los Angeles' locally-collected miscellaneous revenue receipts. For 1944-45, according to the annual report of Controller Dan Hoye, the city's revenues from all sources were just short of $51,000,000, this figure excluding receipts of such proprietary enterprises as the water, light and power and the harbor departments. Of the total, only a little over $7,000,000 was locally-collected revenue other than property taxes and assessments, and the locally-collected miscellaneous total included just under $5,000,000 of licenses, permits, and fees and one and one-third million of franchise income.

There are already two cities in California which impose sales taxes, Santa Barbara, which adopted a one per cent tax early in 1945, and San Bernardino, which in the fall of 1944 enacted for one year a one per cent tax with proceeds to be used for postwar improvements.

Toledo Voters Approve Payroll Tax

According to press reports, Toledo voters approved at an election April 11 the imposition of a municipal payroll tax to raise city revenues to more adequate levels.[1] The one per cent levy is reported to have received a vote of 37,985 to 32,682.

New York Tax Program Curtailed

The O'Dwyer-Moses tax program for balancing New York City's budget, discussed here last month, received rough handling from the state and as finally enacted consisted of four bills covering as many revenues. The estimated yield is $69,000,000.

Enacted were bills doubling the present one per cent city sales and use tax, estimated to yield an additional $40,000,000 per year; doubling existing gross receipts and business taxes, estimated to add $12,000,000; imposing a 5 per cent tax on hotel room charges to transients, estimated to produce $7,000,000 annually; and a bill imposing a 5 per cent tax on pari-mutuel betting at city race tracks and giving 75 per cent of the yield from the Belmont track to Nassau County. The race-track levy is estimated to raise $10,000,000.

The four bills, which were signed by Governor Dewey on April 2, impose the levies for three years. Two days earlier the Governor had signed eight bills effectuating the Moore Commission plan for state grants to the cities and counties.[1] As had been expected, New York City's pleas for a larger share in the state allocations were ignored and the Moore program was enacted as recommended by the commission.

Senate Vitalizes Housing Bill

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee on April 4 restored to the Patman bill most of the incentives eliminated last month by the House. The $600,000,000 subsidy program to break construction bottlenecks was reinserted in the bill, but with what are described as safeguards to prevent use of the fund for benefit of speculators in building materials. Price ceilings on new and existing houses and on vacant land were also restored. The act was extended to December 31, 1947, the date urged by Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt, instead of June 30, 1947, set by the House.

The next day, the same committee approved the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill to encourage private building through facilities for federal loans and credit and by establishing guarantees by the FHA to investors in large projects. Slum clearance, urban rehabilitation and private and public housing are all within the scope of the bill. Contemplated are 1,000,000 dwelling units annually for ten years, in addition to the 2,700,000 units in two years at which the revitalized Patman bill aims.

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[1] See "Toledo Adopts Payroll Tax," the REVIEW, March 1946, page 108.

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 147.

Philadelphia Seeks Borrowing Authority

One of the largest improvement programs to be submitted to the voters at one time in recent years will be passed upon by Philadelphia electors on May 21, when four separate loan proposals aggregating $78,200,000 are submitted.

Of the total, $34,000,000 will be for sewer improvements and a sewage treatment plant. It will be repaid from sewer rents which were imposed earlier this year. The bonds will be of the serial-annuity type, designed to retire the debt over a 40-year period with approximately equal annual payment for principal and interest combined.

The other three proposals are a $25,000,000 multiple-purpose loan, including $8,000,000 for extension of the Market Street subway, $5,000,000 for hospitals and health centers, $4,300,000 for street alterations in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and lesser amounts for other purposes; a $10,000,000 airport loan; and a $9,200,000 multiple-purpose loan which includes $5,000,000 for streets and bridges.

Supreme Court Upholds Tax on U. S. Realty Sold on Time Basis

In a recent decision confirming the right of Ramsey County, Minnesota, to tax federal property sold to private interests on an installment basis, the United States Supreme Court has opened the way in many states for legislative action placing such property on the tax rolls.

The decision will permit state and local governments to tax properties hereafter sold by the federal government to private owners on a time-payment basis. The decision permits taxation of such real estate as soon as the land contract has been signed, rather than being deferred until the final payment has been made and the title given to the new owners.

Ramsey County revenues will be increased more than $100,000 by the decision. The sum includes assessments covering the time elapsed since the property—an old post office—was sold into private ownership in 1939. At that time the county assessed the premises at full value, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers. Litigation began when the new owners claimed that since title to the property was still held by the federal government, they were immune to taxation.

The county took its case against the purchasers to the State Supreme Court in 1942 after losing in the district court. The higher tribunal ruled in favor of the county, to the effect that since the new owner "is in complete possession and is enjoying full use of the property as a commercial enterprise in competition with other like real estate in St. Paul, . . . it would seem that this property should bear its just proportion of the public tax burden." The U. S. Supreme Court has upheld this judgment.

Georgia Court Harmonizes New Constitution and Old Law

Georgia's new constitution, enacted last year, does not invalidate existing statutes providing for the authorization and issuance of local bonds, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled early in April. In a test case the authority of Decatur to issue $600,000 improvement bonds voted under the old law was upheld.[1]

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[1] See also the REVIEW, November 1945, page 522.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Sweden Plans Changes in Municipal Government

Considers Larger Local Units and Central - Local Relations

A TREND toward larger local units of government and a readjustment of relations between central and local governments are two recent developments in local government in Sweden.[1]

It is expected that during the current session of Parliament important changes will be made in Sweden's division into local government units. In the "Speech from the Throne" (the cabinet's speech) on January 10 the King said in part: "In order to establish municipal units with greater financial strength and larger tax bases, especially for social welfare measures and education, a bill regarding new principles for the country's division into local units of government will be presented."

The need for such a reform has long been obvious. At present there are in Sweden over 100 cities, approximately 2,400 parishes or townships, 24 counties or *Län*, and the capital, Stockholm, and five other cities which constitute separate city-counties. Many of the present parishes or townships are so weak financially they are hardly able to discharge their duties.

Variations in municipal taxes are considerable and reflect the wide diversity in area, resources and population of even neighboring units of government. A certain limit has been set for local taxes, however, and parishes and townships which need more funds receive grants from taxes administered by the central government. As was pointed out in this column last month, however, this involves the question of more central control.

Local-Central Relations

As is the case in so many countries—England, certain Canadian provinces and New Zealand, for example—the question of local government boundaries is inextricably bound up with the recent growth in government functions. This has resulted in more local and more central government activities at the same time. As indicated by the King's speech, local social welfare and education expenditures are increasing as the services are expanded. Three solutions are possible: more adequate local units of government, larger central government grants and more centralization. Sweden is combining all three in trying to solve the problem.

Certain examples of centralization may be given. The grammar schools in Sweden have always been under local government control. The national government has made certain appropriations for these schools and naturally also exercised some control and supervision, but local authorities have enjoyed considerable freedom. Recently the central government has increased appropriations considerably, and at the same time it has begun to supervise grammar schools in detail. Local school authorities have resented central supervision strongly.

In 1944 all highways were "nationalized," and the 170 local highway boards disappeared. Everything that has to do with the construction and repair of highways is now in the hands of central authorities. When this sweeping decision was made much was said about the values of local self-government, but there was no widespread opposition to the change since it seemed rather obvious that central administration of highways would mean more economy and effectiveness. Advisory boards on which local interests are represented, are now attached to the central administration.

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[1] Information for this article has been furnished by Allan Kastrup of the American-Swedish News Exchange.

Forestry is a field where a tug-of-war between local self-government and a centralized administration is still going on. Sweden has 25 independent forestry boards, one for each county. Financially they are self-supporting. In 1941 a new central agency was established, the State Forestry Board, which was intended to function as a coordinator for the county boards. Gradually the new state board has accumulated more and more power over county boards; it is feared the trend may continue.

Some time ago a committee presented a proposal that the whole police system be taken over by the national government in 1948, with the country divided into 31 police districts. Up to now, however, the government has not submitted any bill to the Riksdag on the matter.

Criticism of Trend

In a recent editorial entitled "The Crisis in Local Self-Government," *Svenska Dagbladet*, the leading Conservative newspaper, commented upon the trend toward centralization. The various municipal units obviously have been too weak, it believes. They were able to discharge their duties so long as these were not particularly complicated; but the tasks have increased, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The small municipalities have simply not been able to keep the pace. Attempts at voluntary cooperation between municipalities have been made, but the problems have not been solved. Weighed down by new burdens put upon them by the central government, the municipalities have not been able to remain independent of central grants. This has been the principal wedge for enlarged central control.

Svenska Dagbladet believes that the problem cannot be solved by a mere technical change in municipal boundaries. In its opinion, the present leaders of the Social-Democratic Labor party seem to be convinced of the advantages of centralization. One reason it suggests for this is that the leaders have not been trained in municipal work.

There is undoubtedly a trend toward centralization in several fields at the present time. Yet it should not be concluded that local self-government is doomed. Local self-government has a long tradition and deep roots in Sweden. The rule over local affairs by the people themselves dates, in fact, from before the Christian era, while in their present form, the most important municipal laws were passed in 1862.

Local government will continue to play an important role, although under new conditions. It is steadily administering more and more functions despite centralization of some activities. What is happening is essentially a readjustment of powers and responsibilities to twentieth century conditions.

Western Australia Considers Local Government Changes

The Municipal Corporations Act amendment bill before the Western Australian Parliament proposes drastic alterations in that state's local government law, including the abolition of plural voting for municipal elections.[1]

It proposes to allow municipalities to build houses for rental or for sale, and to authorize the minister to order municipal councils to permit construction of wooden buildings in particular areas, notwithstanding any restrictions which the council may have imposed to the contrary. Authority is given to councils to provide for kindergartens and health centers, set up retirement systems and provide airports. The council may be called upon to subscribe on a dollar for dollar basis towards improving school grounds.

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[1] See *Australian Municipal Journal*, December 20, 1945.

Another provision is that it is illegal for councils to hold meetings before 7 P.M. The Perth City Council is the only one that at present holds its meetings in the day time, and consequently the only council that would be affected by this clause.

A rather unusual provision is one that would prevent councils from charging interest on overdue property taxes. Another, asked for by the Local Government Association, would provide for uniform by-laws to be prescribed by the governor.

It is proposed that the term of office for mayors should be extended from one to two years. In Western Australia it is the custom for the mayor of a municipality to be elected each year by the voters. The Perth City Council, however, has asked that the Municipal Corporations Act be amended so that the mayor of Perth be appointed by the City Council. The Council felt that a mayor's administrative ability could be more adequately determined by the Council.

Bombay Holds District Conferences

Two important conferences of members of some of the local governing bodies in India were held late in 1945.[1] In December a conference of some one hundred local governing body members of the suburban district of Bombay was held. Among the resolutions passed was one criticizing the government for not annexing more of the suburban district to Greater Bombay, since the area not included in such annexation is "economically, socially, industrially, commercially and educationally" united with the metropolitan area. It further recommended that a "comprehensive scheme for the administration of Greater Bombay should be formulated and introduced at a very early date."

In October a conference of district local boards and school boards stressed the need for free, universal and compulsory education in Bombay province. Likewise, concern was expressed over the poor financial condition of localities. It made two recommendations to alleviate this situation. First, the provincial government should bear the entire costs of fighting epidemics; second, local boards should be allotted resources sufficient to meet the necessary and growing wants of the public.

* * *

Local Canadian Problems

The British Columbia government has appointed a commission to inquire into provincial-municipal relations . . . Ontario municipalities held elections last New Year's Day which were marked principally by a very small vote. In view of the failure of "get out the vote" campaigns, the *Municipal Review of Canada* asks whether compulsory voting may not be necessary.

* * *

Scandinavian Cooperation

Inter-Scandinavian cooperation has again become important in the local government field. In the middle of February a Scandinavian municipal conference opened in Stockholm at which Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Norway had delegations. Iceland was not represented because the weather prevented its delegates from flying.

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[1] See *Quarterly Journal* of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay, October 1945.

Books in Review

Where Cities Get Their Money. By A. M. Hillhouse and Muriel Magelssen. Foreword by Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. iv, 229 pp. $5.

It should not be difficult for this little volume to attain the position of 1946's best seller in the field of local government writing. *Where Cities Get Their Money* is primarily a manual for finance officers and city legislators looking for ways to increase existing revenues and for new revenue sources. As such it is jam-packed with virtually every one of the practical details such officials will need to know in adopting, modifying or rejecting numerous taxes, licenses and charges imposed by and accruing to other United States and Canadian municipalities. It is, however, much more than a "how-to-do-it" handbook, for it provides a wealth of information both on revenue sources as such and on the experience of individual cities, and students of local finance, local research bureaus and citizen groups will all find it informative and valuable as a reference work.

Despite the complexity of the subject, the plan of the volume is simple. After an introductory chapter posing the present problem of the cities anent additional revenues and analyzing in broad terms the relative importance of various revenues in a representative batch of municipalities, eight chapters are devoted to a discussion of as many groups of revenues. These are amusement taxes, licenses, consumption taxes and revenues, motorists' taxes, other locally administered taxes, revenues from public utilities, special charges, and miscellaneous local revenue sources. A tenth chapter discusses shared taxes and grants-in-aid, while chapter eleven provides a general discussion of administrative problems. A final chapter, under the title "Some Special Considerations," constitutes a wholesome peroration where the authors wisely seek to prevent the misapplication of the information presented in the remainder of the volume. There follows a bibliography of a little over ten pages and a topical index.

The work includes all pertinent details on virtually every municipal revenue source in use in the United States and Canada today, save on the ad valorem property tax (and to this extent the title is a misnomer.) The case method is used throughout, in general the method being to show for a particular revenue the yields to a representative group of cities, then to examine in detail the setup in a representative city and in cities differing significantly from the generality, and finally to present in tabular form key factors for a fairly large group of cities using the revenue. There are in all 59 tables as well as a number of text tabulations not numbered.

A tremendous amount of work and thought has gone into the volume, in which the authors were joined by other members of the MFOA research staff and Mr. Chatters. The result is so excellent as to content that criticism of format may be carping, but there are two criticisms of which users of this book will soon become aware. It is paper bound, and if it proves anywhere as useful as seems likely the volume is going to get pretty battered. Further, while the subject index is excellent, so far as it goes, it is not sufficiently comprehensive for a volume of this scope. An index of the cities referred to in the several sections and tables would greatly aid the user, and the indexing of sources etc.

would not have been amiss. The text itelf is of course voluminously full of citations.

W. S. S.

New Horizons in Public Administration. A Symposium. University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1945. 145 pp.

This volume contains the six papers presented by persons well known in the field of public administration who lectured before student-faculty groups in connection with the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration conducted by the Universities of Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee in conjunction with the Tennessee Valley Authority. Participants and subjects included Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, who spoke on "Legislative Responsibility for the Public Service"; Marshall E. Dimock, Northwestern University, "Administrative Efficiency Within a Democratic Polity"; Donald C. Stone, Bureau of the Budget, "Notes on the Government Executive: His Role and His Methods"; Gordon R. Clapp, general manager of Tennessee Valley Authority, "The Administrative Resources of a Region: The Example of the Tennessee Valley"; Lieutenant Colonel John D. Millett, Headquarters Army Service Forces, "Field Organization and Staff Supervision"; and Arthur W. Macmahon, Columbia University, "Function and Area in the Administration of International Affairs." The foreword was prepared by Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. The book is the first publication of the University of Alabama Press.

American State Government and Administration (Third Edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1945. xiv, 655 pp. $3.75.

The third edition of Professor Macdonald's authoritative text book will be welcomed by students of American state government. Taking note of the fast-moving governmental picture, the author has modified many sections substantially, for example, those dealing with absent voting, federal aid for highways, conservation of oil and gas, water power, utility regulation, labor and wages. Noted are the growing relationships between federal, state and local governments. New chapters on indebtedness and direct legislation and the recall have been added.

State Veterans' Programs (Revised Edition). Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1945. 54 pp. $1.

This publication, according to its foreword, summarizes legislation enacted during 1945 by the states to provide benefits for returning service men and women, with particular reference to laws setting up state departments of veterans' affairs. It includes a brief summary of similar legislation enacted prior to 1945. The report supplements earlier summarizations on veteran legislation and makes no attempt to outline the complete program of the states.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Annexation

Annexation Study—Dayton Metropolitan Area. Prepared by the Dayton City Plan Board. Dayton, Ohio, City Commission, 1946. 97 pp.

Aviation

Prospects and Problems in Aviation. A Series of Papers Presented at the Chicago Forum on Aviation Which Was Organized and Directed by Leverett S. Lyon and Lewis C. Sorrell. Chicago, Association of Commerce, 1945. v, 212 pp.

Small Airports. Prepared by Civil Aeronautics Administration. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 30 pp. 10 cents.

Wings Over America. The Future of Air Power. By John Stuart. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Blighted Areas

Redevelopment of Blighted Residential Areas in Baltimore. Conditions of Blight, Some Remedies and Their Relative Costs. Baltimore 2, Commission on City Plan, 1945. 102 pp. Maps, charts. $2.50.

Civil Service

Key to Municipal Civil Service in Portland, Oregon. Portland, Civil Service Board, 1946. 32 pp.

Debt

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1945 (Final). By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1946. 12 pp.

Management of the Public Debt. New York, New York University, Institute of International Finance, 1946. 18 pp.

Housing

Housing and Zoning. Third and Fourth of a Series of Reports. East Orange, New Jersey, City Planning Board, 1945. 41 pp.

Remodeling and Modernization of Urban Dwellings 1942-1946. A Selected List of Periodical References. By Ruth L. Mushabac. Washington, D. C., Federal Housing Administration Library. 1946. 12 pp.

International Affairs

International Economic Collaboration. Role of the Economic and Social Council in the United Nations Organization. A Report by the NPA Committee on International Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. 26 pp. 25 cents.

Juvenile Delinquency

Next Steps in Dealing with Delinquency. By Philip Klein. Foreword by Judge Anna M. Kross. New York, Columbia University, The New York School of Social Work, 1945. 41 pp.

A Study of Services for Children in Dallas County, Texas, With Particular Reference to the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1945. xi, 178 pp. $1.

Management

Top Management Policies and Philosophy. New York 18, American Management Association, 1945. 35 pp.

Municipalities

Digest of 1946 Special Session Legislation Affecting Cities. By Richard Carpenter. Sacramento, League of California Cities, 1946. 11 pp.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters. Their Use for Traffic Control and Revenue. By Harrison Hemenway. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. 8 pp 35 cents.

Planning

Democratic Planning in Action. Time for Timing. By Hans Christian Sonne. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. 26 pp.

A Practicable City Planning Bibliography. By Harold W. Lautner. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1946. 8 pp.

Redevelopment of Residential Areas in Hartford, Connecticut. A Report to the Common Council of Hartford from the Commission on the City Plan. Hartford, Connecticut, The Commission, 1945. Variously paged. Maps, charts.

Six-Year Plan of Public Improvements for the City of Waterbury, Connecticut. Waterbury, City Plan Commission, 1945. 41 pp. Illus.

Public Health

Devices for Reducing Health Department Records and Reports. By Joseph W. Mountin and Evelyn Flook. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 67 pp.

Public Safety

One Out of Seven.—A Report on the Nation-wide Brake Emphasis Program and an Estimate of Today's Traffic Safety Problem. **The Police Traffic Safety Check.** Washington 4, D. C., International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1946. 24 pp. and 16 pp. respectively.

The Public's Attitude on Traffic Safety. A Public Opinion Survey for the National Committee for Traffic Safety. Princeton, New Jersey, Opinion Research Corporation, 1946. 81 pp.

Racial Discrimination

Controlling Group Prejudice. Edited by Gordon W. Allport. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1946. 240 pp. $2.

Taxation and Finance

Actual Revenue Sources of Local Governments. A summary of *Where Cities Get Their Money* by Hillhouse and Magelssen. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. 8 pp. 50 cents.

The Capital Levy. By Shun-hsin Chou. Introduction by Robert Murray Haig. New York City, King's Crown Press, 1945. x, 142 pp. $2.25.

First Report of the Commission on State Tax Policy. Trenton, New Jersey, The Commission, 1946. xx, 53 pp.

Significant Trends in State Revenues. New York, The Tax Foundation, 1946. 14 pp.

State Tax Collections in 1944. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1946. 46 pp.

Tax Hungry Cities. Total Tax Collections in 1945. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, February and March 1946. 12 and 8 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

Transportation

Public vs. Private Financing of Transportation. Proceedings of a Round-Table Conference held in connection with the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board, May 17, 1945. New York, The National Industrial Conference Board, 1945. 16 pp.

Report of Committee on Transit Operations. New Haven 11, Connecticut, Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1945. 7 pp.

A Report on Railroad Terminal Facilities in the Louisville Area. By J. B. Sullivan. Louisville, Kentucky, Louisville Area Development Association, 1945. 25 pp. Maps, charts.

Traffic Improvement Program. Providence 3, Rhode Island, Governor's Commission on Metropolitan Transportation, 1946. 8 pp.

Our National Transportation Policy. By John S. Worley, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1945. 66 pp. (Apply to author, University of Michigan.)

Railroads in the City Plan. A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1946. 7 pp.

Transportation—The Bulwark of the American Enterprise System—Questions and Answers. Chicago 3, Transportation Association of America, 1946. 28 pp.

Unemployment Relief

Unemployment Compensation Benefits in Reconversion. Third Report of the State Commission on Post-War Economic Welfare. Trenton, The Commission, 1946. 35 pp.

Veterans

The State and the Veteran—1945. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1946. 42 pp.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Some Postwar Projects Can Wait

THE time is here when local and state governments will want to see their postwar plans carried out. Many of these plans are for needed projects postponed during the depression and war years. Rehabilitation of plant and equipment should not, in many places, be put off much longer. Roads, buildings, machinery, water and sewerage systems and other essentials have deteriorated seriously.

But a cautious, conservative attitude is still in order. In much of the planning there has appeared constantly the idea that public works would take up the expected reconversion slack in employment. This attitude helped some projects look more desirable and necessary than they may be in fact. And as things stand today public works actually would compete for both labor and materials with desperately needed home construction and with industrial reconversion. There is no slack to take up.

All projects, especially those conceived under war conditions, should be re-examined now in the light of the situation as it is, not as it was expected to be. They should be made to qualify and meet rigid tests, including these:

Is the project needed now or, without serious loss, could it be postponed?

Will its cost prevent other equally needed projects?

Can the people afford it?

Will actual cost exceed original estimates?

Is it part of a soundly conceived long-range plan?

Will the investment be retired during the useful life of the project?

Is its usefulness commensurate with its cost?

Is it practical in view of the city's prospective fiscal capacity?

Other tests might be added, varying with needs and conditions in specific places.

Costs of labor and materials are high and uncertain. Contractors are not finding it possible to keep their bids within estimates, some bids running more than 200 per cent above estimates which were sound no more than a year ago. Many contractors are reported willing to accept projects only on a cost-plus basis, a condition sometimes illegal for public work.

With the states feeling unusually prosperous and the voters of cities more than ordinarily willing to approve bond issues for major improvements, there is grave danger of a repetition of the profligate spending of the roaring '20s.

True enough, interest rates on municipal bond issues are low and postwar reserves exist, but money cheap to borrow or readily at hand is not cheap to use when costs are inordinately high. The taxpayer will have to be more alert than usual if he is to get his money's worth in public projects pushed through under present conditions.

A New Civic Revival

ONE significant postwar trend is an unprecedented revival of local civic activity. The urge to demand a genuine working democracy in the home town is a healthy thing. The local scene is the ideal place for citizens to get their fundamental training.

There was a similar renaissance after World War I. But this period of readjustment to the ways of peace is witnessing a much more robust movement which is clearly evident in all sections of the country even in areas which up to now have lagged far behind the procession.

Movements and potential movements for the modernization of aged, inadequate state constitutions have begun in half a dozen or more places. In Augusta, Georgia, in Evansville, Indiana, and in other cities independent citizens have recently slapped down tight political machines. Even counties, still the "dark continent of American politics," are finding the people less complacent about the horse-and-buggy style of running public affairs.

As usual, the civic revival is seen most clearly in the increasing number of movements for the adoption of the council-manager plan. During the first five months of this year more than 40 municipalities adopted the plan. The previous record was 48 for the entire year of 1921.

Progress of the council-manager plan is a valid yardstick of civic progress for, as Richard S. Childs, "father" of the manager plan, commented two years ago, it "embraces in a single bundle virtually all those devices . . . recognized as essential to 'good government.' Thus, instead of having to campaign for a responsible but controlled executive, unification of powers, short ballot, annual budgets, merit system of appointments, the nonpartisan ballot, etc., the voters have but to say, 'We want the council-manager plan,' and all these things are added unto them. It is, in fact, much easier to secure good local government in one stroke than *seriatim*, for the very name of this streamlined form of government has a selling appeal."

Adoptions of the plan will break all records this year. They are reported from all parts of the country. The first two cities in Alaska adopted the plan by overwhelming majorities and New Hampshire also won its first manager plan communities. The rapid pace probably will continue in the years immediately ahead.

Whereas in the past the plan was usually turned to as a means of escaping notoriously bad political situations or financial difficulties, more and more relatively well run communities are turning to it nowadays in a spirit of desiring to be efficiently organized to cope with an uncertain future. And the future of municipalities is more uncertain than ever. Their costs are skyrocketing. Their tax revenues are not. Anything which can contribute some assurance of efficient operation of local government and a dollar's worth of service for a dollar of tax money is, many citizens figure, all to the good.

They didn't listen to George Washington when he recommended the equivalent of the council-manager plan for the national capital 150 years ago but, as the problems of local government become more and more technical and complex, the taxpayers anxiously seek better ways of handling public affairs. Another generation unquestionably will see the council-manager plan the standard form of government for American cities.

What Price Aid to Suburbs?

St. Paul finds itself helping its satellite communities to grow at expense of vacant areas within city limits.

By **CARL P. HERBERT***

LIKE most cities, Saint Paul is confronted with the problem of its suburbs, particularly as to the furnishing of city services to them. Unlike many other metropolitan areas, however, communities adjacent to Saint Paul have grown up despite a low density of population within the city proper. Milwaukee has half the area but double the population of Saint Paul. Minneapolis, with an area practically the same as that of Saint Paul, has a substantially greater population.

Saint Paul has 60,000 satisfactory building lots available for residences. Nevertheless, during the past twenty years the city has seen a substantial residential development in the areas just outside the city limits. From 1930 to 1940 the city increased 6 per cent while the adjacent rural area increased 68 per cent in population. Major factors causing this suburban development have been the increase in the number of automobiles and all-weather highways and availability of electric service for cooking, water and house heating. Some people have chosen these locations for homes in order to have more space than would be possible normally within the city. Others have done so because the suburban tax rate is lower than the city's. The majority of residents outside the city are employed by business or industry located in either Saint Paul or Minneapolis.

Residential development in rural areas is handicapped by the lack of sewer and water services, fire protection and adequate school facilities. These services are an essential part of city life and, with the exception of water supply which is self-supporting, are paid for through taxes. They form an important part of the tax burden on city property. Without these facilities the tax rate on property outside the city will logically be lower than within it and this factor, together with somewhat lower building costs because of less rigid building codes, encourages suburban development.

In new areas, where homes are located some distance apart, individual sanitary disposal and water supply through private wells can be obtained and operated satisfactorily; fire protection is a matter of individual hazard. As these communities grow, however, and homes are closer together, need for services develops.

When a small number of homes are constructed in any area on the outskirts of the city, it is difficult if not impossible for them to make adequate provision for the various

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*Mr. Herbert has worked, written and spoken widely on many public problems during his 25 years as secretary and director of the Saint Paul Bureau of Municipal Research. He is co-author of *Postwar Taxes—The Twin City Plan*, published by the Twin Cities Research Bureau of which he is secretary; vice president and secretary of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Governmental Research Association.

facilities. It is natural, therefore, to ask the city to extend its services to them. Saint Paul, desirous of maintaining friendly relations with its suburbs, has furnished these services wherever possible. There are at present approximately 1,500 outside connections to the city's sewer system, 2,200 outside connections to the water system, and 800 pupils from outside areas in Saint Paul schools.

Since Saint Paul has a relatively low density of population, the per capita cost of rendering services such as sewers, water, street maintenance, street lighting, etc., is higher than it would be if the large number of vacant areas within the city were developed. Were these areas occupied an increase in population and assessed valuation would result which would aid materially in solving the city's financial problems. Standing as vacant property, they are not producing income and are readily subject to tax delinquency as has been demonstrated during the past decade.

These unused areas, subject to city taxes for sewers, schools, fire protection and other governmental services, are in direct competition with areas outside the city for residential and commercial use. Developed property in the city is also in competition with that in outside areas as to sales value, and this value is directly affected by the various tax rates.

During its growth and development Saint Paul has made a large investment in the facilities necessary for an urban community. The present outstanding indebtedness of the city for improvements is no adequate measure of the city's total investment. It is unreasonable that services obtained from past investment together with present obligations of the residents of Saint Paul should be used to favor the development of competitive property outside city limits while vacant property within the city is required to contribute through taxes for the support of both debt and services. City facilities have been in the past and, with the exception of water service, are now being furnished to outside areas at less than the costs to property lying within the city.

Committee Makes Study

Because of this situation the City Council of Saint Paul requested the Technical Committee—a group of seven of whom six are key city officers as well as trained professional men—to study the suburban problem and make recommendations on the extension of city services to adjacent communities and the charges made for services now being given them. The committee's report was submitted to the Council on February 18. Here is a brief resume.

Sewer Service

The present sewer system of the city of Saint Paul has been built up over a long period of time. Some of the facilities constructed 70 years ago are still in use. While the present outstanding bonded indebtedness on general sewers has been reduced to approximately three million dollars, the actual original cost of the system approximates thirty millions.

The many vacant areas within the city limits tributary to these facilities would, if fully developed, tax their capacity to the utmost. Such development within the city, with its corresponding increase in population and assessed valuation, would also assist materially in the support of municipal service. If the present excess capacity of these facilities, constructed at the expense of taxpayers within the city, is used to serve growing communities outside, no part of the plant will remain for new development of city property.

Additional sewer service to areas outside the perimeter of the city imposes a load on trunk facilities through the city. Enlargement of these facilities is costly and could normally be financed only by bond obligations imposed on city property and paid for through city taxes.

It is plainly evident that interior areas of the city should be fully developed before any general expansion outside the city limits receives encouragement on the part of the city by allocating the reserve capacity of the sewer system to it.

During past years Saint Paul has made some of its facilities available to outside communities and certain annual charges have been made for this service. These charges have always been lower than costs to property of equivalent value within the city if placed on an ad valorem basis of taxation.

In the light of these conditions the committee recommended adoption of the following general policy relative to sewer service to outside communities:

(1) *Existing Connections.* In accepting connections to its sewer system in the past, the city has assumed an obligation to serve these properties and should continue so to do, making charges for this service equivalent to the costs borne by property within the city.

(2) *Extension of Services.* Extention of the sewer system should be considered on an area basis rather than upon individual applications and no further extension should be made outside the city limits.

Water Service

Availability of a central water supply system is an important factor in the successful development of communities outside the city. Closely built residential areas with sewage disposal through individual cesspools or septic tanks constitute a sanitary hazard if such communities are dependent upon individual wells for water supply. The availability of water supply through fire hydrants has an important influence on fire insurance rates.

Believing that further extension of the Water Department's facilities to outside areas will encourage their development and thereby impose a handicap upon development of vacant property within the city, the committee recommended that no major extensions of water mains from the Saint Paul water system be made outside city limits and in no case should any extension be beyond the perimeter of areas which are now being served by contract.

It was further recommended that the charges for water to consumers outside the city limits continue to be one and one-half times those in the city.

Fire Protection

The committee recommended the adoption of the following policy with respect to fire protection service:

1. That communities outside Saint Paul should be required to furnish their own fire protection equipment as soon as it becomes available.

2. That the Fire Department of the city is prepared to furnish adequate fire fighting protection only in those outside communities equipped with water mains and fire hydrants. That any of these areas desiring the service of the Fire Department, until such time as they are able to provide their own facilities, should be charged the full Saint Paul cost computed on an ad valorem basis (for 1944 approximately 2.25 mills on full and true valuation).

3. That communities outside the city not equipped with water mains and fire hydrants desiring service from the Saint Paul Fire Department until such time as they are able to provide their own facilities should be charged on a per hour or per run basis adjusted to reflect full costs of the department for such service.

School Service

For the year 1944 the per pupil cost of education in Saint Paul, (based on average number of pupils, including teachers' retirement but not any capital investment cost) compared with the fees charged nonresidents was as follows:

	Cost per Pupil	*Fees Charged*
Kindergarten—Grade Schools	$ 89.51	$35.00
Junior High Schools	126.58	70.00
Senior High Schools	143.35	76.50

At the present time there are approximately a hundred grade and seven hundred high school non-resident students enrolled in Saint Paul schools.

The committee recommended adoption of the following policy relative to non-resident students:

(1) That school districts adjacent to Saint Paul be requested to provide their own educational facilities;

(2) That the full actual per pupil cost to the city of Saint Paul, not including capital investment costs, be charged for non-resident students attending city schools;

(3) That non-resident pupils be accepted only in those schools where space is available.

In arriving at its conclusions, the committee recognized the fact that provision of services by the city to outside communities encourages their development to the disadvantage of vacant property development within the city. Its recommendations are based on the belief that any encouragement through the use of city facilities should be for development within rather than outside the city.

Editor's Note.—On May 20 a special committee of the Saint Paul City Council accepted the report of the Technical Committee described above and set July 1, 1947, as the date for cutting off fire protection services to outside communities. The committee comprises a majority of the Council and favorable action by that body is anticipated.

The Children Get a Chance

Kansas City experiments in organizing its neighborhoods, bolsters family life and curbs juvenile delinquency.

By **HAYES A. RICHARDSON***

WHAT has the war done to our young people? What deep and lasting scars is it going to leave on all of us? These were questions which Kansas City, Missouri, began to ponder in the fall of 1942. The city, through its Welfare Department, and the various social agencies studied social conditions. It was particularly concerned over the increase in juvenile delinquency, divorce, domestic relations cases, and venereal disease, all of which seemed to prophesy a general breakdown in family life.

A careful survey was made by those professionally interested and brought first to the attention of lay boards, then to a large committee composed of representatives of all groups interested in youth. A meeting held on June 2, 1943, recommended: (1) that a youth council be set up; (2) that this council be a fact-finding, interpretive committee to furnish research material for action groups and public and private agencies; (3) that responsibility for initiating this move be left in the hands of the director of welfare.

Studies were continued as to the best method of community organization to meet these social problems. In the summer of 1943 the City Council requested the Welfare Department to submit definite recommendations. It was emphasized that the problem of youth was not that of just one agency, nor of the various social agencies but rather the problem of the various communities that make up the city. It was recognized by the City Council that the responsibility, and certainly the blame, for social disorganization might fall on public agencies; that, if effective organization were not had by private groups, public agencies must take up the task.

The Welfare Department, having gone over the field with public and private groups, lay leaders, church and civic organizations, recommended that a new Division of Community Service be set up by ordinance "to coordinate the resources of the community, to report on social conditions, to plan and recommend programs needed to meet social problems." Its program was based upon the utilization of existing community resources and the development of community responsibility.

The Welfare Department of Kansas City is unique in that it is not a relief department and provides no public assistance. It is, rather, the human side of the city government, interested in all phases of social problems as they affect a large city and in no way tied to economic insufficiency. Divisions of the Welfare Department include legal aid, social service, recreation, markets and community service.

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*Dr. Richardson is director of welfare of Kansas City, Missouri, and a lecturer at the University of Kansas City where he formerly served as chairman of the Department of Economics. He is on the boards of many social agencies. Previously Dr. Richardson served as economist for the U. S. Department of Agriculture. He has been a member of the faculties of Kansas University and North Carolina State College.

Communities Organized

The new Community Service Division was made effective by dividing the city into districts, placing in each a community worker or coordinator, whose first obligation is to know the community which he serves, to be familiar with the social and physical health of that community and to ascertain its needs. His next duty is to know what the resources of the community are—what agencies are serving it, what their programs are, and what additional facilities might be made available through churches, schools, civic clubs, improvement associations, etc.

The next step was the establishment of a community council for each of the high school areas. These councils are composed of representatives of all forces within the district, both lay and professional, who are thus able to mobilize all existing agencies—governmental, civic, social, the churches and the schools—and to integrate their programs and encourage establishment of additional programs when necessary. These councils are entirely autonomous and not city-dominated.

The role of the community worker is to lend assistance to the council by providing factual information. This worker is not a social worker, a health worker, a recreation worker, but a *community* case worker, acting in much the same way with respect to social problems as a county agent operates with respect to agricultural problems. He attempts to channel problems to be brought to the community group and to suggest means through which individuals and groups may get in touch with either their government or private agencies on community needs. He is a person to whom the whole community may turn for assistance in meeting its special problems and improving living conditions. Special organizations within the community are interested in their own areas of responsibility; the community worker is interested in the over-all picture of the community—the work done by each organization, ways in which these organizations may expand or redirect their activities, areas in which nothing is being done and, in a few cases, the need for the establishment of new organizations.

In meeting the needs of a large city we too seldom recognize the fact that cities are divided into many communities, that no one group of people understands all phases of community life even if they are interested in the problems of the whole city; that where a nonpolitical, nonpartisan government exists there is too little opportunity for people to express their desires and hopes and plans so that they will be recognized. Until the organization of community councils there was no machinery through which those who were interested in overall living in a community could voice their plans.

Interest in community life is more vital for youth than for adults since young people usually enjoy the major portion of their experiences in the community in which they live. The councils have provided a means for an open discussion of the needs of youth for adequate recreation facilities in which the young people themselves have participated. This has resulted in the acquisition of additional parks and supervised play areas and establishment of teen-age clubs and centers. Parents working with children to secure these advantages and to keep them functioning satisfactorily have been drawn closer together in an understanding of the problems and needs of all children and have taken added interest in what church and school are offering them. In brief, the experiment has resulted in bolstering the foundations of family life which have been so badly shaken and undermined during war years.

To assist community workers, the Community Service Division collects information and publishes a statistical bulletin. The Police Department and the Juvenile Court furnish data on delinquency; the Health Department, on vital statistics; the Circuit Court, on marriage and divorce. Information on population shifts, building permits, etc., are included. This data gives a picture of social trends within the city.

For the benefit of the community councils and interested lay persons, the Division publishes bimonthly *The Community Council Bulletin*. Other publications include a basic study of the youth problem in Kansas City, *Youth in Trouble*, and *The Junior Officer Handbook*.

Established as a local organization on the Westside to combat vandalism, the Junior Officers have grown until now there are units in many elementary schools in the city. This group organizes and enlists the support of the grade school child in the betterment of his own neighborhood, developing a sense of responsibility and pride in his city. One of the Junior Officer units has set up a complete city government modeled on that of Kansas City, with a mayor, councilmen, a city manager, department heads, political parties and a charter. The organization is participating in a series of fifteen radio broadcasts given every Saturday morning from City Hall.

Youth Group Formed

An invitation to officials of youth-serving agencies resulted in the formation of a Central Coordinating Youth Council, which includes in its roster the administrative heads of the Board of Education, Police Department, Juvenile Court, Sheriff, Council of Social Agencies, PTA, Health, City Plan and Welfare Departments, Urban League, Jewish Welfare Federation, Council of Churches, Catholic Welfare Bureau and a representative of the city counselor's office.

This council has undertaken to serve as the over-all advisory board of the city for the control of venereal disease, calling to the attention of the public the fact that the matter is as much a social as a health problem. Consequently, the establishment of moral standards through church and home, general education and the provision of wholesome recreation opportunities, as well as intolerance of degrading environment and entertainment, are the concern of this group. Closer cooperation between the Police Department, Juvenile Court and other law enforcement agencies has resulted from a better understanding of the mutuality of their problems brought about by free discussion in the Central Coordinating Youth Council.

What Has Been Done

The Community Service Division, in summary, has promoted or provided: (1) a program whereby community living is being given purpose and objectivity; (2) a means for organizing adults, teen-age youth and elementary school children; (3) an organization of various administrative officers connected with youth problems, to which people may come and explain what is lacking and what is being done by the various public and private agencies; (4) research which brings together statistics to indicate what is taking place in the city; (5), and most important of all, a community worker in each of the districts who has for his responsibility the elimination so far as possible of community inertia and the development of community responsibility.

The results have been heartening not only in the reduction of juvenile delinquency but also in the encouragement of community understanding of what is needed and what should be eliminated, in the working together of Catholic and Protestant churches and of county and state officials of different political faiths. We have come to know our neighbors.

By way of accomplishment much could be cited, but a few examples will suffice. For one of the community council meetings in the Mexican neighborhood the community worker had to write out with the president of the Mexican council everything he was to say. Representatives from the city visited with this council to plan what the city could do for its community.

In the wealthiest part of the city unsocial activities on the part of the youth had been dramatized in the press. People in the community got together and decided they needed a good teen club. The result was an outstanding community center. Immediately the unsocial activities on the part of youth began to decline. Three additional teen clubs have been incorporated and completely financed by community groups, with assistance and advice from the Community Service Division. Others have been set up under community sponsorship with assistance by the Recreation Division. In every case the part of the city has been played down and that of the community group emphasized.

One example of civic participation is that of an old, uneducated Negro woman, who came before the Finance Committee of the City Council considering a bond issue, and expressed the ideas of her council as to needs of the area in which she lived.

When an opportunity is given for the citizen to help improve his environment he will do so. After all, good living is a product of the citizen's work and not a present given by extraneous agencies of government.

(Continued on Page 298)

Confused County Picture III

States have taken over some functions but its new duties demand more efficient organization of county government.

By **EDWARD W. WEIDNER***

IF THE structure of county government is to be reorganized intelligently, consideration must be given to the changing role of the county. There is much disagreement as to what its role is. There have been those during the last fifteen years who have been proclaiming its death. The process of centralization, it is asserted, is making counties outmoded units of government. Evidence is submitted to prove that states now perform functions these localities once did.

It is true that most counties have inadequate areas for maximum efficiency and economy. It is likewise true that states are now performing some of the functions that counties performed fifteen years ago. These facts alone, however, do not justify the conclusion that county government is on the decline, much less that it is doomed.

Far from becoming less important, judged on the basis of the number of functions performed and the amount of money expended, counties today are a more vital part of our governmental system than ever before. Table I makes this clear in expenditure terms. Because of changes in the census classification of functions and definition of a county unit of government, the comparison of county expenditures for 1932 and 1942 cannot be exact. Furthermore, both years were somewhat abnormal so far as government expenditures are concerned. Nevertheless, it is evident that counties spent more money in 1942 than they did a decade earlier, especially in the fields of welfare, hospitals, highways and natural resources.

TABLE I
EXPENDITURES OF COUNTIES
1932 AND 1942
(In Thousands)

Function	*1932*	*1942*
Total	$981,192	$1,344,514
General Control	251,150	256,284
Public Safety	44,231	59,496
Highways	236,350	304,830
Welfare, Hospitals and Correction	182,120	524,488
Health and Sanitation	32,778	22,404
Schools	178,406	104,265
Libraries	3,772	5,254
Recreation	7,618	8,844
Natural Resources	——	15,927
Miscellaneous	44,767	42,722

The list of functions added to county responsibilities in the last fifteen years is much longer than the list of functions taken away. In an occasional state such as North Carolina complete state control over a former county service such as highways is now the case. More frequently a state now performs part of a function which previously was almost entirely under county control,

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*This is the last of a series of three articles by Mr. Weidner, instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. The statistical material presented was gathered by Mr. Weidner as consultant to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, in the summer of 1945, and is a summary of the more extensive information contained in a report, *County Boards and Commissions,* prepared by him for the division. Interpretations are those of the author.

such as the increased mileage of state highways and enlarged welfare activities. In contrast a listing of the various functions added to county government jurisdiction would consume at least a page. For the most part such functions fall in two groups—those which the national government has promoted and those of a local as compared with a state-delegated character.[1]

Growth of Counties

Examples of the latter include a broadening of the police power, rural as well as urban planning and zoning, recreation and local publicity. County participation in rural housing, the categorical aid program, defense councils, agriculture and natural resources, protection, full-time health departments and electric utility ownership has been promoted by the national government.

The extent to which counties in all parts of the United States have made use of their new powers is impressive. Of 3,050 counties, full-time health departments increased from 762 in 1935 to 1,577 in 1941 and since that time many other states have authorized such units. Over twenty counties have been reported as establishing county planning boards or agencies in the last three years, and the actual number is undoubtedly well in excess of this figure. Hardly a month goes by that several counties are not reported as building hospitals.

While the reporting of activities of particular counties is poor, we do have an accurate count of state legislative enactments which vest more powers in counties. From 1941 to 1944, for instance, two states authorized full-time health units for counties, three recreation activities, four conservation functions, three expenditures for advertising counties and twelve planning or zoning agencies.

The conclusions for county government reorganization are unmistakable. First of all, counties are not on their way to extinction. They are performing more and more services that are demanded by the electorate under modern conditions. Many changes in our society have taken place in the last fifteen years, and it is only natural that some readjustment of functions as between levels of government was required. Reflecting a more positive philosophy of government, counties have acquired many more new functions than they have given up to the states or the nation.

Secondly, it is obvious that it is no longer adequate to describe counties as merely administrative and judicial subdivisions of the state. They are that, but they also are real local units of government and have an important relationship to the nation and the national economy. We are in a period which stresses the need for intergovernmental cooperation, and every level of government has its effect upon and is affected by other levels of government.

In a political system where counties are intimately affected by national and state governments, it is useless to view the problem of structural reorganization from a purely local standpoint. Some of the most important alterations in county structure in the last fifteen years have been the direct or indirect result of national government activity. The Social Security Act of 1935 has revolutionized county welfare and health administration. The categorical aid program consumes a fifth of county expenditures. Sixty per cent of the states require all their counties to have welfare boards for this program.

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[1] See the articles by Clyde F. Snider in each December issue of the *American Political Science Review* for a detailed enumeration of these new county functions.

National Activities

The same act of Congress has been the chief factor in the organization of full-time county health departments, with the result that in several states there are two sets of laws, one providing for a board of health for part-time activities and another providing for a board of health for full-time activities. Noticeable, too, are the many inter-county and city-county boards of health authorized by state laws and reflecting the program developed by the United States Public Health Service.

One of the oldest and most important services of counties, agricultural extension work, was established largely as a result of national government action. Under the new Highway Act of 1944 Washington will have more influence over county roads, but so far this influence has been confined largely to administrative standards and not extended greatly to government structure.

If counties are to be reorganized on modern lines, some agency of the national government should be given the power to advise the national functional agencies of the effects of encouraging establishment of county special function boards and commissions and even independent units of government such as soil conservation districts. If counties are to remain vital units of local government, it follows that coordination of policy and administration on a county level is necessary. So long as state and national functional agencies view counties as essentially administrative districts, this remains an impossible goal.

State officials have been just as guilty on this score as national officials. Each state department—highways, welfare, health, education and agriculture—considers the corresponding county officers or boards as responsible mainly to it. While national-state-local cooperation is desirable and necessary, as long as some local discretion in policy and administration is to be preserved there should be some opportunity given to counties to coordinate the various local programs.

Almost all county reorganization proposals involve the idea of a unified county executive. Whether such an executive is to be a manager appointed by the governing body or an elected executive, clerk, auditor or judge, certain prerequisites are necessary before the executive can be effective.

First of all, control over the functions performed is essential. In many cases today not even the county governing body has control of independently elected officers and special function boards.

Secondly, a halt must be made to

the splintering of locally-performed functions. Too many independent units of local government are being established for particular purposes such as soil conservation and irrigation. Unified county control will not mean much if local government functions are not vested in the counties.

Finally, a county-wide viewpoint must become more prevalent not only within the county but also in the minds of state and national officials. On this score county officers and the electorate are primarily at fault, however.

Electorate Apathetic

In most counties the chief characteristic of the electorate's attitude toward county government seems to be one of apathy. At least so far as improvement is concerned, county electorates seem, on the whole, to defend the status quo by inaction. This is the main explanation of the defeat of county reform in the Wisconsin state legislature last year.[2] Most people did not know or care that any such attempt was being made.

The apathetic attitude of the electorate has led some people to say that, at least in rural counties, a county executive is out of place because the people like to elect their friends to public office, and administration is carried out in an easy, personal, friendly manner. According to this view, it is inconceivable that rural electorates will ever give up their right to elect many administrative officers or demand strict economy by way of such things as centralized purchasing.

The answer lies in seeing the picture in broad perspective. There are at least two rather widespread trends in counties today. It has already been pointed out that the people are demanding more services from their county governments. Equally significant, although it takes a determined movement to bring it about, there is a trend toward improvement of county structure along the lines of providing a unified executive. That is to say, the awakening of the citizens, while difficult, is not an impossible task.

The situation has been well summarized in the field of road administration in a recent paper by C. M. Nelson, editor of *Better Roads*:

"There is a large southern state in which county road administration jogs along at a kind of lazy trot. Suppose that we call it the state of Montezuma. In about five-sixths of the counties in Montezuma there is nothing even slightly resembling engineering direction of county road work. The individual county commissioners are the road bosses of their own precincts. The prevailing spirit is the spirit of inertia. But here and there we find a Montezuma county where county road administration has really grown up. There have been some gratifying—even electrifying—changes within the past year or so.

"Now there are some people on the sidelines down in Montezuma who none the less condemn county road administration on the record of the average county; occasionally it is even proposed that the counties retire from the highway business. I think that we ought to be more patient than that—so long as we can see hopeful signs. We ought to chastise the backward officials and carry some light to the citizens who sit in darkness. We ought to give local administration a chance to grow up."

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[2] See "County Reform Run-Around," by Edward W. Weidner, the REVIEW, September 1945, page 386.

The cry of "informal" government is not enough. Today, people want an active government and services performed adequately. If their counties fail to do this, eventually the citizens demand efficiency.

It is significant that the reform of county government structure parallels the growth in importance of county functions. Since 1930 nine states—California, Montana, Virginia, Texas, Ohio, New York, North Dakota, Oregon and Missouri—have acted to remove barriers to structural improvement. Although only eighteen of the 3,050 counties have county manager or executive plans, fourteen of the eighteen adopted their new systems since 1930. More important, interest in these plans is more intense than it has ever been. In the first four months of 1946 seven counties were reported having groups actively interested in the manager plan. As counties continue to perform more and more functions, including those of a purely local character, it is reasonable to expect that their governmental structures will come to approximate more closely those of the cities which long have been vital units of local government. The county electorates have given ample indication that they are ready to begin to make the transition.

County Governing Bodies

Assuming that the manager plan is the best solution to the structural weaknesses of counties—and as counties become more like cities there is every reason to suppose that it is—one of the first lines of attack by the reformers should be county governing bodies. The effectiveness of the manager plan depends in part upon the manager's ability to coordinate and supervise all activities of the county from a county-wide viewpoint. When the governing body is constituted so that it represents various district viewpoints and not a county-wide one, it defeats a prime objective of coordinated administration.

The present status of county governing bodies is clear. Less than 20 per cent of them have all their members elected at large. The district or township system is widely entrenched. Even worse, several hundred counties have a rotten borough system of representation. The twin objectives of the manager system, efficiency and economy, are hardly encouraged by such a practice, where each representative has his own way in matters affecting his district.

There are at least three other ways in which county governing bodies, as organized at present, hamper the development of a manager system. The manager plan is founded on the basis of the differentiation of powers—a belief that one body should not perform policy-making, administrative and judicial functions, and that specialization in their performance is desirable. County governing bodies frequently perform all three of these functions, and in a few hundred counties the members of the body are individually also town or township officers.

It is time that we stopped expecting our county governing body members to be experts in all governmental activities. It is impossible for them to represent adequately the electorate in all these ways at the same time. Judicial and town or township functions should be severed from their jurisdiction, and the appointment of a manager would give them the administrative expertness so necessary in modern times.

The fact that 1500 counties have three or less members on their governing bodies poses another problem. A board this small is likely to find it difficult to leave administrative matters to the manager. Indeed, the chief explanation for the smallness of these bodies is that they have been considered administrative and judicial instrumentalities of the state. A minimum of five members, as suggested by *Principles of a Model County Government* of the National Municipal League, would seem desirable. As a matter of fact, enlarging very small county governing bodies would be an excellent way to give more people in the rural communities a chance to participate in their government; it would compensate in part for the loss of directly elected administrative officials.

Finally, the failure of state legislatures and administrative officials to vest more power over policy matters in the general governing bodies of the counties works against the manager principle. Such power is now dispersed; the governing body, state legislature, state administrative officials, special function boards and commissions, special fiscal bodies and independently elected officers all have a share in it. A manager would find it impossible to please so many "bosses." Simple and direct lines of responsibility are essential for effective management.

As a practical matter it should be kept in mind that even if the manager system were beyond political feasibility, a step in the right direction would be the reorganization of county governing bodies. If they were given adequate control and proper organization, they might well help lead the movement for more effective over-all management.

Special Function Boards

The growth in number of special function boards and commissions on a county level is a reflection of four somewhat diverse factors. First, a distrust of the present county government structure as adequate to perform new activities is evident. The distrust is justified in many cases, but the long-run solution to a problem is hardly that of ignoring it or of making it worse. Second, the failure of counties with inadequate areas and population to consolidate has led to numerous intercounty boards and commissions. Certainly such boards and commissions are to be encouraged if consolidation, which is a more difficult problem to solve, seems impossible of achievement. Yet the problem should be recognized by both local and state officials and an ultimate solution reached.

Third, many state officials feel that their particular function should be separated from the regular county governing body, and that a special board is the best for this purpose. This argument was analyzed at an earlier point and found wanting.

Finally, there is a genuine belief in many quarters that a board is a better administrative device than a single officer. Authorities in public administration, however, usually suggest that if a board is to be used it be placed in a purely advisory role. One of the noticeable results of a recent study of authorized special function boards and commissions is the general lack of provision for advisory boards. Most boards are of a policy-determining type and many of an administrative type as well. Boards are usually defended on one of two grounds: (1) That they are necessary because policy matters are involved—to which might be replied, for what are county general governing bodies; (2) that the advice of experts or of a cross-section of the community is needed—to which might be replied, why not create an advisory body.

The manager principle is founded on administrative centralization and policy-forming centralization. To the extent that county special function boards and commissions are not advisory, they violate these tenets.

Conclusion

The changing role of county government is a phenomenon of the times. Twentieth century liberalism is replacing nineteenth century liberalism. That this twentieth century movement should have its effect on city, state and national governments somewhat before its full weight was felt on the county level is understandable, since political problems were more acute in the former cases. Once the problem of the future of county government is recognized in these terms, the solution in terms of structural reorganization along the lines of a county manager system is more understandable.

The full implications of the manager system for counties in this interdependent world should not be underestimated. It involves changing the viewpoints of state and national officials, arousing the electorate to action, amending state constitutions and statutes, reorganizing county governing bodies, and for the most part eliminating special function boards and commissions and independently elected officers. That is a task of no small proportions. But it can be, and is being, done.

Oklahoma Cities Weakened

Rural domination of legislature jeopardizes municipal interests; tax limits and exemptions reduce revenues.

By H. V. THORNTON*

THE cities and towns of Oklahoma, one of the last of the commonwealths opened to settlement, are seriously under-represented in the state's legislative chambers. Oklahoma remains a rural state by a considerable margin. Its urban development, nevertheless, has been remarkable,[1] and far more consistent than the growth of its rural areas.

In 1907, the year of statehood, about 15 per cent of the new state's inhabitants lived in urban centers. Within two decades thereafter two metropolitan areas had grown up. The census of 1940 shows 21 cities exceeding ten thousand, while 46 other communities, mainly trading posts and cow towns at the beginning of statehood, are classed as urban. The rate of urban growth in Oklahoma since 1910 has been twice that of the country at large.

Nearly three-quarters of a million people, according to the latest census, live in cities exceeding ten thousand. Between 1930 and 1940 rural population declined. In the latter year, 41.3 per cent of the state's inhabitants were living in urban centers compared to 19.3 per cent in 1910.

Significant as these changes may be, they have had minimum influence on apportionment legislation. It should be noted, however, that had the legislature given conscientious attention to apportionment problems, serious disparities would have been unavoidable. Oklahoma's "founding fathers" seem to have held urban influence in low esteem. No county, the constitution stipulates, shall ever elect more than seven members of the House of Representatives, a maximum set after a spirited fight in the 1906 constitutional convention for a committee report which would have established a total of four. Under this restriction a county, however great its population, may never elect more than 5 or 6 per cent of the membership of the House.

The legislature, given the mandatory duty by the constitution of reapportioning legislative membership after each federal census, has faithfully reflected the skepticism of the framers of the constitution. Not only have limits of maximum county representation been respected but also the legislators have found extra-legal means of enhancing rural representation to the disadvantage of urban areas.

The last redistribution of House membership is based on the census of 1930 by a law enacted in 1931.[2]

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[1] Oklahoma State Planning Board, *Preliminary Report, 1936,* page 24.

[2] Session Law 1931, Chapter 19, page 14; O. S. 1941, Title 14, Section 84. William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray was pres-

Significantly this law clearly disregards the constitution since each county is granted representation in spite of minimum population requirements. Because of this oversight eight counties have, in the past seven sessions of the state legislature, returned members to the House even though they do not constitute bona fide election districts. Systematic reapportionment of Senate membership has simply been ignored.

Membership of the House of Representatives is not a fixed number. Since statehood it has varied between 110 and 120. The "ratio of representation," the constitution declares, shall be found by dividing the population of the state, as determined in the latest federal census, by one hundred. Any county having a population equal to at least a half ratio is given one representative. Any county having one and three-quarters ratios of population is entitled to two representatives. Thereafter, additional representatives (regular) are granted in terms of full ratios of population; except as stated above the total representatives of any county shall not exceed seven. Provision is made for the election of "floats", an arrangement which further enhances the weight of the rural voter in the House of Representatives.

Two counties, Oklahoma and Tulsa, have been electing the maximum number of representatives in the last half dozen sessions of the legislature. On a strict quota, or representation ratio, basis, Oklahoma County would elect eleven members of the lower chamber; Tulsa County would elect nine. The population of the former is equal to the combined population of 21 small counties which, under the apportionment act of 1931, elect 21 representatives. Seven of the 77 counties (1940), with a total population of 57,159, designate as many members of the House as either of the metropolitan centers—Oklahoma City with a population of 244,159, and Tulsa with 193,363.

The inequities of the present apportionment legislation are felt in areas other than the metropolitan centers. Forty-three predominantly rural counties, with a total population of 819,000, choose 51 representatives. On a strict quota basis they would elect 35. Five urban counties, with 561,000 inhabitants, elect nineteen. On a quota basis they would designate 25. These rural counties, as opposed to urban counties, maintain an advantage of 22 votes in the lower chamber.

Senate Apportionment

For the purpose of apportioning membership in the Senate the constitution requires that the state be divided into not more than 44 districts, which must be of "compact form," and as nearly as possible shall "contain . . . an equal number of inhabitants." It is further provided that if any county, because of growth of population, is entitled to more than three senators, any such additional senator or senators shall be in excess of the 44 chosen

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ident of the state's first and only constitutional convention. He became governor in 1930, and allowed, with some misgivings perhaps, the apportionment act of 1931 to become a law without his signature.

from established senatorial districts. No absolute limit is set on the number of senators any county may elect. But in the provision above, geography, as a factor in the apportionment of Senate membership, finds adequate protection.

As previously stated, the membership of the Senate has never been reapportioned since statehood.[3] The 44 districts prescribed by the constitution have never been created, the number being fixed at 33 for reasons unknown. By special acts three additional districts have been established, two of which removed some intolerable disparities. The excuse for the third is lost in the mysteries of political manipulation.[4]

If the membership of the Senate were distributed on a strict quota basis, Oklahoma County would elect four senators and still have a surplus exceeding the population of any of the seven least populous senatorial districts. Tulsa County would elect three, whereas, under the present apportion arrangement, it elects one. This county's population is equal to the total population of six smaller senatorial districts which elect seven senators.

In the Senate, as in the House, apportionment inequities are not confined to the two metropolitan counties. Nineteen over-represented rural districts, whose inhabitants total 865,000, elect 25 of the 44 senators. Seven populous districts, with approximately the same number of inhabitants, slightly less than half a million of whom live in cities of ten thousand or more, elect eight senators. On a quota basis the nineteen rural districts would elect sixteen senators instead of 25; while twelve under-represented districts, with almost half the populations of the state, would elect 21 instead of twelve now provided for by apportionment legislation. These nineteen predominantly rural districts, as opposed to the twelve in which urban interests are a major factor, maintain an advantage of eighteen votes in the upper chamber.

The constitution does provide that "an apportionment of the legislature shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court at the suit of any citizen." But since this provision is not self-executing, a fact conveniently noted by the legislature, it affords no recourse at all. However, what might have been done by way of securing fairer distribution of representation in the two chambers had this provision been vitalized, remains a matter of conjecture. On occasion the Supreme Court has considered the validity of apportionment legislation; but it has followed the common precedent, concluding that apportionment is a political question with which the court cannot be concerned.[5]

City Problems Affected

Obviously the apportionment problem in Oklahoma is less serious, less acute, than in some other states. It has, nevertheless, attained such proportions that the interests of the municipalities are jeopardized, particularly as they undertake to play an effective part in the postwar period.

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[3] L. A. Beckett, "Inequitable Representation in Oklahoma's Senate", *Harlows Weekly*, May 22, 1937, pages 4-5.

[4] O. S. 1941, Title 14, Sections 52, 53.

[5] *Jones* v. *Freeman et al* (1943), 193 P 2d 564.

In 1933, by constitutional amendment, ad valorem taxation was limited to fifteen mills for all local governments: county, schools, cities and towns. And power over the allocation of this millage between the several local units was vested in an appointive board whose decision is final in the absence of a general division by act of the legislature. Generally, rural interests dominate these boards. This action was approved at the end of a three-year period during which total assessments dropped more than a half billion dollars. Two years later (1935) came homestead exemption, which brought about further serious reduction in the amount of taxable property.

The effects of these changes have been various. Counties and schools have found some relief in direct grants from the state, or by participation in the receipts of state-collected taxes. Cities and towns, in various instances, are denied all benefits of the ad valorem tax, except from excess levies imposed for the purpose of retiring municipal debts. They receive a small percentage of the state gasoline tax for the maintenance of streets and alleys, but this concession is attacked in most sessions of the legislature. Because of rigid constitutional and legislative restriction upon their revenue raising powers, municipalities are obliged to impose excessive charges for their services, which must be levied largely without regard for canons of fair taxation.

To a considerable degree the unfortunate circumstances facing many cities in this state may be due to the ineffectiveness with which municipalities have defended their interests. Too little attention has been directed to their need for adequate powers by which they can plan their development, and to the fact that the functions and responsibilities of cities are constantly increasing. Nevertheless, any plea of the municipalities for sufficient powers, by which they may effect their orderly development, has little prospect of a particularly friendly reception by a legislature whose membership, disproportionately, is responsible to rural election units.

THE CHILDREN GET A CHANCE

(Continued from Page 287)

It is only by strengthening the good influences which in turn help strengthen the home and emphasize the part of the church and the school, that social and recreation agencies can develop a strong citizenry. With the functions of government as complex as they are, the relation of a citizen to his government is confused and he feels little or no responsibility. If we are to meet our social problems, channels must be provided whereby interested citizens and their government may get together to solve their problems.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Executive, Legislative Changes Urged for U. S.

Committee of Congress and President Seek Improvement

THE past month produced important proposals for better organization and procedure in both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government. President Truman on May 16 recommended to Congress a governmental reorganization in three main phases, following by three days the report and proposed legislation of the LaFollette-Monroney committee on Congressional organization and methods.

The chief feature in the President's recommendations is the centralization and enlargement of the administration of social security and its elevation to departmental status. The second category of proposals would give permanent status to a number of reorganizations already made by executive order under emergency war powers, and the third involves new consolidations.

The agency reorganizations and consolidations were projected under the authority of the Reorganization Act of 1945 and will automatically become effective in 60 days unless disapproved by resolutions of both houses of Congress. To make a full department of the augmented social security agency will require new legislation.

In the proposed expansion of the Federal Security Agency it would take over the functions of the Social Security Board and those of the Labor Department's Children's Bureau other than as to child labor, and also the Unemployment Compensation Commission and the vital statistics duties of the Census Bureau. The Federal Board of Vocational Education and the office of assistant commissioner of education would be abolished.

The President wishes to make permanent the National Housing Agency, in which would be consolidated all federal housing activities. It would include three units corresponding to the present Federal Housing Administration, the Federal Public Housing Authority and the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, while there would be abolished the Office of the Federal Housing Administrator, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Board of Trustees of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Board of Directors of the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Office of Administrator of the United States Housing Authority. Mr. Truman mentioned that the plan is in conformity with the Wagner-Ellender-Taft general housing bill, approved by the Senate in April, but urged that the House adopt the bill as a whole, regardless of accomplishment of certain of its organizational features.

In the State Department the office of Inter-American Affairs would be made permanent, and that of the High Commissioner to the Philippines would be dropped, in view of the islands' coming independence.

In the Department of Agriculture there is to be further consolidation of research bureaus, and jurisdiction over mineral deposits on lands now held by that department is to be transferred to Interior. The Office of Contract Settlement, now under the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, will be absorbed by that office.

Congressional Proposals

On May 13 a bill was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin embodying 37 recommendations of the special joint committee which has been studying the problem as to Congress for more than a year. It is headed jointly by Senator LaFollette and Representative A. S. M. Monroney of Oklahoma.

The committee recommendations include:

Reduction of standing committees from 33 to 16 in the Senate and from 48 to 18 in the House by consolidating jurisdictions;

Registration of lobbyists, with information to enlighten Congress as to their activities and support;

Executive departments and the courts to be permitted to settle claims against the government, thus relieving Congress of some time-consuming details;

Provide senators and representatives with executive assistants at $8,000 a year, to handle routine state and local matters;

Provide congressional committees with experts acquainted with needs and conditions in various departments, who can check on requests for appropriations and legislation;

Authorize special committees, to keep in contact with the executive branch and be familiar with policies;

Increase salaries of senators and representatives from $10,000 a year, as at present, to $15,000.

New York State Committee Reports on Legislative Methods

Findings and recommendations on various phases of the procedure and facilities of the New York legislature were made public in printed form in April by the Joint Legislative Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices, Procedures and Expenditures.

The committee was created in February 1944, and consists of three members from the Senate and three from the Assembly; Senator Floyd E. Anderson has been chairman. About a year ago it submitted an interim report with recommendations designed to improve internal legislative personnel and fiscal practices.[1] The present and final report deals with congestion at the end of legislative sessions, standing committees, research facilities, bill drafting, legislators' salaries and lobbying. The committee came to an end on April 1.

The present report states that of 62 recommendations in the interim report, 49 have either been enacted into law or have become administrative practices, and claims that committee suggestions as to the legislative budget and personnel system have resulted in an estimated saving of a half-million dollars for the 1945-46 fiscal year.

Recommendations include the following:

Disposition of Legislative Business:

No bill should be introduced later than six weeks after the legislature assembles except by the Rules Committee of either house or by unanimous consent of the members.

Bills originating in administrative agencies and measures resulting from the findings of joint legislative committees and commissions should be introduced not later than four weeks after the convening of the legislature.

Drafting, filing and printing of bills before the session for formal introduction on the opening day should be encouraged.

No bill should be reported by committees until ten calendar days after receipt of the printed bill. This would apply only to the house in which the bill originates. Bills should generally be reported within a month.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1945, page 290.

Standing committees in the Assembly should endeavor to complete action on bills without shifting responsibility for a decision to the Rules Committee.

The laying over of bills in both houses should be discouraged.

Standing Committees:

The number of standing committees should be reduced by eliminating or consolidating committees which are outmoded and by creating others to meet new conditions. The committee has formulated an over-all plan designed to reduce the 35 Senate and the 36 Assembly committees to 24 corresponding committees in both houses.

To equalize the work-loads of committees further, the jurisdiction of some should be curtailed and the jurisdiction of others broadened. Particular committees should be given exclusive jurisdiction over such important post-war problems as housing, public works and highways, veterans affairs, etc.

Rules as to committee hearings should be published; the use of proxy votes by committee chairmen should be prohibited; no committee should report out a bill unless a majority of its members actually are present and vote in favor of a report.

Legislative Research Facilities:

A Division of Legislative Reference and Research should be established in the State Library for the exclusive use of legislators and legislative committees. To create this division, a staff of research specialists equipped to give legislators factual, authoritative data should be added to the present corps of library and reference workers in the Legislative Reference Section of the State Library. An advisory legislative committee should be appointed to guide the projected division in the determination of research policies.

Upon completion of their assignments, joint legislative committees and temporary commissions should be required to deliver their unpublished data and transcripts of hearings to the proposed legislative research agency for indexing and preservation.

Joint legislative committees and temporary commissions should be required to report to the legislature no later than four weeks after the opening of the session if such reports are to be considered at that session.

Bill Drafting and Law Revision:

Bill drafting facilities should be made available on November 15 preceding annual legislative sessions, instead of December 1 as at present.

The Bill Drafting Commission and revision clerks of both houses should whenever possible examine all bills before they are delivered to the legislative printer.

A ledger should be prepared giving the statutory history of all state laws and showing "live" statutes, implied repeals and supersessions. Such a ledger should be patterned after the system devised by the New York City Board of Statutory Consolidation.

Compensation of Legislators:

The constitution should be amended to permit the fixing of legislative salaries by law as is done in Congress. When possible, legislative salaries should be raised to at least $5,000 a year, and the speaker of the Assembly, the majority and minority leaders of both houses, and the chairmen of the fiscal committees should be compensated at $15,000 a year.

The Lobbying Law:

All representatives of groups interested in legislation except counsel or agents of localities or public agencies should be required to register with the Secretary of State regardless of whether or not they are compensated for legislative appearances.

The Secretary of State should send copies of notices of appearance as soon as they are made to the clerk of each house, who should post conspicuously a list of legislative agents and their sponsors and transmit to the chairmen of appropriate committees copies of the appearance statements.

In addition to an itemized account of expenditures of legislative agents required within two months after adjournment, associations, corporations and organizations employing such agents should render monthly statements during the session of all expenditures incurred by their representatives, the purpose of the expenditures, and a list of the bills and resolutions promoted or opposed.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The city council of **Marquette, Michigan,** on April 22 adopted the manager plan by ordinance, designated "approved" by the International City Managers' Association.

Salem, Oregon, adopted the manager plan on May 17. Incomplete returns give the vote as 2511 to 2075. **Springfield, Oregon,** defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 214 to 207.

At its town meeting on March 5 **Cavendish, Vermont,** adopted the manager plan, voting to operate under the state's optional manager law.

At a special election on May 7 the borough of **Medford Lakes, New Jersey,** approved a change from commission government to the council-manager plan; the vote was 112 to 17. Mayor Leon E. Todd and Commissioners Eger and Morgan endorsed the change.

On April 9, **Delano, California,** adopted the manager plan by a vote of 418 to 202. In **Daly City, California,** however, the voters defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan.

Clarksville, Texas, adopted the council-manager plan on April 26.

Various municipalities in Missouri continue to show a lively interest in the manager movement, according to the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey. In **Lebanon** both candidates for mayor in the recent election endorsed the manager plan at a Chamber of Commerce dinner, where two speakers from Neosho, City Manager Boone and Mayor Johnson, told of the successful operation of the plan there, where it was adopted in 1944. Those present showed overwhelming approval of the manager idea. In **Columbia,** seat of the state university, the city council recently appointed a committee to study forms of city government and make recommendations to the council. Newspapers are aiding the movement with publicity in **Chillicothe, Jefferson City, Cape Girardeau, Poplar Bluff, Mexico, Louisiana, Macon** and **Springfield.** In **Mexico** the service clubs recently had a joint meeting at which City Manager Cookingham of Kansas City spoke. In Chillicothe the Rotary Club heard L. G. Hardy, newspaper publisher of Moberly where manager government is in effect, discuss the plan. **Boonville** is interested also.

Citizens assembled at the courthouse in **Stuttgart, Arkansas,** for the annual caucus to nominate municipal officials, indicated their overwhelming approval of the manager plan, which was proposed by Dr. S. A. Drennen, former councilman and mayor, and approved by the present mayor, Dr. H. S. Neel. Other municipal officials and members of the city council supported the suggestion. Mayor Neel was authorized to investigate the manager plan.

A joint investigating committee from **Roseburg, Oregon,** has been studying the manager plan in operation in other Oregon cities. It is headed by a member of the city council, to which the committee renders its report.

In the Massachusetts legislature the new bill filed by Speaker Frederick B. Willis of Saugus, to enable **Boston** to adopt "Plan E" (council-manager and proportional representation), was killed in the Senate. The bill was a substitute for his earlier proposal, and called for a local election on the plan if petitioned for by 20,000 Boston voters. The measure provided for a council of nine, who would receive $5,000 each per annum, would choose one of their number as mayor to receive $1,000 additional, and would appoint a manager at not more than $20,000, the present mayor's salary. A school committee of five members, with the mayor as a sixth member, would also be elected by proportional representation.

The **Brockton, Massachusetts,** *Union* reports a movement for Plan E in **Quincy**, despite a relatively low and stable tax rate, and adds, "Brockton should be a pushover for a city manager plan as long as the extravagant habits of the present regime continue."

A vigorous movement for the council-manager plan is under way in **Madison, Wisconsin**; the League of Women Voters is particularly active.

In **Rice Lake, Wisconsin**, the weekly *Chronotype* is conducting an editorial campaign to promote discussion of a council-manager plan for that city.

The **Montevideo, Minnesota,** Junior Chamber of Commerce has voted to support amendments to the city charter providing for the council-manager plan.

In **Madison, South Dakota,** committees from the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs are making a concerted effort to introduce the council-manager plan, including circulation of petitions for a special election.

A citizens' group in **Enid, Oklahoma,** is working for adoption of the manager plan.

A charter committee in **Yuma, Arizona**, is considering use of the manager plan.

Bennington and **Hartford, Vermont,** and **El Reno, Oklahoma,** recently defeated proposals to abandon the manager plan.

At the April 2 election in **Kaukauna, Wisconsin,** a manager proposal was defeated by a vote of 1,800 to 721. Advocates of the plan indicate that contributing causes were concern for the municipal electric utility now operated by a commission which fought the manager proposal, fear for jobs on the part of incumbent officials and employees, and the opposition of tavern-keepers whose license fee was sought to be increased by Mayor Nelson, an advocate of the manager plan.

Interest in the plan is also exhibited in **Grand Forks** and **Williston, North Dakota, Abilene, Texas, Wickenburg, Arizona,** and **Halifax, Nova Scotia.**

Manager cities receiving awards in the National Traffic Safety Conference contest included Wichita, Kansas, winner of first place in the 100,000-250,000 population group and also of the grand prize; Oakland, California, and Lynchburg, Virginia, also won first place in their groups; Rochester, New York, won second place; and Houston and Sweetwater, Texas, Norfolk, Arlington and Alexandria, Virginia, Berkeley, California, Hamilton, Ohio, Saginaw and Jackson, Michigan, New London, Connecticut, Tucson, Arizona, Albert Lea, Minnesota, El Dorado, Kansas, Morgantown, West Virginia, and St. Augustine, Florida, won honorable mention.

Modernization of Building Codes Under Way

The need for revision of municipal and state building codes to meet the housing emergency and utilize new building materials and methods, including prefabricated houses, has produced action by a number of authorities. Some codes have already been revised, and model codes have been prepared under various auspices.

On April 20 the Building Officials Conference of America, Inc., announced completion and publication of suggested basic construction rules to govern prefabrication techniques, as a proposed code for the guidance of cities and counties. It has been in preparation almost two years.

The American Municipal Association reports that two American cities have provided for permanent prefabricated units and that building regulations in general are being revised to further the trend. The 1946 editions of the uniform building codes of the Pacific Coast Building Officials Conference and the Southern Building Codes Congress both contain chapters covering prefabricated construction.

Leominster, Massachusetts, on April 9 and Janesville, Wisconsin, on April 15 adopted building code provisions for prefabricated construction.

These are permanent provisions whereas recent building code amendments or relaxations permitting use of prefabricated units in many cities are merely emergency measures. In St. Louis, for example, an ordinance scheduled for early adoption permits use of Quonset huts until June 1, 1949. Worcester, Massachusetts, and Tulsa, Oklahoma, are considering code amendments to allow prefabricated construction. Toledo, Ohio, has completely revised its building code; a board of building standards and appeals will judge new material and methods. Chicago has adopted a two-year emergency code and is working on a long-range revision.

New Mexico and Indiana have adopted modern building codes recently, the National Association of Housing Officials reports, reflecting mounting interest of state governments in lowering building costs and encouraging use of new materials. Colorado, Connecticut, New Jersey and Missouri are actively promoting uniform building laws.

The salient feature of the New Mexico code is flexibility, with reliance on performance rather than specification standards. It is based on the Pacific Coast Uniform Building Code, a model code revised periodically to conform with building developments. More stringent regulations may be imposed by cities and counties as long as they do not conflict with the state code, administered by a Contractors' License Board.

Indiana's code, based in part on the Pacific coast model, is also founded on performance rather than specification standards. Revisions to keep the code up with new structural developments may be effected without recourse to involved legislative action. In both Indiana and New Mexico, the new codes have statutory force. Colorado has a new model code available for adoption by counties, cities and unincorporated areas within the state.

Legislative Results in New York State

Following the close of the legislative session in New York State and the expiration of the period for signing bills, Governor Thomas E. Dewey on April 24 made a radio report on the results. He stressed the following:

Appropriation of the accumulated state surplus of $500,000,000, as a post-war reconstruction fund, for highways, parkways, canals, welfare institutions, emergency housing for veterans, conservation, recreation facilities, etc.;

Tax reduction of $90,000,000 for individuals and $32,000,000 for businesses;

Increase of state aid to localities to 55 per cent of the state budget, and placing its allocation on a population basis (see the REVIEW, March 1946, page 147);

Expansion of permanent housing program, in addition to emergency housing;

Establishment of extensive state aid for veterans, including educational helps;

Start of an expanded health and tuberculosis program.

Many important bills which passed the legislature and were signed by Governor Dewey met the approval of the Citizens Union of New York City which, as usual, gave careful and continuing scrutiny to the legislative program. Several bills to which it strongly objected became law, however, including that setting up an exclusive New York City Airport authority, removing airport development from the city's control; a bill relaxing safety standards for houses converted from one- or two-family to three-family dwellings; and a bill providing a high degree of tax exemption for improvement of outmoded tenements. Four bills strongly favored by the union were passed but vetoed: one for permanent city control of redevelopment housing projects, one to permit an increase in the budget of the New York City Board of Higher Education, one requiring a public referendum before change in the length of the term for an elective officer, and one designed to end the use of substitute teachers, in lieu of permanently appointed teachers, for regular teaching positions in New York City.

The Governor vetoed a bill, opposed by the union and many others, to prevent a grand jury from censuring an official unless making a criminal charge.

Bills favored by the union and which became law included several increasing facilities and financial aid for public housing, safeguarding residential and commercial rent control, recodifying the multiple dwelling law (after painstaking work by a joint legislative committee), permitting municipal parking garages, providing compensation insurance for domestics in larger municipalities, extending the central registration period, and simplifying nominating petitions.

Cooperative Improvements by Pacific Coast Cities

Notable examples of cooperative activity on the part of cities, counties and states are found on the Pacific coast, particularly in California for shoreline development and in Washington for pollution control in which Oregon also participates.

The state of California, the fifteen coastal counties and some 40 cities on the coast are in the midst of a cooperative program to develop, restore and preserve the beauty and recreational values of 1065 miles of shoreline, of which 433 miles are sandy beach. This activity is described in detail in *Western City* for April. Nearly one-fourth of this mileage is now in public ownership—102 miles by the federal government, 64 miles by the state, 27.5 miles by counties and 65.5 miles by cities. Although the war largely suspended further public acquisition and development, and defense uses diminished future recreational advantages in some cases, development has now resumed, aided by a $10,000,000 appropriation by the state legislature last year for beach acquisition, to be allocated on a matching basis. No part of this fund is to be used in a coastal county that has not adopted a master plan providing for the acquisition, development and improvement of the beaches. Such a plan is subject to approval of the State Park Commission; and the State Division of Beaches and Parks is required to prepare a master plan, coordinating the county plans. Many coastal cities have geared their beach programs to county plans, and the latter in some cases stem from the planning work of the cities.

In Washington the coordinated efforts of 42 municipalities and the state government have resulted in a program for the construction of modern sewage treatment plants costing more than $20,000,000. The American Public Works Association reports that the program is directed by the Washington State Pollution Control Commission, created by the legislature last year with a $125,000 appropriation. It consists of the directors of the five state departments of conservation, fisheries, game, health and agriculture.

The commission's progress report disclosed that many municipalities have already submitted plans for the construction of disposal systems. Thirty-six Washington communities now have modern sewage disposal facilities, but six of these have been rated inadequate by the commission, which has made recommendations for improvements.

Intensification of Washington's pollution problems in Puget Sound is said to be due to industrial expansion during the war. Tacoma and Seattle are taking steps to reduce pollution.

Pollution control in the Columbia River is being effected by joint action of Washington and Oregon. On the Oregon side, Portland has started the Columbia River cleanup with funds from a recent $12,000,000 bond issue.

Voting Machines for Massachusetts

Installation of voting machines is being considered by 24 Massachusetts communities, according to the International City Managers' Association. In Boston, where eight machines have been operating in two wards for a period of years, the election commissioners favor installing additional machines as soon as funds are available. The association reports that voting machines are now used in all of the state of New York and in most Connecticut cities over 10,000 population, and that half the cities and towns in Pennsylvania also use them.

New CIO Federal, State, Local Union

At a national convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, during April two unions of governmental employees, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, merged to form the United Public Workers of America. The two unions were the United Federal Workers of America and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America. It was reported that the new organization starts off with 73,140 dues-paying members.

The convention approved a constitutional clause that it would not be the policy of the union to engage in strikes, but delegates opposed to the provision were assured that it was not intended to prohibit strikes if all other methods of gaining the union's objectives failed.

President Philip Murray of the CIO urged the new organization to unionize as many as possible of 5,000,000 employees of federal, state and local governments. Some of these employees now belong to other unions, including the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL).

The latter union held its national convention at the same time, in Chicago. Arnold S. Zander, its president, announced that out of nearly a thousand locals, about 50 are made up exclusively of policemen, and that his union would continue activity in the police field, despite refusal of the American Federation of Labor to sanction the taking of policemen into its ranks. He stated that the union's constitution bars strikes on the part of police.

Municipal employee organizations were formed in 68 cities last year, according to the Civil Service Assembly. These included local chapters of national organizations in 49 instances and also nineteen unaffiliated employee groups.

All fourteen U. S. cities with over 500,000 population have municipal employee groups or unions to some extent, while less than half the cities between 10,000 and 25,000 have similar units. Of the 1072 cities over 10,000 population, 618 have some kind of municipal employee organizations. Besides the two national unions mentioned above there is another large national group, the International Association of Firefighters (AFL). Employee groups not connected with national unions now operate in 143 cities over 10,000.

Police locals are reported in 49 cities, eighteen of which were organized last year. In six cities, police unions were disbanded last year. The CIO does not organize policemen into separate unions.

Municipal employees are frequently members of unions other than their own public employee groups, the assembly notes, including carpenters, plumbers and other trade unions.

Researcher's Digest

New Bureau Issues First Research Pamphlets

Soil Conservation, State Education System Studied

THE **Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico,** organized in November 1945, has issued its first two reports: *The State Education System* (40 pages) and *The Soil Conservation Problem in New Mexico* (20 pages).

Thomas C. Donnelly, director of the division, is author of the first, which contains a brief resume of educational history in the state beginning with 1540 when Coronado made the first conquest of New Mexico. Present-day problems on state, county and municipal levels are discussed in detail. In suggesting changes in organization on the state level dual control of education by an appointive board and an elected superintendent is disapproved. "The best opinion," says the study, "appears to favor giving the state board the power to appoint the superintendent from the country at large on the basis of his professional achievement and administrative ability". An appendix contains tables on 1944 budgets, revenues, expenditures and sources of income for schools.

The second pamphlet, entitled *The Soil Conservation Problem in New Mexico*, was prepared by Director Donnelly and Paul Beckett, assistant director of the bureau, with aid from the Regional Office of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service in Albuquerque. It is well illustrated with photographs. Each pamphlet is available from the division at 30 cents.

The division has as its purpose "the

study of federal, state and local problems of government in New Mexico." It plans to select for study subjects of current importance to the people of the state, making reports available to those interested both in New Mexico and elsewhere.

Kansas Bureau Issues New Series

The **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas** is publishing a series of bulletins titled *Your Government*, each issue to be devoted to a separate topic on the organization, functions, operation and problems of government, according to an announcement by Ethan P. Allen, director. The first study, "Valuation of Property for Taxation," describes assessment procedure throughout the state of Kansas. It points out the weaknesses of the system and suggests remedies for them. The second study, "City Elections in Kansas," gives in tabular form the number of cities, divided by classes, using the various forms of government —mayor-council, manager and commission; city officials elected, frequency of elections, whether partisan or nonpartisan, terms, primary and election dates, etc. Described are nomination and election procedures, voting qualifications and registration requirements. Both studies were prepared by W. Rolland Maddox, assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas.

Reorganized Newark Bureau Studies Special Assessments

First publication of the reorganized **Bureau of Municipal Research of Newark, New Jersey**, Henry W. Connor, executive secretary, is *Benefit Assessments for Street Improvements.* One of the first plans in Newark's large postwar construction program is a proposal to repave and resurface some 34 streets. In the past it has been the city's practice to pay for such improvements by levying assessments on property owners to be benefited. The proposed ordinance for the repaving, however, states that no special assessments shall be levied but that the entire cost is to be met from general city revenues. This report is a discussion of some of the factors to be considered in deciding which plan is best.

Alabama Bureau Studies Parolees

Latest publication of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** is *These Came Back—A Study of Alabama Parolees* (104 pages), by Mary Ruth Graham. Foreword to the study is by Roscoe C. Martin, the bureau's director, who cautions the reader that this is "neither an analysis nor an appraisal of parole administration. It deals solely with the person released by the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles." The study covers the first five years, 1939 to 1944, of the parole board's operation. In her conclusions the author states that definite patterns of parole success and failure may be found, that in general the successful parolee is a mature person, rural dweller, married with more than one child, was convicted of a crime against the public (mainly liquor law violations), has a clear prison record and no previous criminal record, received a short sentence and served a short prison term. Contrariwise, the unsuccessful parolee is young, a city dweller, single or divorced, a textile worker or skilled laborer showing instability in employment, was convicted of a crime against property, had a previous criminal record and a bad prison record, received a somewhat longer prison sentence and served a somewhat longer term. Race, education, intelligence, physical condition, venereal disease, prohibition in county of conviction and associates in crime bore little relation to parole outcome.

California Postwar Employment Forecast

Samuel C. May and Alfred G. Norris are co-authors of *Estimates of California Employment and Unemployment, 1946-1947* (49 pages, $1), published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California at Berkeley.** Professor May has prepared the first section of the report, "Estimates of Unemployment in California, 1946-1947" which is an expansion and refinement of his earlier study, *The Postwar Unemployment Problem in California, 1945-1947.*[1]

To test Professor May's prediction that there will be a million unemployed in California, the bureau decided on an independent study to be made by a consulting research engineer devoting his time to postwar economic problems. Mr. Norris was chosen for this task and his contribution to the publication is "The California Postwar Employment Problem." It uses a different method of study from that of Professor May and arrives at the conclusion that before the end of 1945 between 810,000 and 1,251,000 persons in California may be unemployed.

The bureau, of which Professor May is director, continues its publication of *Postwar California*, a monthly digest of information issued in cooperation with the California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission. Dorothy C. Tomkins is editor.

GRA Publications

The first in a special pamphlet series to be issued by the **Governmental Research Association** is *The Professional Development of Governmental Research*, an address by Dr. John F. Sly of Princeton University, delivered at the association's December conference.

Notes & References, monthly publication of the association, contains an article by Wylie Kilpatrick, county consultant to the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census, on "Census Bureau Aids to State and Municipal Research."

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Baltimore Debt

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** devotes an issue of *Your Tax Dollar* to "The City of Baltimore Debt, A Graphic Presentation of Its Chief Features." Because the city has been proposing scores of public improvements for which money must be borrowed—some already approved by the voters, others to be submitted at later elections—the commission gives in brief and simplified form data on essential over-all features of the city's debt as of January 1, this year. The discussion covers debt figures for general purposes, trends in net debt, ratio of net debt to fixed assets, range of interest rates, service costs, term of present debt and many other factors. D. Benton Biser is the commission's director.

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Town Government Charted

A summary of the optional alternative provisions of the Massachusetts law relative to town administrative organization has been prepared by the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Inc.,** of which Norman MacDonald is executive director, and issued as a seven-page mimeographed leaflet. Charts show the various forms under which towns may be governed. A town may divide its business among many elected boards and officers, as demonstrated in Chart I, or it may place most of its business under the selectmen as illustrated in Chart II.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1945, page 574.

Actually, the pattern in each town lies somewhere between the two extremes. Two charts show the numerous boards and officials, acting independently, which it is possible to have in the field of public works alone and—the other extreme—all public works under the direction of the selectmen. Listed also are the general laws providing for elected and appointed town officials.

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Year's Report

In its bulletin of April 12 the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines,** where Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, reports on activities for the past year. Chief among the problems studied were the proposed three-platoon fire department, new airport hangar, extension of sewers beyond the city limits and financing future paving construction.

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Local Finance Probed

Citizen Research, Inc., of Columbus, Ohio, devotes several recent *Reports*, illustrated with apt pen and ink drawings, to city and county finances.

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Strictly Personal

On military leave since 1944, **Richard A. Atkins** has returned to the secretaryship of the Municipal Research Bureau of Boston.

J. Kirk Eads has received his discharge from the army and is with the Finance Department of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

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Veteran Researcher Dies

John C. Davis, director of the Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee (now known as the Milwaukee Citizens Governmental Research Bureau) for fifteen years prior to his retirement in 1944, died on March 10. Mr. Davis was formerly dean of the engineering school at Marquette University, which he organized.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

'Colonel Effingham' Whips Augusta Machine

Civic Movement Scores an Impressive Victory

A SIGNIFICANT victory for good government was scored in the spring elections in Augusta, Georgia, where the Cracker party, which had kept tight control for a generation, was soundly defeated.

Facing opposition for the first time in more than a decade, the Cracker party's three candidates for the state legislature and three candidates for the Richmond County Commission lost to six independent business and professional men who were newcomers to the political arena. Among those defeated was Roy V. Harris, speaker of the Georgia House and for many years a powerful figure in state politics, who lost to William S. Morris, publisher of the *Augusta Chronicle*. Mr. Harris had made the typically Cracker demagogic "white supremacy" appeal which, the champions of good government insisted, was a false issue.

The victory brings the first substantial evidence of success for a civic movement which, while seeming to progress with painful uncertainty in the city itself, gained considerable national fame through the book and motion picture, *Colonel Effingham's Raid*,[1] a satirical novel based on Augusta politics.

The central figure, Colonel Effingham, was a retired army officer who returned to his old home to find the community firmly held in the grip of a political machine. The belligerent old colonel promptly launched a roaring crusade which, in the book, seemed more humorously charming and naive than likely to succeed.

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[1] For a review of this book see the REVIEW, April 1943, page 217.

The book was in a measure somewhat autobiographical. Berry Fleming, the author, although no old soldier, had in fact returned to Augusta after living in New York and various other parts of the world. There he encountered pretty much the situation he described in the book. He dug into it and, in correspondence with the National Municipal League and other sources of fact-ammunition, gradually managed with the help of friends to show the people of Augusta what they were enduring. He organized and was the first president of the **Augusta Citizens Union.** The union retained the League's Consultant Service to make an administrative and financial survey of the city's government with a view to providing the organization with a sound program. The survey report recommended many improved practices and the adoption of the council-manager plan.

The break came early this year with repeal of the Georgia poll tax. The **Junior Chamber of Commerce** put on an intensive registration campaign that resulted in a list of some 27,000 registrants, nearly three times the previous totals of nine to ten thousand. More than 20,000 of these, quadruple the normal number, went to the polls to defeat the six Cracker-backed candidates by a three-to-two majority.

The Citizens Union had stayed in the background during the campaign but had worked diligently for the independent candidates. Predicting a new era of enlightened government, Henry Poteet, now president of the Citizens Union, in a post-election statement pledged that the union would back independent candidates for the City Council in the summer election.

Mr. Fleming is a member of the council of the National Municipal League.

Civic Groups Report, Meet, Elect

"Great cities are built by people who care . . . and Seattleites who care belong to the Municipal League" is the headline of the **Seattle Municipal League's** annual report on 1945 activities. The report is almost completely pictorial and tells a graphic story of what the league has accomplished and what it hopes to do in the future. Typical members are portrayed, league staff and committees are shown at work, the latter gathered round long tables with reams of paper spread out before them. "Here's How the League Tackles a Job" is a two-page center spread giving a case history of one committee project. A chart describes growth in membership—from 345 in 1939 to 2596 in 1946. The report was edited by Paul W. Seibert, editor of the league's *Municipal News.* C. A. Crosser is executive secretary of the organization.

Election of candidates to the Seattle league's Board of Trustees was conducted according to the Hare system of proportional representation. Fifteen candidates were nominated for the nine places on the board. Balloting was conducted by mail.

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association,** of which William R. Pouder is executive secretary, has dedicated its latest report of activities to "Andrew Jackson, a Tennessean who as President Paid Off the Federal Debt." *Ninety-five Millions Saved by Governmental Economies in Fourteen Years, 1932-1945* is its title. Printed in blue with red headlines, the report cites an impressive list of accomplishments, including the association's 1945 statewide survey of the governments of the various counties, cities and towns of the state. This survey—its tenth—presents a ten-year picture of the significant features of local government finance in Tennessee. Listed also is the association's fourteenth yearly survey of state finance.

Savings in state expenditures which the organization has been instrumental in securing have been brought about by such constructive means as reorganization of the personnel and procedure of the State Department of Finance and Taxation, installation of a modern central accounting system, survey of the structure and administrative procedure of the state government by experienced, nationally known consultants, and many more.

The **Detroit Citizens League** held its 34th annual meeting at a dinner on May 16. Michael V. DiSalle, vice-mayor of Toledo, addressed the group on "The Toledo Peace Plan in Industry." William P. Lovett, executive secretary of the league, reported on "Fifteen Years with Michigan Grand Juries." Five directors of the organization were elected.

The **National League of Women Voters** held its biennial convention at Kansas City, Missouri, April 30 to May 3. Not a single breakfast, luncheon or dinner was scheduled for the 500 women delegates because of the world famine situation. In her presidential address at the opening session, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, the league's president, reported that the league's membership has risen in the last two years from 54,782 to 61,990, a 13 per cent gain. Distribution of publications has nearly doubled, from 16,000 to 31,000. There are 34 state and 525 local leagues. Miss Strauss reported on the league's proposed program of work for the next two years on which convention delegates from the various state leagues voted.

Numerous state Leagues of Women Voters have also held conventions this spring, including those of New York, Minnesota, Connecticut, Wisconsin and Massachusetts, where programs for the forthcoming year were adopted.

April saw the annual meeting of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association,** organized in December 1943. The association, of which Mrs. Nelson Morris is secretary, now includes most of the important civic, professional, commercial, neighborhood, religious and labor organizations in the Toledo area. Some of the matters discussed at the annual meeting were: extension of membership to include other groups, interests and individuals; continued formation of neighborhood planning councils; greater participation in the development of the Toledo master plan; greater activity of outlying communities; official recognition of the association as an advisory body to the City and County Planning Commissions.

The annual luncheon and election of officers of the **Albany, New York, City Club** was held May 11. Guest speaker was Dr. Donald H. Davenport, deputy commissioner of the New York State Department of Commerce, who spoke on "Economic Development and Community Planning." Miss Berta S. Bendell is executive secretary of the Club.

At its annual meeting in April the members of the **Committee of 100 of Yonkers** listened to Mayor Curtiss E. Frank and City Manager Robert Craig Montgomery speak on the city administration. Because of the interest in city problems, an invitation to attend the meeting was extended to guests of members. Outgoing President Charles M. Carpenter presided at the meeting. which elected his successor, Warren Spooner.

The Third Annual Conference on

"The Small Community," conducted by **Community Service, Inc.,** will be held July 17-24 at Yellow Springs, Ohio. Topics include "Small Community Industries and Economic Reconversion," "Anthropology of the Community," and "Planning for Community Health and Vitality." Leaders are Ralph Linton of Columbia University; Arthur E. Morgan, president of Community Service, Inc.; C. T. Habegger, president of the Berne (Indiana) Manufacturing Company; and A. R. Mangus of Ohio State University.

The **Second Annual Institute of Community Leadership** will meet at Syracuse University July 10-24. The institute is under the joint auspices of Syracuse University, New York State Citizens' Council and the New York State Education Department's Bureau of Adult Education, in cooperation with the Committee on Community Education of the New York State Association of Colleges and Universities, New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations, New York State Council for the Social Studies, New York State Association of School Boards, Educational Conference Board and National Planning Association. Honorary chairman of the institute is Chancellor William Pearson Tolley, of Syracuse University; the chairman is Mrs. Rhea M. Eckel, executive secretary of the New York State Citizens' Council; the director is John W. Herring. The institute program is designed to give leaders "a practical, down to earth, introductory understanding of eleven fields . . . a knowledge of how to start, where to get the expert, how to organize, how to mobilize public support."

Massachusetts Federation Graduates First Civic Class

The first training course conducted by the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** for new federation staff members was completed in April with appropriate ceremonies. The class was composed of eleven young men, most of them war veterans. "This training course," said Reginald W. Bird, president of the federation, in his address to the class, "has been a unique undertaking in the field of citizen interest in government. . . . Yours is now the responsibility for carrying on and expanding the great work which the federation has performed during the past fourteen years in arousing citizen interest in government to the end that ours may continue to be the best government in the world." Executive Director Norman MacDonald acted as toastmaster for the graduation ceremonies. Assistant Executive Director W. Neil Kimball, who organized the training class, and Research Director Elwyn E. Mariner, responsible for the curriculum and the securing of outside speakers, also addressed the class.

Duties of the new staff members will include assistance to present local associations, help in the formation of new local associations and aid to public officials in providing better government at both the state and local levels through assistance by various departments of the federation. Graduates have received assignments either to field work or to local taxpayer associations.

What, No Lottery?

"Does Massachusetts Want a Lottery?" "No!" says the **Massachusetts Civic League** emphatically. In a four-page leaflet descriptive of the evils growing out of legalized lotteries, the league urges its members to ask senators and representatives to vote against lottery bills now before the state legislature.

New Citizen Publications

The Allegheny Conference Digest is published by the **Allegheny Conference on Community Development of Pittsburgh.** "Can Pittsburgh's Housing Compete?", by Max Nurnberg, is the main article in a recent number in which tables and charts compare Pittsburgh's present housing conditions with those in various selected cities and counties. Miss Elisabeth M. Sellers is editor of the *Digest*; Park H. Martin is executive director of the conference.

The **Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri,** is publishing periodically *What's What in Local Government*, a mimeographed sheet in blue which crams into its single page a lot of valuable information on "what gives" in St. Joseph and Buchanan County. Henry Rolfes, Jr., is executive secretary.

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Flint School Expenditures

The executive committee of the **Genesee County (Flint) Taxpayers Association** has given considerable time to studying a report on revenues and expenditures of the Flint school system as compared with those in other Michigan cities, 24 states and the District of Columbia. The report was prepared by the association's executive secretary, G. Keyes Page. The committee's recommendations, submitted to a meeting of the association, were that: (1) "the Flint Board of Education patently needs and should have additional funds for the adequate operation of the city's school system"; and (2) "the only immediate available source of additional school revenue is an increase in the levy upon real and personal property." Specifically, the committee recommends that "in the public interest and to meet the existing emergency the Board of Directors of the Genesee County Taxpayers Association endorse the proposal of the Flint Board of Education to increase the tax rate of the city of Flint by the amount of three mills for a period of five years."

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Vote for School Funds

Pointing out that its members endorsed a four-and-a-half-mill tax increase for school building purposes by a vote of 122 to ten, the **Citizen's League of Port Huron, Michigan,** urges citizens to get out and vote on "this vital question." In its April 29 bulletin, *The Citizen*, the league points out that though 21,000 persons were eligible to vote in the 1944 school election for increased millage, 19,000 stayed at home A total of 1499 voted "yes" and only 887 voted "no." "But," says the league, "a vote for an increased millage requires a two-thirds majority, so the 19,000 non-voters who stayed at home put the stamp of approval on our disgraceful school buildings just as certainly as the 887 who voted "no." Gerald F. Collins is chairman of the league's Civic Committee for Better Schools.

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Report on Legislation

The *Georgia Voter*, published by the **Georgia League of Women Voters,** presents a resume of the laws of general interest passed by the legislature in its fifteen-day adjourned session of January 1946. Comments are also made on proposed legislation which failed of passage. Home rule provisions for towns, cities and counties are of particular interest to the league, says the bulletin in referring to a bill—later withdrawn—which it did not consider adequate. "The league believes," comments the bulletin, "there is legal talent in Georgia capable of drawing up a home rule bill which would give to each local government three fundamental rights: (1) the right to have its voters choose the form of local government under which they wish to live; (2) the right to have its voters fix the terms of office, duties and salaries of its officers and employees; (3) the right to make zoning and planning laws for its own territory."

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Forms of Government

The **Civic League of Pompton Plains, New Jersey,** is conducting forum discussions designed to determine the form of government most suitable to the community.

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Strictly Personal

Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago, delivered three Walgreen Foundation lectures at the university on trends and problems in American democracy. His subjects were: "Bureaucracy and Democracy," "Parties and Pressure groups in Democracy," and "The Citizen's Education and Role in Democracy." Walgreen lectures are free and open to the public.

The Board of Governors of the Portland (Oregon) City Club has announced the appointment of **Miss Margaret Clarke** as executive secretary of the club. Miss Clarke was formerly in Washington with the U. S. State Department as research analyst and writer.

Emmett Salisbury, president of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, has appointed **Joyce Swan,** publisher of the *Minneapolis Times,* as chairman of its newly created Committee on Committee Personnel. This group will look over the association's membership list and select men to be asked to serve on present committees as well as a number of new committees to be appointed to help handle the growing civic burden.

Educating the Voter

The **Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh)** and the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters** have issued a joint *Voters' Directory,* 50,000 copies of which have already been distributed. "Neither organization expresses any partisan choice among the various candidates and endorses none," says the introduction to the list of candidates for the forthcoming primary election.

The Civic Club is conducting a daily radio broadcast titled "Know Your Candidate," the purpose of which is to increase interest in the primary and to publicize the *Directory.* Each noon a special staff from Station WWSW goes to some public spot, such as a theater lobby, large store or street corner, and there conducts a fifteen-minute interview with passersby, which is recorded for broadcast that same evening. "The initial program went over well," reports Miss H. B. Scott, assistant secretary of the club, "but showed an appalling lack of information on the part of the voters."

The **Cleveland Citizens League** has devoted two of its issues of *Greater Cleveland* to reports on primary candidates. For officials to be elected within the county the league states its preferences. On state and national candidates factual information only is given with no preference expressed. Estimates of candidates are the joint opinions of the Committee on Candidates and the Board of Trustees. This year's is the 48th annual report which the organization has issued.

The **Florida Voters' League** has issued a news release on the results of its investigation of candidates for the Democratic primary. It is devoted to candidates for Congress and state offices.

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Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

An Italian Election under the Hare System

France Uses P. R. for Its New Constituent Assembly

AN ELECTION held in the little commune of Atri, Teramo Province, Italy, about twenty miles from Pescara, is significant and worth reporting for several reasons. It was the first public election by the Hare system of proportional representation held on the continent outside of Denmark. It was probably the first formal election in Italy after 23 years of Fascism. It was probably the first election in Italy at which women voted. It is evidence of the value to Military Government of the proper kind of election system, a lesson Allied Military Government never showed the slightest inclination to learn.

I arrived in Atri June 18, 1944, the day after the Germans left, and established a government in accordance with AMG policies.

As this was the first town I had been assigned to after the Rome-Pescara break-through, it was my first experience with Committees of Liberation or *Partigiani* (Partisans). I had received no instructions about them. I was astonished when the leaders of the committee informed me they had been acting in accordance with Allied radio broadcasts and that, according to those broadcasts, they were the government of the town. I convinced them that I was the government for my superiors until such time as I got further instructions. When the instructions arrived they were to the effect that there had been broadcasts and that I should use tact in handling the groups—just as short and informative as that.

Atri was one of the least politically-minded towns in the sense of parties that I visited in Italy. Although it had a 20 per cent illiteracy rate it seemed to be an enlightened community from the bottom up. Unfortunately, politics seemed to be dominated by two characters with criminal records who had established themselves as the underground leadership of the *Partigiani.* These men and their small group of supporters kept things in a constant political stir and I was tempted to follow the usual AMG practice of tossing them in jail or shipping them out of the area. I remembered my orders to use "tact," however, and held an election—the most tactful instrument I could think of.

The problem which faced me is one which faces every Military Government officer—to select civilian officials and advisers who are honorable, efficient and respected, and properly representative of the town's interests. Since Military Government is unfortunately but officially classed as a dictatorship, this problem was seldom recognized.

But the efficiency and effectiveness of any government, whether dictatorship or democracy, is dependent on the will and opinion of the people. I wanted to know what the public attitude was toward my civilian advisers and administrators. I wanted to know what the political attitudes and thinking in the community really were. The best way to find out how the people think is to let the people express themselves, and just about the most certain method of doing this is to hold a Hare system election.

I had heard vague rumors about an order against elections, but nobody had ever given a copy to me. I told my superior that unless he could give me a copy I would hold an election.

There was little selling to be done so far as the civilians were concerned. Somebody in every town in Italy always asked, "Why don't you have an election?" I called the town leaders together and announced I was going to settle the political squabbling by holding an election. All were happy about it except the two self-appointed political leaders, who knew as well as I did that they would be washed up.

It was easy to get approval for the Hare system. I simply said it was the most modern and advanced form of election. It had been so long since any of them had been concerned with the subject that none could argue the point, so they left the technical direction to me.

Votes for Women

The idea of permitting women to vote caused most controversy. I took a rather firm position from the first, thinking I would force the issue through. My attitude didn't work, however, as I had already demonstrated my willingness to discuss my responsibilities.

Everybody was an authority on the place women should play in society and spoke positively and frankly, even shockingly, on what that place was. As there were three or four in the group who were strongly in favor of women voting, the argument became fast and furious, as any Italian argument can.

When it seemed that my side was going to lose I interjected that I had read much before coming to Italy on how the women of the Abruzzi were the most beautiful and intelligent in the world, and that they completely dominated the family. I said it was extremely difficult for me to understand why the men wanted to bar the best half of the community's brains from participation in civic affairs. They were reluctant to argue this point. It was explained that this was an experimental election and that in the future they could have any kind of election they wanted if they didn't like it. Women voted.

A proclamation announcing the election for July 23, 1944, was published on July 15. It permitted anyone over the age of eighteen who had lived in the town six months to vote. Any qualified voter could become a candidate by presenting a petition with ten signatures to me by July 19. The council was for the purpose of advising me on commune affairs and to have whatever powers I or my superiors should see fit to delegate to it. The proclamation gave instructions for polling places, voting by illiterates, and voting in secret. It included a sample ballot without names of candidates and a statement on the count.

I didn't bother about provisions for registration or any of the other usually important election details. In the first place, there wasn't time. In the second place, there was no reason to believe they would be necessary. In the third place, why bother about it when you are almost a dictator and could order anybody to do anything to insure the sound conduct of the election and put anyone in jail who might attempt to interfere.

The old secretary of the commune was a great help. An Italian communal secretary is a close approximation to a city manager. This chap was one of the best. He had been a secretary for over 30 years, serving in that capacity before Fascism. He remembered where the ballot boxes used in the old days were hidden and dug them up and had them repaired. They were really first-class contraptions, much better than many I have seen in the States. They were made of steel and re-enforced glass, and had all kinds of devices for protecting the ballots from thievery or tampering.

I described to him the election officials I would need and he, with the help of other community leaders, produced them easily. He insisted that I leave to him the arrangement of the polling places.

After the publication of the first proclamation the enthusiasm of the people fascinated me. Especially interesting was the attitude of the women toward their right to vote. There was considerable discussion about candidates but things generally were quiet.

Nominations Made

By July 19, 25 petitions were presented. The incumbent mayor's petition was not in, and I learned he did not intend to be a candidate. As he was a good man I felt it important that he run. I therefore told him that it would displease me if he were not a candidate and that unless he had some serious objections I would simply place his name on the list of candidates without bothering about a petition. He didn't object. This probably sounds like a horrible thing to do but there were reasons that made it necessary.

On July 21 another proclamation was published which contained a sample ballot with names of candidates and a repetition of voting instructions.

At 6:30 A.M. on election day the ballots, ballot boxes and other materials were distributed to the six polling places. The election started at 7:30. During the day I visited all the polling places and was pleased with the way things were going. I was especially impressed with the secret voting booths which had been arranged and also with the number of women voting. It was reported later that 30 per cent of the vote was from women. There was no disturbance whatever.

At about 1:30 we began collecting the ballots for the count. A section of the public square in front of the city hall had been roped off as a counting place. It took a lot of persuasion to get me to approve this, as I just couldn't visualize an open-air counting place. It worked perfectly, however, thanks to the lightness of the wind.

With the thought of speeding up the count I had selected far too many sorters and counters and messengers. Although they fell all over each other in their enthusiasm, things proceeded with adequate dignity and a minimum of confusion.

The only soldiers in the town, which was off the main roads of military traffic, were my British driver and two F.S.S. sergeants (British counter-intelligence). This was fortunate as it permitted us to operate without fear of interference from high rank, who would probably consider an election a communistic device and suspect me of being an agent from Moscow. The two F.S.S. sergeants had assisted me all through the planning of the election with considerable enthusiasm. Both had some academic background and one had done some extensive study in government before coming into the army. They were more certain than I that elections were against orders but thought it was about time somebody in the Allied armies showed some interest in democracy.

They were of special assistance to me during the count as one of them spoke much better Italian than I did at that time. All of our Italian was rather feeble, although it was much better than using any of my three interpreters. One of these was a deported Capone gangster who spoke no Italian when he arrived in Italy a few years previously. Another was a former laborer on the Pennsylvania Railroad. The third was a young German

Jewess who spoke very little English and far from perfect Italian. Direction of a Hare system count is a difficult matter when the director speaks the equivalent of the language of an eight-year-old.

Count Goes Smoothly

The count went off without a hitch, however, and was completed in about three and a half hours. There was only one incident which really disturbed my piece of mind. During the early part of the count one of the more prominent officials asked me what would happen in case of a tie for low man at any given stage of the counting. I was very busy at the time and without much forethought said they would both be declared defeated. It was my misfortune to have a tie occur on the next count. The official announced my decision before I knew about it and I didn't feel it would be proper to change the ruling at that time. Even more disastrous, although probably only in my own mind, a crucial tie occurred in the next to last count. It almost spoiled the whole election to have to declare these candidates defeated. Both were of the left and I felt certain that one of them might have been elected had only one been declared defeated and his votes allowed to transfer to the other whenever the other was next choice.[1]

The total number of valid ballots was 1172. With seven to be elected the quota was 147. Less than 2 per cent—22—of the ballots were spoiled. Only one man was elected on the first count and only three received the full quota. There were 250 exhausted ballots—valid votes which did not help elect anyone. The other 942, 80 per cent, did help elect someone for whom they were marked. So far as I know there was no fraud or attempted fraud.

The small number of valid ballots was about what I expected. It was large considering that the whole event took place in ten days without political parties or strong political activity. The communal secretary was disappointed as he had expected several times as many votes. His explanation was that the election occurred in the middle of the harvest season and therefore everyone was busy in the field. The community was almost entirely agricultural.

This may also be an explanation of the extremely conservative results. There wasn't a single man elected who could be classified as a leftist. On the other hand, there were no reactionaries, and the conservatives could probably be better classified as liberals. As an example, the man who got most votes was one of the largest landowners in the area. He and his sons were hard-working, wholesome people who worked in the field with their peasants. There was little question that he merited being the most popular man in the commune. The commune was fairly rich and had never been much concerned about politics or Fascism. Thus the election results, as with any Hare system election, merely represented the will of the people as accurately as it could be represented.

The election proved several things. One was that the Hare system is not too complicated for any group of people regardless of their general training or literacy; second, that the Hare system is an ideal mechanism for Military Government. It enables Military Government to secure the most complete information possible about the political thinking of the community and to gain the cooperation and support of the people. It also gives Military Government confidence that it knows what the people think of the civilians it uses for government positions.

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[1] Only one should have been defeated for the reason the writer suggests. A group large enough to deserve a place should not lose out just because it happens to divide exactly evenly between two candidates. The usual rule is to declare defeated the candidate who was lower on the last preceding count. Editor.

I am now convinced that Hare system elections could have been used to advantage by Military Government even in forward areas. Much of our occupation difficulties in all of Europe could have been overcome by its use and building from the bottom up.

It is not too late even now to use the plan in the occupied areas, remembering that democracy is impossible where there is no trust in the people.[2]

Unfortunately I cannot tell what happened to my town council. I was ordered to move on three days after the election and have not returned since.

ROBERT E. GARRIGAN
Former Major, AMG

France's Second P. R. Election

Because of the rejection of the proposed new constitution by the French electorate on May 5, another constituent assembly is being elected on June 2 by the same party list system of P. R. that was used in the elections of October 21. A slightly different list system had been adopted in April for the election of the single-chamber parliament proposed by the new constitution, but the adverse vote on the constitution has made the new election law inoperative. France's system for future elections will be drafted by the constituent assembly which frames the constitution eventually adopted.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Fulton County Votes on Manager Plan

Recommendation of Grand Jury Secures Referendum

VOTERS of Fulton County, Georgia, have finally been given an opportunity to vote on the manager plan. After first rejecting the proposal, the Fulton County Democratic Committee has followed a Grand Jury recommendation to hold a referendum on the plan at the June 4 primary election. Atlanta's leading newspapers have published editorials in support of the proposal.

The grand jury reported that the manager system has been recommended since 1938 and that nine previous grand juries have urged its adoption. It declared that the manager bill which was approved by only one house of the General Assembly last year failed to pass only because of differences of opinion regarding the merits of the specific bill.

The referendum on the proposal serves to give voters an opportunity to express their desires regarding a manager plan for the county. In order that it might represent truly informed public opinion, the grand jury recommended that a series of public hearings on the issue be held before the election date.

In case of failure of such legislation to pass, the grand jury stated that it believed the county commissioners had sufficient authority to establish the office of county manager under existing law and that prevailing opinion in the county would support such a move.

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[2] This policy is being partially followed in the American zone in Germany where, however, the form of P.R. used is the party list system.

Clackamas County Defeats Manager Proposal

Voters of Clackamas County, Oregon, in an election held May 17, defeated a proposed manager charter[1] by a vote of 6323 to 3321.

Merit System Recommended for Massachusetts Counties

The Committee on Civil Service of the Massachusetts state legislature has urged adoption of an extension of the civil service laws to include counties under the merit system. The committee made this recommendation despite the fact that in the public hearings various county officials opposed it bitterly. The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations has declared:

> For years the federation has been urging such change in order to curb the odious county spoils system by which elected county officials pass out jobs as political favors . . . The committee's recommendation entirely supports the federation's contention, and is the first break in the solid wall of nepotism and favoritism behind which county government in Massachusetts has maintained itself in power through the years.

New York Counties May Become Special Welfare Districts

Under the Ostertag law, which became effective April 1, 1946, the counties of New York State may elect to become special districts for welfare purposes. Any county desiring to establish such a district must submit its plan through its board of supervisors to the State Department of Social Welfare for prior approval.

Oregon Plans Rural and Suburban Zoning

In an effort to guide the development of areas adjacent to cities, Governor Earl Snell of Oregon has appointed a committee to study the problem of rural and suburban zoning and to draft legislation on this subject for presentation to the 1947 state legislature. The newly appointed chairman of the committee has declared: "It will be the function of the committee to develop some kind of control for fringe areas outside of incorporated cities, to give some authority to boards of county commissioners cooperating with municipalities, and to bring some order out of the chaos now developing adjacent to and around cities."

A city and county planning bill was introduced in the 1945 legislature, but action on it was postponed pending further study, such as that now being undertaken.

Milwaukee County Studies Smoke Control

A Special Committee on Countywide Control of Smoke Emissions, appointed by the Milwaukee County board, is studying the problem of smoke abatement in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. A committee of the Milwaukee city council and special committees of several suburban municipalities are also giving simultaneous study to the problem.

The Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee is urging that the problem is one which should come under the exclusive control of the county for the obvious reason that smoke recognizes no political boundaries.

Wisconsin Considers Piecemeal County Reorganization

The Interim Committee on County Government of the Wisconsin state legislature recently listened to representatives of the Wisconsin Citizens' Expenditure Survey Committee regarding recommendations for modernizing county government without the necessity of a constitutional amendment. The representatives appearing before the Interim Committee suggested adoption of the following proposals to modernize county government rather than continuing further attempts to amend the Wisconsin constitution to permit optional forms of county government:

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[1] Described in the REVIEW for April, page 206.

(a) Establishment of a county finance officer for each county; (b) mandatory centralized purchasing in each county; (c) elimination of many administrative boards and integrating authority in the county board; (d) coordination of traffic activities at the county level; (e) elimination of all fees as compensation for county officers; (f) improvement in committee structure of the county board; and (g) better distribution of representation on county boards.

Nevada County Commissioners Organize Association

As the result of a meeting called by Governor Pittman of Nevada to consider the matter, county boards of commissioners in the state have formed the Nevada Association of County Commissioners. Expenses of the association will be met by a fee of $50 to be paid by each county plus a prorated amount to make up the total budget, based on the assessed valuation of each county. Seventeen of the state's 23 counties were represented at the meeting.

Purposes of the organization will be, in part, to provide means for the cooperation of counties and the interchange of ideas and experience by county officials; to collect, compile and distribute to county officials information on the administration of county affairs; and to make comprehensive studies of local problems and the application of efficient methods to local government.

County auditors and treasurers, organized last year as the County Fiscal Officers Association, held their annual meeting on April 27 at Reno. Sixteen counties were represented.

Texas Counties Are Active

Reports from Texas indicate that the counties of that state are busying themselves with problems of reconversion and future development. Some of the items recently reported include:

(1) The March short course for county officials held at the Agricultural and Mechanical College at College Station, Texas, was highly successful;

(2) The reconversion conference of the West Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association held in Amarillo in April also met with great success;

(3) Harrison County is now receiving bids for the construction of a memorial airport;

(4) Lamb County voters have expressed themselves in favor of moving the county seat from Olton to Littlefield;

(5) The president of the County Judges and Commissioners Association is campaigning in support of the antidiversion of highway funds amendment to the constitution which will be voted upon in the November elections;

(6) Jefferson County has refused to grant a petition for a 40-hour week signed by 90 per cent of the courthouse employees; and

(7) Hidalgo County commissioners are suffering a case of acute frustration resulting from their attempts to find a sufficient number of Republicans to serve as precinct election judges.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

New and Old Sources Bring Increased Revenues

Kentucky Receipts for 1945 Show Gain over Previous Year

An 18 per cent increase in Kentucky state tax receipts for the first nine months of the 1945-46 fiscal year compared with 1944-45 is recorded by the State Department of Revenue in its monthly report for March. The largest increase was in consumer taxes, which rose 25.9 per cent, but a close second was license and privilege taxes, up 24.9 per cent. Income taxes rose 7.3 per cent.

The department's comparative schedules show tax receipts for the first three-quarters of the current fiscal year at $46,819,731, compared with $39,674,492 for the same period in 1944-45. Reflecting the end of gasoline rationing and approach to more normal conditions of automobile travel and trucking, motor fuel taxes rose from $9,469,188 to $11,972,564, although vehicle registration taxes dropped from $2,805,265 to $2,644,036. Despite the dearth of the more potent beverages in the retail market, taxes on distilled spirits production rose from $1,533,240 to $2,945,879. Corporate income taxes dropped slightly from $2,437,346 to $2,291,296, but individual income taxes rose from $1,777,605 to $2,232,425.

Cities Add to Revenue Sources

Over 230 cities adopted new sources of municipal revenue last year. Service charges, taxes on amusements and utilities, and business licenses were the methods most frequently used.

Refuse collection charges were adopted by more cities last year than any other new source of municipal revenue, according to a survey conducted for the *1946 Municipal Yearbook* by the International City Managers' Association. Thirty-two cities initiated such levies in 1945, including Lewistown, Pennsylvania, Vancouver, Washington, and Livingston, Montana. At least 130 cities now make special charges for refuse collection.

Adoption of sewage rental charges last year boosted to 190 the number of cities over 10,000 population now using that means to increase municipal revenues. Various methods of fixing the charge were used. Waco, Texas, imposed sewer rentals based on the number of plumbing fixtures but this year abandoned them; Xenia, Ohio, last year began a charge of $6 per residence annually; Oelwein, Iowa, bases its sewage disposal charge on water consumption.

Many kinds of amusement taxes were adopted by cities last year. Licenses or taxes on juke boxes, ranging from $7.50 to $35 annually per machine, were imposed in nineteen cities over 5,000. Athol, Massachusetts, for example, taxed juke boxes operating on Sunday $10 per Sunday. Pinball machines and other coin-operated amusements were taxed for the first time in thirteen cities. Spokane, Washington, expects to realize $100,000 this year from its new 5 per cent tax on income from slot machines.

In several cities movies, theaters and exhibitions were taxed for the first time last year. In some cities amusement taxes were based on a flat rate of two or three cents a ticket. In San Bernardino, California, Norfolk, Virginia, and other cities the amusement tax was based on a percentage of the admission charge. Another variation of the tax was used in Aurora, Illinois, where the tax was fixed on the basis of the seating capacity. In San Diego, California, a new tax was imposed on amusement parks based on floor area.

Adoption of public utility taxes is also reported increasing. These taxes vary from a percentage of telephone company receipts to a levy on water and light bills. Nine cities taxed buses for the first time while eight other cities placed municipal taxes on autos.

Business licenses and fees adopted by many cities are expected to boost municipal income substantially. Redondo, California, officials expect that one-fourth of the city's revenue will come from business licenses alone.

Revenues from Gasoline Tax Increase

Ten states collected more than $25,000,000 each from gasoline tax revenues in 1945. This was cited in a recent report of the North American Gasoline Tax Conference which listed total receipts from state gasoline taxes during the past year as $849,600,000—an increase of 13 per cent over 1944 collections which totaled $747,400,000.

Of the ten states that lead the nation in revenue collections from this source, Florida with its levy of seven cents a gallon had the highest tax rate of the group. North Carolina collected six cents per gallon while Indiana, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas imposed a tax of four cents per gallon. California, Illinois and Michigan collected three cents per gallon.

The ten leading states with the amounts collected by each from gasoline taxes during 1945 are: California—$58,000,000; Florida—$25,500,000; Illinois—$37,700,000; Indiana—$25,900,000; Michigan—$29,100,000; New York—$53,200,000; North Carolina—$26,500,000; Ohio—$47,500,000; Pennsylvania—$47,600,000; and Texas—$58,100,000.

Three states increased the rate of their gasoline tax during 1945. Oklahoma raised its tax from 5 1/2 cents per gallon to 7 1/2 cents and provided that this new rate, the highest in the country, remain in effect until December 31, 1946. Idaho's tax increase was from five to six cents per gallon and is to remain in effect until March 1, 1947. The rate in Iowa was boosted from three to four cents. Earlier this year, Virginia increased its rate from five to six cents per gallon.

Nationally, the peak of revenue from state gasoline taxes was collected in 1941 when receipts totaled more than $1,000,000,000. The wartime low in collections was 1943 when state revenue from this source dropped to $719,200,000.

States Make Appropriations for Welfare

Of the fourteen state legislatures holding 1946 sessions nine already have enacted major medical and welfare legislation with large appropriations for new hospitals, psychiatric services and city relief, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

Kentucky's increased welfare appropriations include $1,000,000 for operation of its new 1,600-bed psychiatric institution acquired from the army, and boost per capita maintenance cost of mental patients approximately 50 per cent. Another Kentucky enactment provides $3,000,000 to complete the $4,500,000 statewide project of five 100-bed tuberculosis sanatoriums.

Kentucky has also authorized formation of medical service corporations. All licensed physicians in a county are eligible to join and all subscribers may choose the physician to attend them, but at least 51 per cent of the licensed doctors in a county must sign up before a corporation can be formed.

California has appropriated $3,300,000

for the purchase or lease of hospital facilities to relieve overcrowded state mental institutions. New York legislators have provided for creation of a comprehensive training program for physicians in psychiatry and neurology and have added a hundred resident physicians to staffs of state mental hospitals and schools for the mentally deficient.

Incorporated in sweeping New York welfare legislation is provision for reimbursement to cities of 80 per cent of all relief costs as a means of stabilizing municipal finance in bad times. Reimbursement comes from both federal and state funds. New York's legislation also furthers coordination of state, county and city welfare activities.

Virginia has enacted legislation authorizing the Supreme Court of Appeals to grant licenses for hospital construction.

Missouri legislators created a Department of Public Health and Welfare to incorporate administration of old-age pensions, aid to dependent children, direct relief and other welfare services. Idaho created a four-man commission "to manage and operate" charitable institutions including state hospitals and the soldiers' home.

M.F.O.A. Convention Announced

The 1946 annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association will be held June 10-13 in Richmond. Among the subjects to be discussed by speakers and by round table groups will be city revenue sources, salary and wage problems and policies, planning and marketing municipal bonds, public works and housing, employee retirement plans and accounting.

The conference will take place with Carl H. Chatters, its executive director for many years, on leave of absence. Mr. Chatters left in mid-April to serve with the U. S. Occupation Forces in Germany as chief of the Public Finance Section, Public Finance Division, Office of Military Government. His absence from the country during the period when American cities are making the transition from war to peacetime conditions is regrettable, but the need for Mr. Chatters' services abroad has been described as equally pressing.

In Mr. Chatters' absence, the executive director of the association will be Miner B. Phillips, formerly controller of Pasadena, California, and president of the association in 1938-39. Mr. Phillips was granted a military leave of absence from his Pasadena duties three years ago, to serve with Military Government in Africa and Europe. With the rank of lieutenant colonel, he served as chief finance officer for MG in Bavaria. He leaves Pasadena, where he recently returned, to assume direction of the association.

Local Bond Authorizations Rise

During April voters in 182 communities in 31 states approved issuance of new state and municipal bonds aggregating $84,775,800, compared with approvals totaling $36,689,000 in April 1945. According to *The Daily Bond Buyer*, which compiles the figures, the April 1946 total was the largest on record for that month. It was also the largest since November 1945, when proposals submitted at general elections carried approvals for the month to $214,777,000.

The Bond Buyer's tabulation shows aggregate state and local bond authorizations of $162,186,000 for the first four months of 1946. This was more than three times the $52,739,000 approved for the first four months of 1945, compared with $23,553,000 authorized in the four-month period of 1944 and the wartime low of $1,929,000 approved in the first third of 1943.

Most of the units which authorized new bonds during the war experienced delays, arising mainly from shortages of materials and labor, before the bonds could be sold. This year bonds of some of the older authorizations have been coming on the market, and there has been a tendency for the more recent authorizations to be sold shortly after the voters give their approval. State and municipal bonds sold in April amounted to $72,753,585, according to *The Bond Buyer*, or somewhat less than the new authorizations for the month, but for the first four months of 1946 sales were nearly double authorizations, and amounted to $313,825,186. This was less than the $350,352,337 sold in the first four months of 1945, but a greater amount than was marketed in the first third of any other year since 1941.

Greater Cleveland Votes Big Improvement Program

At the May 7 primary, voters of Greater Cleveland approved bond issues and tax levies for capital improvements, to be constructed during the next six or seven years, aggregating $58,590,000. Counting the matching money which approval of these issues is expected to make available, the total anticipated amount available for improvements is over $80,000,000.

Specifically, the voters approved eighteen Cleveland city bond issues totaling $35,350,000; five county issues, $14,055,000; seven suburban issues, $2,825,000; and a Cleveland School District six-year improvement levy of .8 mill expected to yield about $1,060,000 a year.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* described the election as "unique in being the first at which the city of Cleveland, Cuyahoga County and the Cleveland Board of Education joined in a unified effort to get approval of a large capital improvement program affecting all three."

The program was developed and presented as a unit, with the vigorous support of all the governments concerned as well as that of the newspapers, a special campaign committee of 1000, and substantially all civic, business and welfare organizations. There was no organized opposition.

The coordinated program and campaign were the culmination of two years of effort. The Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council, representing a cross section of the civic interests in the community, worked to bring about the timely planning and sifting of the postwar improvement projects of the several governments and to secure a coordinated program which would be financially sound and meet the principal over-all needs of the area.

The financial aspects of the program were based upon a study by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, representing the National Municipal League's Consultant Service, at the request of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research and the development council. This study showed that by scheduling the issuance of the bonds over the next six or seven years, the program can be financed without increasing the present tax rate for debt. This proved a potent argument with the voters.

Improvement issues must have 65 per cent of the votes in Ohio. This hurdle has tripped up many projects in the past. In the light of history, the 73 to 84 per cent votes won by the city and county propositions on May 7 seemed quite phenomenal to Clevelanders.

The suburban issues were adopted by votes ranging from 69 to 90.4 per cent. Two other suburban issues obtained majority votes but failed to meet the 65 per cent required.

Another significant fact is that substantially more people voted on the issues than in the party primaries. The total Cuyahoga County vote for governor was 138,052 as against a range from 147,730 to 158,452 on the county issues. It is true there were no major contests in the primaries and that, as a writer for the *Plain Dealer* reported, the primary "produced one of the most apathetic campaigns and the lowest total vote of any election on record." Only a little more than one quarter of the registered voters came to the polls at all. Nevertheless, the fact stands that the campaign on issues interested more voters than the personalities of candidates. It also may be noted that the approximately 100,000 Cleveland city voters who expressed themselves on the issues were almost four times the number who voted in a special election in February on a charter amendment for an increase in the city's operating levy.

Most of the voters responded to the campaign argument to approve all issues as essential parts of a single program to modernize and refurbish the public plant. The issues presented covered the widest possible variety of tax-supported public works, including city and county hospital facilities, health centers, airport development, parks and playgrounds, highways, bridges, sewers, cemeteries, shade trees, zoo improvements, river straightening, county administration building, and public safety buildings. Hospital, health and sanitary facilities generally received the highest favorable votes.

JOHN BEBOUT

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

New Zealand Committee Urges Reorganization

Probes Consolidation and Local - Central Relations

THE select committee on local government of the New Zealand Parliament issued a far-reaching report in November, suggesting numerous modifications of the present system of local government. Two problems were uppermost in the committee's mind.

First of all, the problem of consolidation presented itself in several ways. The country has long been hampered by too many special or ad hoc units of local government such as rabbit, hospital and harbor boards. Then too the metropolitan units of government are not suited to the present extent of urban growth; much overlapping exists.

In the second place, the problem of the change in functions of local and central governments during the last few decades is a difficult one. For administrative efficiency and budget adequacy, some alterations in the present distribution of functions and intergovernmental financial relations is essential.

To meet the first problem, the report suggests a local government commission with wide powers relative to consolidation. To meet the latter, the report recommends certain functional and financial readjustments.

Hardly had the report been issued when many local authorities, fearing damage to some local interest, passed resolutions opposing various parts of it. The surprising fact, however, is that there has been much general approval of the report. Probably representing the preponderant body of thought, *Board and Council* editorialized: "In general the report is a sane and sober document. It is to be hoped that the government will give to it the careful study which it warrants."[1]

Recommendations

A summary of the principal recommendations in regard to the reorganization of function and area as given in the report is as follows:

"(1) In the districts of many territorial local authorities the area does not correspond with the community of interest. As a consequence in some districts . . . there are several territorial local authorities administering an area which could be administered by a single responsible body. In some cases urbanized areas of counties adjacent to boroughs should be included in the borough. In some cases smaller counties could with advantage be amalgamated among themselves or absorbed by larger counties.

"(2) There are too many hospital boards in New Zealand at the present time. We recommend that steps be taken at a very early date to reduce considerably the number of hospital boards. . . .

"(3) Some electric power districts are too small to operate as efficient units and should be amalgamated with larger boards. In some cases small territorial local authorities are operating electric power distribution. These could be more effectively administered by a larger power board to include these urban areas.

"(4) While there may be a case for the retention of some of the larger rabbit boards, we think that in general the problem of rabbit destruction should be the responsibility of the county councils. The actual decision as to which rabbit boards should be so absorbed should be left to the local government commission discussed below.

"(5) While there may be a case for the retention of large drainage and river boards, the territories of which extend beyond the territory of one county, yet in general we think that land drainage and river protection should be made the responsibility of the county councils. The implementing of the decision should be left to the proposed local government commission

"(6) There is a pressing need for a thorough overhaul of the whole position of the harbor facilities of the dominion, particularly as to the smaller ports. There is some evidence that there should be some readjustment of the boundaries of harbor districts.

"(7) Although the destruction of noxious weeds is at the present time the responsibility of the county councils, many of these bodies do not accept their responsibility. Steps should therefore be taken to compel county councils where noxious weeds are a menace to proceed effectively with their destruction. . . .

"(8) We therefore recommend that a permanent local government commission be set up, which shall consist of three salaried members, the chairman to have the status of a judge of the supreme court, one member to be appointed by the government because of his knowledge of local government, and the third member to be appointed from a list of nominees submitted by the various national associations of local bodies.

"This commission should have the responsibility of carrying out a survey of the problem of area and function of all local authorities in the dominion, and of drawing up schemes for reorganization. The commission should not only deal with the amalgamation of like bodies, but also with the absorption of internal bodies such as rabbit, drainage and fire boards by the territorial local authority and, generally, with the areas and functions of local bodies in the dominion. We recommend that when such a commission is set up the problems of Auckland, Christchurch, and of hospital boards should be among the first to be dealt with.

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[1] See *Board and Council*, November 14, 1945, pages 1-5.

"The commission is to be responsible to Parliament. Its reports are to lie on the table of the house for 30 days, and if not objected to, to become law. If objected to by a local body through its members of Parliament, the specific questions under discussion should be submitted to a committee of the house which would have the right, if necessary, to amend the report in any particular. Once the report is adopted by the house it should become law.

"It is recognized that to put this recommendation into operation will require legislation, and we recommend that this legislation be proceeded with during the present session of Parliament. It is not considered that statutory action will be necessary in every case of reorganization if adequate powers are given to the commission.

"We do not consider that a poll of taxpayers should be required subsequent to the findings of the commission."

Other Recommendations

In addition to suggesting certain modifications of the tax system as regards hospitals, county highways and lands of natives, the report recommends:

(1) Certain enterprises of the central and local governments should pay rates the same as private enterprises;

(2) Profits from electric utilities should not be used to lower rates;

(3) Fire protection should be the responsibility of the territorial local authority. This means that, except in exceptional cases where the fire district extends over the area of more than one territorial local authority, fire boards should be abolished. In order that insurance companies may have representation, it is recommended that every locality be required to set up a statutory fire committee, and to give it full administrative powers except in the matter of raising a loan or striking a rate. The insurance companies should have representation on this fire committee. The implementing of this proposal should be left to the proposed local government commission.

It is recommended that there be a redistribution of fire protection costs, based on the government's paying not more than 20 per cent, insurance companies 50 per cent, and the local authorities approximately 30 per cent. The justification for the increase in government subsidies is the large number of central government houses, the increasing amount of its property, and the large amount of produce owned by the state which is not insured in New Zealand and does not pay anything towards fire protection.

(4) More attention should be paid to the problem of recruiting and training local government officers, and local authorities should be encouraged to establish retirement systems. More uniformity in salaries for the same work in different local authorities would be desirable.

(5) Local authorities should be given considerably increased powers in regard to regional planning.

Plural Voting

After a disagreement between the two houses of the Western Australian Parliament, the government provision for the abolition of plural voting at municipal elections was deleted from the bill to amend the Municipal Corporations Act.

(Continued on Page 332)

Books in Review

The Structure of Local Government. By Donald G. Bishop and Edith E. Starratt. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies of the National Education Association, 1945. 140 pp. 50 cents.

Parties and Politics in the Local Community. By Marguerite J. Fisher and Edith E. Starratt. Washington, D. C., National Council for the Social Studies of the National Education Association, 1945. 143 pp. 50 cents.

These studies are the first two of a *Community Study Series* planned by the Maxwell School of Citizenship of Syracuse University, whose distinguished dean and co-editor of the studies, William E. Mosher, died about a year ago. The pamphlets have been prepared for the use of teachers of social studies in the secondary schools. "Those interested in the program," says Dr. Mosher in the preface of the first-named volume, "have come to the conclusion that one can derive about the same advantages from the community as a laboratory as the natural scientists do from their physics or chemistry laboratories." Each volume is divided into two sections: an analysis of the problem and teaching aids, the latter prepared in both instances by Edith E. Starratt.

In the volume on local government by Donald G. Bishop, chapters have been devoted to each of the various local units—city, county, township, village, etc. The author has done an excellent job in general. Material is well organized. Chief defects are the use of outdated figures and failure to mention such tools of government as proportional representation for election of city councils. His comment on the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW that articles "are written for city officials but contain much information of value to the citizen," might well be reversed.

In the second volume Dr. Marguerite J. Fisher analyzes not only political parties, especially at the local level, but also the methods by which the citizen makes his wishes known—nominations, campaigns, suffrage, registration, elections. One chapter is devoted to an informative discussion of citizen groups and their activities. Her material also suffers somewhat from the use of outdated references.

Both volumes include bibliographies and should fill a long-felt need in high school civics classes.

Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life. By Carl L. Becker. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. xlii, 126 pp. $2.50.

This volume contains five lectures delivered under the auspices of the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan. Subjects covered in Professor Becker's talks include The American Political Tradition, Freedom of Speech and Press, Freedom of Learning and Teaching, Constitutional Government and Private Economic Enterprise. An introductory essay on the life and influence of the author, who died a few months after delivering the lectures, is by Vice President George H. Sabine of Cornell University.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

Airports: Location, Design, Financing, Zoning, and Control.[1] Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1945. 24 pp. $1.

National Policy for Aviation. Aircraft Production—Air Forces—Air Commerce. A Statement by the NPA Board of Trustees and a Report by the NPA Advisory Committee on the Aircraft Industry. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. 68 pp. 50 cents.

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[1] A portion of the proceedings of the 1944 Public Works Congress, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Building Codes

Your Building Code. By Miles L. Colean. New York 18, National Committee on Housing, Inc., 1946. 29 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1946. 20 pp. $1.

Education for Public Service

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A List of Colleges and Universities Offering Programs of Training. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1946. 13 pp.

Police Science and Administration—State College of Washington. Pullman, State College of Washington, Department of Police Science and Administration, 1946. 43 pp.

Housing

Veterans' Emergency Housing Program. Hearings on H. P. 4761. Statement by Wilson W. Wyatt, National Housing Administrator and Housing Expediter, before the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1946. 42 pp. Charts.

Municipal Regulation of Temporary Housing and Prefabricated Construction. By Roy H. Owsley. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1946. 33 pp. $1.

Municipal Authorities

A Report of the Committee on Municipal Authorities of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Joint State Government Commission, 1945. 56 pp.

Planning

Rehabilitation in Boston. A Progress Report on Reconditioning, Project Costs and Benefits to Developer City and Tenants. Boston 8, City Planning Board, 1946. 81 pp. Maps, charts.

Price Control

The End of Price Control—How and When? A Statement on National Policy by the Research Committee. New York 17, Committee for Economic Development, 1946. 14 pp.

Public Safety

Eleven Comprehensive Services in Driver Education and Training Available to High School Administrators. Washington 6, D. C., American Automotive Association, 1946. 24 pp. Illus.

Let's Look at the Record. A statement of the case for the 190,000 people who face death by traffic accidents in the next five years. Address by Norman Damon. New York 17, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1946. 19 pp.

Manual for Chiefs of Police for the Operation of the Police Traffic Safety Check. Evanston, Illinois, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1946. 16 pp.

Recreation

The ABC's of Public Relations for Recreation. A Primer for the Recreation Worker. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1946. 64 pp. Illus. 85 cents.

Streets

Current and Suggested Street Cleaning and Maintenance Practices in American Cities.[1] Report of APWA Committee on Street Cleaning and Committee on Street Maintenance. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1945. 18 pp. 75 cents.

The Dynamics of Street Outlay and Design for Urban Traffic.[1] Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1945. 18 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1945. By N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1946. 8 pp.

Marketing Municipal Bonds. Some Practical Suggestions. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Payroll Accounting. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, May 1946. 30 pp. 50 cents.

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LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

(Continued from Page 329)

Reorganizing Municipal Government

Governments in three Latin American nations have recently taken steps to reorganize their municipalities.[1] Panama's new projected constitution provides for municipal councils in each district, members of which shall be elected for four-year overlapping terms. The initiative and referendum is provided also, and a mayor is to be elected every two years. Governors of the provinces are appointed by the national executive, and it is provided that "the state may temporarily take over municipal responsibilities when need arises from epidemics, serious public disturbances, and for the general public welfare according to law."

In Peru a committee has been appointed to draft a reform of the organic laws of municipalities. Meanwhile, temporary local councils have been provided, to be selected by electoral assemblies in each department (an area administrative subdivision), the assemblies composed of certain designated functional representatives and the municipal councils to include functional representation as much as possible. The local elections will be the first municipal elections held in Peru in 30 years, and for the first time in the nation's history, women will be given the right to vote.

The government of Venezuela has issued new regulations for municipal powers and organization. The civil heads of state districts are given power to appoint and remove municipal attorneys and municipal revenue administrators and to prepare and issue income and expense ordinances with the advice of the municipal boards.[1]

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[1] *Boletin* of the Panamerican Commission of Intermunicipal Cooperation.

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The League's Business

Winant Meets with League Officers

League President John G. Winant, who retired as ambassador to the Court of St. James's to become United States representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, met May 27 with the League's executive committee at the Uptown Club in New York.

Problems of local government and citizen activity in the United States and abroad were discussed. President Winant expressed the conviction that the immediate postwar years will witness an unprecedented opportunity for service by the League.

The 1946 budget was approved after Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer, called attention to the need for an increase of at least $17,000 in revenue for the year.

The executive secretary reported briefly on the League's current program which, he said, involved assistance in a record number of local, county and state situations. Currently active committees whose work was reported on were: Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions, Committee on State Government, County Government Committee, Committee on a Model Fiscal Program and Nominating Committee.

Present, in addition to President Winant and Mr. Pforzheimer, were: George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, Richard S. Childs, Arnold Frye, George H. Gallup, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, Ralph B. Maltby, Mark Matthews, Lawson Purdy and Alfred Willoughby.

Taft Heads Social Welfare Assembly

Charles P. Taft, president of the Cincinnati Charter Committee, who has been active in National Municipal League affairs for many years, has been elected president of the National Social Welfare Assembly, formed to coordinate national planning among 39 private and governmental agencies which comprise its membership.

Jones Returns to Berlin

Lieutenant Colonel Howard P. Jones, League secretary on military leave, returned late in June to Berlin, Germany, after a 30-day leave in the United States. It was his first visit to the United States since he went overseas with Military Government in 1943. Colonel Jones is attached to the Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.), A. & C. Division.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

How to Get Good Publicity

IT WAS only a half dozen years ago that Kansas City, Missouri, was this country's prize example of a corrupt, boss-ridden city suffering from virtually all the ills of crooked politics—alliance between crime and officialdom, an open spoils system, the "kick back" by city employees to the machine, political favoritism and persecution, fraudulent elections and a boss rolling in wealth.

Decent citizens were terrorized. The boss hand-picked the judges and others to whom citizens would normally look for protection of their liberties.

Today the civic and governmental scene in Kansas City is as different as night from day.[1] There are few, if any, cities which are better and more honestly run. Payrolls are no longer padded with thousands of political drones. City employees are well paid and earn their money. Services are infinitely better. No boss is milking and bilking the people to enrich his machine and himself.

It is obvious from the splendid results achieved in the last few years that the people of Kansas City are just as decent as the people of any city and that they were not content with what they used to have. But a dictator had gained the upper hand. He didn't use castor oil or outright murder as other dictators then current were using. Not quite.

But back in 1938, when a young man submitted his entry in the Baldwin prize essay contest, the Review mentioned his admonition that his identity be concealed because "my family, living in Kansas City, would be continually persecuted and my father run out of business if my paper should be published with my true name on it."

A business leader of the city promptly wrote the Review complaining about the "bad publicity" being given to Kansas City. He was told that the cure lay in his own hands and in the hands of other good citizens of the place.

Now he has his answer in full. Kansas City is winning one honor after another for progress, and the publicity is good and deserved. The taxpayer gets his money's worth for his tax dollar. Business does not fear retaliation for failure to "cooperate" nor does it have to pay tribute.

A prime reason for this success was the willingness of high-minded citizens to offer themselves for the City Council and the ability of a discriminating citizenry to elect and reelect them, for in the council-manager plan the Council is the key to the situation. An able city manager was chosen to carry out the Council's policies, and the mayor and Council have steadfastly cooperated with him.

All through its troubled years, the very fact that Kansas City had a sound charter simplified the problem according to this device and some organizational matters were dealt with in this manner. This resulted in many county matters being settled in the General Assembly which, in turn, led to certain abuses. The time of the General Assembly, elected to deal with statewide affairs, was often wasted on local matters; decisions that rightfully should have been made locally were settled in the state capitol; the legislature depended almost entirely on population as a basis of classification and was unable to separate counties with the same population but vastly different wealth and economic and social problems.

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[1] See also page 347.

The old constitution made no provision for home rule or alternative forms of government except that a rather elaborate provision was made whereby counties could adopt township organization if they choose to do so. The tax rate limits and debt limits of the old constitution had been amended numerous times since 1875 so that they were a hodgepodge and had little to be said in their favor.

Constitutional Changes

The new constitution authorizes the General Assembly to classify counties into no more than four classes for the purpose of establishing their powers and organization and a "law applicable to any county shall apply to all counties in the class to which such county belongs." For the purpose of establishing salaries, however, laws need only meet the traditional test of "uniformity" within each class so that population-bracket laws may be used to set salaries.

These provisions will lead inevitably to additional delegation of authority to local officials. For example, years ago the General Assembly established a welfare board in Buchanan County by requiring such a board in all counties containing a city of the first class. As Buchanan County was the only one containing such a city, the law was actually a special law in the guise of a general law and was mandatory. Under the new classification, however, Buchanan County is in Class 2 with two other counties, and those two counties do not at present want a welfare board. The law has been revised to say that the *County Court* in counties of the second class *may* establish a welfare board; thus local officials instead of the General Assembly decide if there will be a board.

Every county still must have a County Court *unless* it adopts an alternative form of government or a home rule charter; thus there is an escape under the new constitution where there was no choice under the old one. Furthermore, the County Court no longer languishes in the judicial article of the constitution, no longer possesses an inherent part of the judicial power of the state, is no longer a court of record; it is now a plain administrative board with power to transact county business. Some members of the Constitutional Convention attempted to change the name of the County Court to board of commissioners or some other more descriptive title but a majority of the convention decided that was going a bit too far in flaunting tradition.

The new constitution makes no reference to the old constitutional offices of county clerk, circuit clerk, sheriff and coroner, leaving the General Assembly almost complete say-so on county government structure unhampered by constitutional restrictions. The old constitutional provisions for township organization are also eliminated, further unshackling the General Assembly.

No Fee System

All state and county officers in counties of over 100,000 population must be on a salary and may retain no fees. Some officials in St. Louis City, St. Louis County and Jackson County (Kansas City) received more than $20,000 per year in fees—more than twice the salary of the governor. Of more importance, however, was the fact that the accountability provisions were so drawn that the people were unable to learn how much certain officials actually did receive.

All county officials charged with law enforcement and custody of prisoners must be placed on a salary. This constitutional provision resulted from dissatisfaction with the old fee schedule whereby the sheriff received $1 for making an arrest which might take hours to consummate but $3 for opening court, a matter of a few minutes. Too often he opened court when he should have been pursuing a criminal. On other occasions the sheriff made a special effort to make arrests toward the end of the month to bolster his monthly pay check. Also eliminated is the incentive for the maintenance of speed traps where constables received so much per arrest and the justice of the peace a fee for each conviction.

The new constitution specifically authorizes the General Assembly to establish alternative forms of government for counties; it makes provision whereby up to ten counties may "consolidate" for the performance of some common function; authorizes all political subdivisions, including counties, to contract and cooperate with each other; provides for county consolidation by majority vote; and makes it possible for cities and counties to amalgamate, thereby eliminating one level of government.

All counties of over 85,000 population are given power to draw and adopt a home rule charter. Four counties are now eligible and a fifth will likely have more than 85,000 population when the 1950 census is taken. Counties adopting home rule charters are specifically granted certain legislative powers in contrast to the traditional position of the county as an administrative district. Furthermore, once a county adopts a home rule charter the General Assembly cannot pass any law relating to the establishment, discontinuance or salary of any of its officers. Movements are already on foot in three of the four counties looking towards the election of a commission to frame a charter.

The tax rate limits and debt limits of counties were completely revised and counties were given a somewhat greater leeway in determining tax rates and establishing debts than under the old constitution.

The elimination of the justice of the peace courts by the new constitution, while really a part of the judicial system, also materially changes county government. A magistrate court in each county is substituted for the antiquated J. P. courts. In counties of less than 30,000 population the magistrate is also the probate judge.

Most of these constitutional advances stem by and large from the foresight and sound practical judgment of William L. Bradshaw, professor of political science at the University of Missouri, member of the Constitutional Convention and chairman of one of its local government committees. Substantially every recommendation for change made by Professor Bradshaw in an article in the January 1942 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was embodied in the new constitution with the possible exception of the recommendation that county employees be selected on a merit basis.

Laws Implementing Constitution

The new constitution was adopted on February 27, 1945, at which time the General Assembly was in session. For more than a year, except for two short recesses, the Assembly has labored at the revision of laws to implement it. The article of the constitution on local government was assigned to the House of Representatives and a special Revision Committee on Local Government was appointed to draft necessary legislation. Fortunately, Hon. Douglas Mahnkey, a well liked, intelligent, hard working legislator from Taney County in the Ozarks, was appointed chairman of the committee. Mahnkey and the members of his committee worked long hours with little pay and deserve credit for a tremendous task well done.

Of 223 bills on counties introduced 169 passed the General Assembly. This constitutes approximately one-third of all the revision work-load and is considerably greater than any other one phase of the work. As many as six staff members of the Legislative Research Committee have at times been assigned to the county work.

Because provisions of the laws relating to county government were scattered throughout the three-volume revised statutes, it was necessary to read carefully each of the 15,762 sections and ferret out the six to seven thousand sections related to county government. Each section poised a problem and required a policy decision. Would the sheriff, eliminated from the constitution, be established by law? What qualifications for the office would be established? Would a circuit clerk be established? A county clerk? A coroner? Would the old population-bracket laws establishing the county treasurer, recorder, prosecuting attorney and collector—now unconstitutional—be revised and how? A complete new set of salary laws had to be passed. Problem tumbled on top of problem.

The first big hurdle was establishment of the four classes. It was decided early that St. Louis City-County was excluded from the four classes by reason of special constitutional provisions. This left 114 counties to be grouped into four classes, and a "law applicable to any county shall apply to all counties in the class to which such county belongs." Jackson County (Kansas City) and St. Louis County fought hard to be placed in separate classes leaving only two for the remaining 112 counties, and there was a certain amount of logic in their argument. Jackson County contained one metropolitan city of nearly 400,000 inhabitants, while St. Louis County was suburban to St. Louis and contained some 50 incorporated places the largest of which had 33,000 population.

County Classes Established

By the use of population brackets a considerable body of law had been built up applying to each county. So many laws were passed at the 1941 and 1943 legislative sessions applying only to counties of 200,000 to 400,000 (St. Louis) and only to counties of 400,000 to 700,000 (Jackson) that the legislature was sometimes referred to as the St. Louis and Jackson County General Assembly. In the end the two counties consented to be in one class. The other three urban counties, Buchanan (St. Joseph), Greene (Springfield), and Jasper (Joplin) fell logically into a second class.

The same counties would fall in classes one and two respectively whether population or assessed valuation be used to classify, but the 109 rural counties, to which two classes were allocated, were illogically grouped by the population method because it brought poor and rich counties into the same class. Assessed valuation was finally adopted with the following result:

Class	*Assessed Value*	*Number of Counties*
1	over $300,000,000	2
2	$50,000,000 to $300,000,000	3
3	$10,000,000 to $50,000,000	77
4	under $10,000,000	32

The expressed purpose of the framers of the constitution was to "permit a simpler and less expensive form of government in the smaller counties of low assessed property valuation," and this classification went a long way in carrying out the intent of the framers. Of the 32 counties in Class 4, 30 are in the less wealthy Ozark region where there has long been a need for simpler and less expensive government. For the first time the General Assembly, as a result of the new constitution, is in a position to deal with the problem. Reynolds County (assessed valuation $2,700,000) no longer must have substantially the same set of elective officials as Jackson County (assessed valuation $646,500,000).

The bills on counties introduced in the recent session fall into four principal categories: (1) routine adjustment matters; (2) major changes to fit laws to all counties in the class; (3) bills to implement new authorizations in the constitution; and (4) a revision of the local road laws.

In many instances laws contained population brackets which coincided with one or more of the new classes. For example, the budget law for the rural counties applied to all of less than 50,000 population. This bracket includes all counties of the third and fourth classes so that a bill was prepared substituting "third and fourth classes" for "50,000 population." Some 50 of the bills were of this nature and went through the General Assembly with little controversy.

It was necessary to draw nearly a hundred bills making major changes to fit laws to all counties in the class. For example, under the old law the offices of circuit clerk and recorder were combined in counties of less than 19,000 population but were separate in counties of over 19,000. The solution of this problem in counties of the first and second classes was simple in that the offices were separated. In fourth class counties the offices were combined as all counties in the fourth class were under 19,000 population. However, about half the third class counties had the two offices combined and about half had them separated. Neither group would capitulate. The law was finally written requiring every county of the third class to submit the question of combining or separating to a vote of the people; thus the question will be decided locally instead of by the General Assembly.

Forms of Government

About twenty bills were drawn to implement new provisions of the constitution. Most significant of these were the three alternative forms of government drawn for fourth class counties. These are known as the commission form, the county clerk form and the consolidated office form.

The commission form would abolish the county court and make three of the other elective officials—the county clerk, assessor and collector—ex officio the County Court without additional pay. Such an arrangement would save a county some $2,000 per annum, a rather significant sum in a county with a total budget of $20,000 to $25,000.

In the county clerk form the County Court would remain as the governing body, but the county clerk, assessor, collector and treasurer would be abolished and an elective county clerk would assume their duties.

In the consolidated office form the County Court would appoint the clerk who would assume the duties of five other offices which would be abolished; this form has many of the elements of the county manager plan.

All three bills have passed the House with substantial majorities, but are still before the Senate.

The new constitution made no significant change in the provisions governing local roads except to increase from 25 cents to 35 cents the maximum levy by counties for roads. It was generally conceded, however, that the local road laws of Missouri seriously needed revision and the committee chose to revise completely the chapter on roads instead of inserting the necessary changes on a piecemeal basis. A chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, Judge Henry Lamm, characterized the road laws, in a decision handed down a few years ago, thus:

> We pause long enough to remark there is a precept that every man is

> presumed to know the law. But should not that precept be amended so as to read, every man is presumed to know the law, *except the road law?* Certain it is that in some of its features it is a tangled skein of incongruities and ambiguities if not absurdities. Some of its provisions overlap, they do not make a neat joint with cognate sections and the law needs scientific revision. It would be a bold court that did not approach the road laws of Missouri with a questioning eye and a modest degree of doubt.

The Legislative Research Committee assigned one staff member to the road law revision work who spent approximately eight months digesting the old law, working with the committee on policy decisions and drafting the revision. Some 25 bills were introduced in this field, substantially all of which were passed by the General Assembly. A valiant attempt was made during the course of this work to abolish the 900 special road districts but the influence of several full-time road district employees in various parts of the state was sufficient to overcome the inclination of a majority of the General Assembly to abolish them. The resulting revision of the road law, however, is a distinct step forward for Missouri.

The perspective is not yet such that a true appraisal of the results of constitutional and statutory revision in Missouri can be safely made. Preliminary examination, however, indicates a great advance in the field of county government, and it is safe to predict that over the years the flexibility infused into the constitution by the revision will greatly enhance democracy and efficiency in the "Show Me" state's county governments.

Long Ballot Burdens Detroit

Study reveals that very few voters cast their ballots for complete slate of legislative or councilmanic candidates.

By DONALD S. HECOCK*

THE Detroit voter's burden is greatly increased by the method of electing legislators. Under a constitutional provision nearly a hundred years old the state representatives to which a Michigan city is entitled must be elected "by general ticket." This results in Detroiters electing a delegation of 21 at large every other year—a task which few, if any, other voters in the country now attempt. On the local level, for good measure, there are nine councilmen to be elected at large in the alternate years.

The Short Ballot Organization was concerned primarily with eliminating minor administrative offices from the ballot, thus directing the spotlight of public attention on few positions. Many of the principles of this group are just as applicable to the election of long lists of legislators.[1] The ballot must still be short enough for the average citizen to vote intelligently, even on councilmen, unless he gives politics more attention than he does now. Have the limits of ability or interest of the voters been reached in Detroit? Can the election of legislators be revised to encourage a higher level of efficiency in exercising the franchise? These are the questions faced by those interested in effective citizenship.

To determine whether any consistent voting patterns exist, a study was made of a partisan state election and a nonpartisan municipal election.[2] In Detroit "straight ticket" voting constitutes about 90 per cent of the total, so it was necessary to go to the primary where the vote is cast for individuals rather than for the party list. The sample used for the partisan primary consisted of all votes cast in every tenth precinct, 18,500 ballots. For the nonpartisan primary the sample was made up of the votes in every twentieth precinct, 4,600 ballots.

For each of the elections the number of candidates voted for on these ballots was tabulated. Perhaps the most striking result of this compilation was to find that in each primary a majority of those voting cast ballots for *eight candidates or less*. This would seem to indicate that even Detroit's nine councilmen are too many for the ordinary voter to handle at one time. It is usually assumed that only those most interested and conversant with public affairs participate in the primary—in these primaries about a third of the registered vote came out. It is rea-

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*Dr. Hecock is assistant professor of government at Wayne University and assistant director of the National Training School for Public Service. He is author of various studies on election results including *Detroit Voters and Recent Elections* (1938) and *Election Without Representation* (1945).

[1] See "The Ballot Is Still Too Long," by Richard S. Childs, the REVIEW, February 1946.

[2] The primaries studied were held in July 1944 and in August 1945.

sonable to expect that if a larger proportion of the electorate had gone to the polls the number "voting blindly" or ignoring legislative candidates would be significantly increased.

About 16 per cent of those casting ballots did not vote for any of the candidates for the House of Representatives. In the municipal primary 3 per cent did not vote for council candidates.

In the partisan primary 23 per cent of those voting used their full quota of 21 choices, while 47 per cent of those voting in the municipal primary were able to find satisfactory candidates to fill the nine council posts.

Aids in Voting

In the original tabulation it was evident that some "formula" or "mechanical aid" had been used by many of those who expressed their full quota of votes. This practice took various forms. The device of voting for consecutive names or for every other name appeared with significant frequency. In fact, there were numerous instances of this type of voting which actually went unrecorded because the individuals evidently lost count and voted for more than the number to be nominated, thus invalidating their ballots.

Another practice involved the limiting of choices to Irish or Polish names. Even more numerous were the voters who clearly restricted themselves to selecting Anglo-Saxon names.

The use of "slates" was another mechanical aid. Several citizen agencies as well as unions and special interest groups circulated lists of their recommended candidates. About half the persons voting for the full quota of legislative candidates relied heavily on these slates. The fact that slate endorsements numbered less than one-half the number to be elected and the fact that they overlapped to some extent made appraisal difficult.

As might be expected notable variations in the numbers of legislators voted for appeared in different sections of the city. Some consistency in this behavior was sought by referring to maps showing the social composition of the city. To facilitate comparisons of these districts the number of candidates chosen by the median voter in each precinct was determined.[3]

Districts primarily Negro voted for the smallest number of candidates, while those predominantly Polish or Irish were consistently near the top. There appeared to be little correlation between the median number of candidates chosen and the levels of education in those areas. For example, those areas in which the largest percentage of adults had a high school education rarely led in the voting. Areas in which the inhabitants had the least formal education were as often at the top of the list as they were at the bottom.

Certainly, the advantages of election at large are impressive: gerrymandering and log-rolling are reduced or eliminated and the caliber of candidates tends to increase as the size of the district grows. These advantages, however, are more than offset when the number to be elected is so large that popular control is lost through the inability of conscientious citizens to cope with their election.

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[3] An accurate and complete report was not feasible because of the lack of integration between census tracts and election precincts. The rapid change of precinct boundaries and the sampling method further restricted precise comparisons.

P. R. Would Help

It will be recalled that the *Model State Constitution*[4] provides for the selection of from three to seven legislators from each district by proportional representation, thus recognizing both the advantages of plural member districts and the voters' limitations. The *Model City Charter*[4] provides for P.R. election of city councilmen. Actual voting behavior in Detroit strongly supports both model laws. Over 54 per cent of Detroit voters were able to vote for seven candidates and 70 per cent were able to vote for three even when little publicity was given to those running. Proportional representation would furnish a framework in which the plunker voter, the ignorant voter and the discriminating voter could express themselves.

In eliminating many of the bottlenecks of war production it was necessary to divide and simplify the operation of complicated industrial processes so that less skilled employees might perform more of the work. This job breakdown made possible a much greater use of available manpower during a time when it was necessary to scrape the bottom of the barrel. So also the complicated task of the voter needs to be revised and brought within the span of attention and control of the ordinary citizen. This is the essence of democratic participation and responsible representation.

EXTENT TO WHICH DETROIT VOTERS HELPED NOMINATE FULL COMPLEMENT OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES AND COUNCILMEN

1944 Primary, 21 State Representatives Nominated

No. of Candidates Voted For	*Percentage of Total Voters*
0	15.6
1	9.3
2	5.3
3	4.5
4	4.0
5	3.9
6	3.3
7	3.0
8	2.6
9	2.7
10	3.8
11	2.2
12	2.2
13	1.6
14	1.6
15	1.8
16	1.8
17	1.8
18	1.0
19	1.4
20	2.9
21	22.8

1945 Primary, Nine Councilmen Elected

No. of Candidates Voted For	*Percentage of Total Voters*
0	3.3
1	5.8
2	4.9
3	8.2
4	6.1
5	6.6
6	6.3
7	5.6
8	6.2
9	47.0

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[4] National Municipal League, 1941.

Renaissance in Kansas City

Former Pendergast domain, transformed by civic revolt, makes 'outstanding progress' in financial management.

By **FRANK M. STOLL***

WITHIN the short span of six years Kansas City has recorded an amazing transformation in government from a bankrupt city with a nation-wide reputation as a municipality controlled by gangsterism, graft and corruption to national acclaim for methods of financing and accounting and recognition as an outstandingly well governed city.

The innumerable irregularities became such a scandal that enraged voters elected a nonpartisan cleanup ticket which was swept into office April 10, 1940. This group has been in power ever since and the general election of March 26, 1946, marks its fourth term. Of the offices of mayor, eight councilmen and two municipal judges, the machine has been able to secure only two of the council seats.

After ten years of campaigning by a group of Kansas Citians, a council-manager charter was adopted in 1925 by a vote of four and one-half to one. Since the charter was law, the supporting element thought its job was done and that the evils in local public affairs would forthwith be eliminated. So these citizens did not carry on to nominate a nonpartisan ticket as provided by the charter and the new controls only served to continue domination by the political machine. A local real estate man with a political background was selected by "Boss" Pendergast as city manager and the controlled council was used as a rubber stamp to carry out his edicts.

What has transpired since has been the subject of much comment in the nation's press. Here are some of the salient facts of Kansas City's machine misrule encountered by the nonpartisan administration which took office in 1940:

> The city was faced with a deficit in claims and accounts of $19,453,976, an amount exceeding three years' general taxes.
>
> Deficit in the operating fund was $2,733,185.
>
> Funds for retirement of $11,000,000 water sinking fund bonds due July 1, 1942, had been unlawfully diverted to other purposes.
>
> Of the Ten Year Plan improvement bonds, $11,445,009 had been spent without contract, as mandatory by law.
>
> Suits and judgments for back pay claims aggregated $6,825,250, while at the same time $3,263,623 of the improvement bond money was used to pay wages of city employees.
>
> A further item of $1,200,000 in unrecorded liabilities was picked up in the audit and an additional sum of $2,692,126 was found to have been diverted to unauthorized uses.
>
> Huge sums of city funds, characterized as grossly exorbitant charges, were paid favored or machine-allied firms without bidding.
>
> No inventories of fixed assets were available.

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*Former member of the editorial staff of the *Kansas City Star*, authority and writer in the fields of state and local government, Mr. Stoll is public relations director for Kansas City, Missouri, as well as the Midwest Research Institute. He recently completed three years of service as major with Army public relations, European Theater.

> Total number of employees was estimated at 6,500, many of whom never reported for work and received their checks by mail. Investigators checking this list found 36 had criminal records, 26 were not United States citizens, and 669 questionnaires mailed to alleged employees were returned by the Post Office with the notation "incorrect address." (Total of city personnel has been reduced to 3,500 employees.)

At the outset the new administration was fortified in its progress when the machine-controlled Police Department and the Election Board were placed under state control. The charter was amended to improve fiscal controls, to strengthen the merit system for employment and control of city personnel and to require an annual audit by independent public accountants.

In its preliminary move to restore order out of the chaotic situation the new Council appointed L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Saginaw, Michigan, and president of the International City Managers' Association, as city manager of Kansas City. In assuming his new duties Mr. Cookingham was given complete administrative control and authority to select and supervise department heads. There has been complete cooperation between his office, the mayor and the Council.

These overhead policies were announced:

> All expenditures budgeted within carefully and truthfully estimated revenues;
>
> Strict budgetary control which prohibits any expenditure for which there is no appropriation;
>
> Impartial tax collection policies and procedures and the placement of burdens of taxation where they can best be borne;
>
> Modern purchasing technique, free from favoritism, securing commodities competitively at the lowest available price, quality considered;
>
> Installation of a standard accounting system and the utilization of mechanized up-to-date equipment in all departments to reduce labor costs and to produce better results in administration;
>
> Retention of the democratic principles of government by a close supervision of the administration through the city auditor appointed by the Council.

Money in the Bank

Today Kansas City is better off by $22,000,000 than it was six years ago. Most of this has gone to liquidate inherited indebtedness and in capital improvements. At the end of the fiscal year, April 30, 1946, there was a cash surplus of $3,049,300.

This spectacular showing was accomplished while real estate tax valuations were reduced $30,000,000, the rate on real and personal property lowered from 15 mills to 13.9 mills and the occupational license reduced from $1 to 50 cents a thousand.

In 1942 Kansas City was singled out by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association as "the city making the most outstanding progress in the installation of improved accounting and financial procedures." In 1945 this city received the first award by that association for its financial report as to "content, arrangement, presentation and the underlying principles of accounting," which had "met the high standards set by the association, the first department to be so recognized." (Rollin F. Agard, Kansas City's director of finance, is president of the Municipal Finance Officers Association.)

The progress made in rebuilding the city is indicated by citing some of the principal accomplishments of the past six years: built and purchased $9,125,527 in permanent improvements; reduced the bonded debt by $6,322,054; paid $1,982,749 in back-pay claims and unpaid bills inherited from the machine administration.

Some Accomplishments

An example of economies and sound business policies which brought about the changing picture in the Kansas City scene is exemplified by information on a few departments.

The Water Department was taken over with an operating deficit of $695,665, a deficit in the sinking fund of $8,323,936 and a pay roll carrying 905 persons, many of whom were political workers receiving salaries from the department for duties in behalf of the machine organization. Contrast this with the showing made by the present administration in the past six years whereby the department has paid its own way, and from current revenue has:

Reduced department's debt	$2,221,000
Built water softening plant	1,042,555
Buildings, land and equipment	145,013
Meter distribution and improvements	262,464
New equipment	95,018
Appropriated for current improvements	350,000
Total	$4,116,050

All of this has been accomplished efficiently with 363 employees and there is a cash balance on hand of approximately $1,500,000.

The total cost of garbage collection has run as high as $408,827 and the machine was paying $6.85 a ton. There was due the contractor $206,628 when the present administration took over in 1940. A new contract was negotiated, the price reduced to $5.35 a ton drained of all water, and the collection costs are now approximately $237,000 a year.

Space does not permit discussion of other departments, but similar accomplishments have been recorded in public works, health, fire, welfare, park and other branches.

Kansas City's postwar improvement program is most comprehensive and detailed work of the City Planning Commission has served as a model for other cities. It involves streets and trafficways, replacement of blighted areas, adequate housing, urban redevelopment, extensive development of the two municipal airports, playground and other recreational developments, downtown parking relief and other constructive improvements, suggesting bond expenditures estimated at $40,000,000.

Thus Kansas City marches on to greater triumph and a new proclamation of faith in the soundness of council-manager government, which can be so successful when supported by citizen activity.

Urban vs. Rural in California

Torn by north-south and city-country controversies state faces new struggle over legislative reapportionment.

By **DEAN E. McHENRY***

CALIFORNIA, as its boosters and advertisements have never allowed the nation to forget, is a large state with an infinite variety of climates, resources, peoples and economic interests. From this diversity have emerged political differences so great that division of the state has been considered seriously several times since California came into the union in 1850.

The fundamental political cleavages that appear in the recurring struggles over the basis of representation in the state legislature are north versus south and urban versus rural.[1] Political parties play an insignificant role in California apportionment matters just as they do in the state's legislative process. Examination of the problem of apportionment is especially timely now, for the state may be on the eve of a campaign over an initiative constitutional amendment which, if adopted by the people in November, will change the whole basis of representation in the State Senate.

The California constitution, a bulky and Topsy-like document, prescribes that there shall be 80 members of the Assembly and 40 members of the Senate; assemblymen serve for two years, senators for four.

As in many other states the constitution requires that the legislature reapportion legislative districts after each decennial census. Like Congress, however, the legislature failed to redistrict after the census of 1920. In order to avoid recurrence of such an episode a constitutional amendment adopted in 1926 provides that if the legislature fails to act during the first regular session after the federal census has been taken, a Reapportionment Commission shall have full power to redistrict. The commission is composed of five elective state officials—lieutenant governor, attorney general, controller, secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction.

Assembly districts are based upon population. On the whole, except after the 1920 census, the Assembly has been reapportioned promptly and fairly. There is some variation in the population of the 80 Assembly districts because no county may be divided to form a district unless it is large enough for two or more districts. At present the average Assembly district contains 86,342 in

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[1] The most comprehensive study of these factors is *Sectionalism and Representation in the California State Legislature, 1911-1931*, by George W. Bemis (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1934).

1940 population; the largest district has 135,124 and the smallest 56,449.

Senate districts are based mainly upon counties. Until 1926, however, California employed population as the basis of representation in both houses. In that year agricultural interests, alarmed by the rapid urbanization of the state, initiated a constitutional amendment that substituted units of government for population in constructing Senate districts. This so-called "federal plan" distributed the 40 senatorships among the 58 counties by providing that no county could have more than one senator, and no more than three small counties could be grouped together to make a senatorial district. In a somewhat frantic effort to check the rising influence of southern California, San Francisco interests supported the farm plan even though it meant a great reduction in the bay city's own representation. The scheme was adopted in November 1926.

North versus South

Northern and southern California are divided by more than topography. The north is older and has a larger element of native sons and daughters. Led by San Francisco the north often votes "liberal" on moral issues and "conservative" on drastic political reform. Organized labor traditionally has been strong in the bay district. The south is new and its people have migrated from other sections of the country mainly within the last generation or two. Formerly quite conservative on political issues, Los Angeles has recently turned progressive in national politics and occasionally in state affairs as well. During the past fifteen years organized labor has made great headway in southern California.

The intense sectional political battles over legislative apportionment which have been fought between north and south have stemmed from the rapid increase of population in the southern counties. Los Angeles County alone increased from 4 per cent of the state's population in 1880, to 21 per cent in 1910, 27 per cent in 1920, 39 per cent in 1930, and 40 per cent in 1940. San Francisco had 27 per cent of the state's population in 1880 but this percentage declined to 17 in 1910, 15 in 1920, 11 in 1930, and 9 in 1940.

San Francisco and the north profited from the failure to reapportion the two houses in 1921. The deadlock continued until 1926 when the voters were confronted with two initiative constitutional amendments on the subject. Both schemes provided for a reapportionment commission. An "all parties" committee proposed that the existing population basis of representation be continued for both Senate and Assembly. The "federal plan," originally sponsored by agrarian groups, has already been described.

It is unlikely that the "federal plan" could have been adopted with farm organization support alone, but in this urban-rural controversy San Francisco and other northern urban interests joined forces with rural California. The plan was adopted by a substantial majority and carried in every county except Los Angeles. After the 1927 legislature enacted a reapportionment law under the plan, it was held up by referendum and another vote was obtained on the issue in November 1928. Again the rural-San Francisco bloc stood together and a majority was obtained in support of the law.

In 1931 the legislature was faced with another reapportionment struggle. The principal stakes were nine new seats in Congress ready for distribution and the reallocation of Assembly seats according to the 1930 population. San Francisco, joined by other northern interests, fought hard to retain the largest possible share of representation. In the end southern California legislators and some from the central valley united to defeat northern forces. The 1931 reapportionment act gave the north one new Congressman while the south secured eight. The north lost a total of nine seats in the Assembly of which one went to the central valley and eight to Los Angeles County. For the first time the southern counties secured a majority of Assembly districts—42 of the 80.

Reapportionment in 1941 was carried out with less controversy. A bipartisan combination of southern legislators stood together in the Assembly. The central valley received one new congressional district and southern California received two. The Assembly version of the bill would have taken two assemblymen away from San Francisco and one from Alameda, but the Senate saved one of the Assembly seats for San Francisco; the other two were assigned to Los Angeles.

The old north-versus-south cleavage still exists, but it is now recognized that the diversity of interests between urban and rural areas is of greater importance. San Francisco and Los Angeles, traditional rivals, increasingly are finding that they have common problems and both can gain from working together. At reapportionment time there may be a brief resumption of hostilities over a seat or two in the Assembly, but the two metropolitan areas appear to have reconciled their outstanding differences. This new spirit of cooperation is evidenced in the collaboration of northern and southern groups in the current movement to reapportion the Senate. Drafted by Assemblyman George Collins of San Francisco, the proposition is receiving support from leaders in both metropolitan areas.

Urban-Rural Rivalry

The "federal plan" of apportioning the California Senate is one of the most extreme departures in the American states from the principle of representation according to population. The instance of greatest disparity is between Los Angeles County which has one senator for its 2,785,643 people (1940 census) and Inyo and Mono Counties which have one senator for their 9,923 people (1940 census). A Los Angeles law professor, recently returned from Army duty in Germany, because of the housing shortage was forced to establish his family in one of these little counties. Using it as his legal residence, his influence in State Senate matters theoretically is over 280 times what it would be if he resided in Los Angeles. David O. Walter's studies of urban representation show the Los Angeles metropolitan area the most underrepresented in the State Senate of any of the fifteen largest urban centers.[2]

Each of the 27 larger counties, constituting senatorial districts themselves, receives 2.5 per cent of the total representation in the Senate. Los Angeles with over 40 per cent of the population of the state, San Francisco with nearly 10 per cent, Alameda with over 7 per cent—each has received the standard 2.5 per cent. The four largest counties—Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda and San Diego—have over 60 per cent of the state's people yet have only 10 per cent of the Senate seats. Figured from the other extreme, a clear majority of 21 senators is chosen from districts that contain an aggregate of 12.7 per cent of the state's total population.

Proponents of the "federal plan" argue that it provides an equitable balance between urban and rural areas by giving the former preponderance in the Assembly and the latter the leading role in the Senate. As the name of the plan indicates, there was a definite attempt to draw an analogy between the equal representation of the states in the national Senate and the representation by counties in the State Senate. Continued application of representation by population, farm leaders maintained in 1926, would make the state legislative power fall almost wholly in the hands of Los Angeles.

Opponents of the present system of representation in the Senate cite figures to prove that, far from a balance, the plan has produced a virtual veto power over state legislation wielded by a Senate majority representing as little as 12.7 per cent of the people. They allege that counties in the state are not comparable to states in the union; that county organization is the product of historical accident, early transportation limits and other factors no longer present. Certainly the "federal plan" represents with accuracy neither area nor agriculture. The historic counties of the Mother Lode country are small and sparsely populated; the newer counties of southern California are large in area and relatively dense in population. A system of representation based strictly on area would give San Bernardino County 13 per cent of the state senators. A system based on the number of farms or agricultural productivity would give the largest representation to Los Angeles County.

Business Pressure Groups

In some ways the urban-rural rivalry for legislative representation is a smoke screen for another type of cleavage. Certain business interests in the state have found it easier to make their influence felt in the legislature through senators from rural areas. Privately owned utilities, banks, insurance companies and other concerns with crucial legislative programs have discovered some "cow county" legislators more responsive to their demands and less committed to contrary points of view on key social and economic questions than are urban representatives. The urban legislator is more likely to be influenced by organized labor and by the many popular movements that ebb and flow through California politics.

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[2] "Representation of Metropolitan Districts," by David O. Walter, the REVIEW, March 1938; "Reapportionment and Urban Representation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* January 1938.

The "federal plan" has had another important influence on state politics during the twenty years since it was adopted. It has weakened the hand of the governor and has intensified the tendency to legislative-executive deadlock. The governor is elected by and is reasonably representative of the people of the state. Assemblymen, elected directly from districts of standard size, tend to reflect the views of their constituents and in the aggregate represent somewhat the same constituency the governor does. While elected by the same people the Senate basis of representation distorts the value of each vote cast in a most capricious manner. As a result, not only are farm and certain business interests given disproportionate representation, but the governor's leadership frequently is stymied by the senatorial veto exercised by this artificial majority.

The "federal plan," a drastic departure from popular representation, according to Professor Thomas S. Barclay, "has perpetuated an unwarranted rotten borough system."[3]

Campaign for Reform

An initiative constitutional amendment, providing for reapportionment of senatorial districts, may qualify for a place on the November 1946 ballot. It provides that counties shall have representation in the Senate on the basis of population, except that no county may have more than ten senators. If adopted it will mean that Los Angeles will at once receive the maximum of ten seats. The remaining 30 senatorships would be divided among the other 57 counties. The average senatorial district outside Los Angeles County would have a population of about 137,400. This ratio would yield senators for the larger counties, varying with formula employed, as follows:

Los Angeles, ten; San Francisco, four or five; Alameda, three or four; San Diego, two.

The proposal appears to be a fair one from most points of view. The limitation that no county may have more than 25 per cent of the seats is a concession to quiet both northern and rural fear of domination by Los Angeles. To date it appears that support for the proposal will come mainly from the large counties which will receive additional representation —Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda and San Diego. Organized labor and some urban business interests may be expected to support the reform with vigor. Middle-sized counties will neither gain nor lose senators and so may be expected to be rather neutral on the proposal. The smaller counties, faced with drastic reduction of representation, will certainly make a strong fight to defeat the amendment. They will undoubtedly receive the support of organized farmers and some business

(Continued on Page 388)

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[3] "Reapportionment in California," by Thomas S. Barclay, *The Pacific Historical Review*, June 1936.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Manager Charter Drafted for Hartford

Plan to Be Submitted to Voters and Legislature

THE Charter Commission of Hartford, Connecticut, consisting of five Republicans and four Democrats, has completed its draft of a charter for that city. It is expected that after public hearings it will be submitted to the voters at the November election and, if approved, to the state legislature next year.

The most outstanding feature of the proposal is its recommendation of the council-manager plan. The manager would be appointed by the council. He would have full administrative authority, including appointment and removal of the directors of finance, safety, public works, engineering, health and welfare, parks and recreation, and personnel. Each director appoints the administrative heads of the various divisions under his supervision.

The Council, to consist of nine members elected at large, would elect one of its members as mayor, to act as its president and as ceremonial head of the city government. The present Council is made up of fifteen members elected by wards and five elected at large, and is presided over by the mayor or, in his absence, by an acting president chosen by the Council from its membership.

Besides the nine city councilmen the voters would elect a nine-member Board of Education with overlapping terms, and also a town clerk, treasurer, selectmen, constables and justices of the peace, as at present. Party designations are eliminated for the municipal elections and nominations are to be by petition.

The present Board of Finance which has prepared the budget is abolished in the draft. The number of assessors is cut from five to one man who is to be under the director of finance, who would also take over the duties of the present elective tax collector and supervise a central purchasing system. The present self-perpetuating ten-man Park Board is to be abolished.

Civil service for city employees is provided, with a director of personnel and a personnel advisory board, which will also act as a board of appeals.

A merger of the police court and the city court into a municipal court is proposed, and also a reorganization of the working arrangements for judges, prosecutors and clerks.

Chairman Lucius F. Robinson of the charter commission issued a statement including the following:

"The powers of the council are sufficiently broad to eliminate the necessity of continuing legislative action at the General Assembly's sessions. The provisions with respect to budgeting and control of expenditures are designed to prevent over-spending of appropriations. Borrowing for payment of current expenses is precluded. Refunding bonds are prohibited. The pension rights of the municipal employees are not interfered with. In so far as future employees are concerned, however, the excessive cost of the present system is braked. Individual directors take the place of many of the present commissions. The powers and duties of such boards as the City Plan Commission, the Zoning Board of Appeals, the Social Adjustment Commission and the Board of Education remain with minor changes designed to facilitate and improve operation."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On June 25 **Fargo, North Dakota,** adopted the manager plan by a vote of three to one.

Madison, South Dakota, where a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan was campaigned for by commercial and service organizations, voted in favor of the plan on May 31, 536 to 533.

The City Council of **Carrizo Springs, Texas,** passed a council-manager ordinance which became effective February 13. This action followed a popular vote on December 22 authorizing the council to appoint a city manager within 60 days.

Winter Park, Florida, has appointed a city manager.

Three municipalities in Canada have been added to the list of manager cities. **Hull** and **Riviere du Loup, Quebec,** have appointed managers in accordance with action of the provincial legislature. **St. John, New Brunswick,** adopted the council-manager plan on April 30.

General legislation to permit towns in **Massachusetts** to adopt Plan E (manager and P. R. council) has been killed in the State Senate.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Malden, Massachusetts,** at its spring dinner heard George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, describe the success of Plan E in Cambridge and recommend its adoption by Malden.

In **Lawrence, Massachusetts,** Frank E. Dunn, director of public relations and finance of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, described Plan E and the success of council-manager government to the Rotary Club on May 23.

The **Hartford, Connecticut,** Charter Commission recommends the council-manager plan for that city (see separate item).

The League of Women Voters of the town of **Fairfield, Connecticut,** has been studying the government of that community, with a favorable attitude to the town manager plan.

Staunton, Virginia, first city to have a manager (1908), has engaged an apprentice for training as a city manager under the GI Bill of Rights. The appointee, E. L. Thacker, is an engineering graduate and was recently a lieutenant, junior grade, in naval ordnance.

Renewed attempts are being made to secure optional legislation providing the council-manager plan for **Illinois** cities.

In **Montevideo, Minnesota,** efforts have been under way to create a charter commission, which, under home rule provisions, would be of fifteen members appointed by the district court judge. Various civic groups have been asked to suggest members. The mayor, council president and representatives of the two newspapers have agreed to serve on the commission.

The St. Louis Governmental Research Institute has been engaged by the recently elected Charter Commission of **University City, Missouri,** as consultant in the drafting of a new charter. The League of Women Voters has gone on record as favoring the manager plan.

An organization to campaign in favor of a council-manager plan for **Madison, Wisconsin,** was established at a meeting of some 150 persons on June 3 in the Community Center. The meeting was sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Those present voted to form the Madison Citizens Association on Municipal Government, and a committee of seven members was appointed to draft a council-manager ordinance for submission to a further public meeting and thereafter to the City Council. If the latter does not provide the two-thirds majority necessary to change the city's form of government, it is planned to circulate petitions to compel a referendum at the November 5 general election.

The **Coffeyville, Kansas,** Chamber of Commerce is conducting a campaign for the council-manager plan.

In **Delta, Colorado,** petitions have been circulated for the purpose of calling a special election on the adoption of the council-manager plan.

Rapid growth of **Aurora, Colorado,** has stimulated a movement for home rule under which more revenues for imperative improvements can be authorized than under the restrictions of general legislation prohibiting increases of more than 5 per cent per annum. The council-manager plan has been suggested.

The weekly *Sun* of **Wickenburg, Arizona,** has been carrying a series of articles about the manager plan.

The City Council of **Pendleton, Oregon,** acting on recommendation of its charter revision committee, has authorized preparation of a council-manager charter, which is expected to be submitted to popular vote this summer.

Grants Pass, Oregon, will vote July 10 on a charter amendment providing for the manager plan.

Revision of the charter of **Eureka, California,** to establish the manager plan has been ordered by the City Council, and a new charter is expected to be submitted to popular vote in June 1947.

The city council of **Compton, California,** which now has the manager plan, has authorized revision of its charter and has engaged a consultant. In **Santa Monica,** which has the commission plan, a board of freeholders is drafting a new charter with the aid of a consultant; while not specified, it may be expected that the council-manager plan will be considered.

Another movement to abolish the council-manager plan with proportional representation is reported from **Toledo, Ohio.**

Stockholm, Maine, at a town meeting and **Pittsburg, Texas,** at an election (246 to 5) recently voted to retain the manager plan.

Interest in the council-manager plan is also being shown at **Monroe, Wisconsin, Boonville, Missouri, Okemah, Oklahoma,** and **San Antonio, Texas.**

Merit Awards in New York and Detroit

Cash awards, pay raises or other special recognition will be granted New York State employees for valuable suggestions and exceptional accomplishments in the line of duty, the Civil Service Assembly reported last month.

The new merit award plan is patterned after similar special recognition programs used in private industries and some federal departments and agencies. The New York plan will be administered by a Merit Award Board created by the state legislature. Pay increases awarded by the board are not to boost any employee's salary beyond the maximum set for his civil service classification.

In Detroit, 86 cash prizes were distributed to city employees for efficiency and economy suggestions in a $2,500 Civic Award Contest in the spring. The $500 grand prize was won by the superintendent of power production for the Public Lighting Commission, for his recommendation for centralizing the purchase and handling of the 400,000 tons of coal used annually by all city departments; it is expected to save $125,000 or more in a year.

More than 1,000 entries were submitted in the Detroit competition for which some 35,000 city employees were eligible. Only department heads and their assistants were excluded.

The contest was conceived by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research[1] and financed by an anonymous donor. It was approved by the Mayor and Council and was conducted as a municipal project. Preliminary judgment of the entries was made by the Mayor's Administrative Study Committee. Final judges were trustees of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1946, page 195.

Graduate Fellowships at University of Denver

The College of Commerce of the University of Denver has announced its ninth annual award of ten graduate fellowships in government management, covering an intensive academic and field work training program in the twelve-month period beginning September 16, 1946. Applications will be received until September 1.

1946 Connecticut Report Contest

The Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut, will conduct another contest for the best annual report of towns, boroughs and cities in that state. The reports will be judged on the basis of content, utility, understandability and attractiveness, and certificates of various grades will be awarded. Annual reports published at any time during 1946 will be eligible.

City-wide Labor Dispute Flares in Rochester, New York

Following a partial "general strike" in Rochester, New York, on May 28, city officials agreed to permit municipal employees to join any organization that professed to be loyal to the United States and not to favor strikes against the public, but a policy of no contracts with unions was maintained.

Labor difficulties between the city and its Public Works Department employees had developed from efforts of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) to organize the workers of that department, and on May 15 the city manager abolished 489 public works jobs in an attempt to prevent union control. Many of those discharged formed picket lines to prevent the functioning of the department and were arrested. The jobs were recreated on May 20 and some 260 men returned to work. The city manager announced that he would meet with any committee of employees or recent employees, but declined to deal with the union.

The AFL and CIO unions in the city, said to number 30,000 and 18,000 members respectively—Rochester not being heavily organized — combined in a threat of a general strike to compel city recognition of the FSCME, and when the city officials maintained their position a strike of many elements of organized labor in various industries and services took place on May 28, interfering with numerous economic functions throughout the city. Public transportation, newspapers, movies and the garment industry were chiefly involved in addition to the city's public works and sanitation workers.

The strike was called off at 2 A.M. on May 29, when city officials entered into a settlement in which the state administration is reported to have had a part. All striking city employees were taken back without prejudice, disorderly conduct charges against pickets were dropped, and the city administration agreed that employees could join any organization with loyal and anti-strike policies. Collective bargaining as such was not conceded, the city claiming this to be beyond its proper powers, but the officials agreed to meet with committees of employees who could be represented by counsel.

Rhode Island, Missouri Adopt Urban Redevelopment Laws

Urban redevelopment legislation looking to the rehabilitation of blighted areas has recently been adopted in Rhode Island and Missouri. The American Society of Planning Officials reports that 23 states now have some type of urban redevelopment program.

The Rhode Island Community Redevelopment Act provides for city planning commissions with extensive powers to acquire land and bring development projects under control of the municipal government. The state will not grant this power to cities, however, unless they have "master plans" for long-range urban development adopted by their official planning agencies. Such plans must include a comprehensive land use plan and the location of existing and proposed highways and other transportation arteries, and must consider other vital factors such as population density trends.

Following adoption by the city council of urban development plans submitted by the planning agency, applications for building permits in project areas may be submitted by private builders for council approval. The city planning agencies themselves are to be financed by municipal funds and may acquire any land in the city for purposes of rehabilitation and development in line with the city master plan. The municipal legislative body may establish a redevelopment revolving fund and issue revenue bonds to help finance such projects. Provision is made for two or more adjacent communities to exercise jointly the powers of the state act.

The Missouri Urban Redevelopment Corporations Act repeals 1943 legislation and provides for municipal redevelopment corporations in cities of 350,000 or more (St. Louis and Kansas City). The new law includes an inducement to private industry to invest in redevelopment projects by providing partial tax exemption over 25 years on the real estate involved.

Missouri cities are empowered by the new act to acquire any lands designated as redevelopment areas on their master plans. The municipality may then lease or sell the land to private investors whose redevelopment plans meet with approval of the city administration.

High Court Refuses Aid for Illinois Redistricting

By a four-to-three vote, without a full membership participating, the United States Supreme Court on June 10 denied the application of three eminent Illinois citizens to have the 1901 Illinois congressional districting act invalidated.[1] The majority opinion, written by Justice Frankfurter, contended that the matter involved "party contests" from which the court should be aloof, saying, "It is hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people."

Justice Black, in a dissenting opinion concurred in by Justices Douglas and Murphy, said that to call the controversy merely "political" was a play on words. He pointed out that the failure of the Illinois legislature to reapportion for 40 years had resulted in election districts with population ranging from 112,000 to over 900,000, and declared, "Such a gross inequality in the voting power of citizens irrefutably demonstrates a complete lack of effort to make an equitable apportionment." He urged that the constitutional rights of voters should be upheld and the obsolete districting act for congressional elections invalidated.

Justice Frankfurter gave some recognition to the inequitable situation but merely suggested that the people of Illinois elect a legislature that would apportion properly, or that "the ample powers of Congress" be invoked.[3]

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 129.

Administrators' Group Aids Interstate Probation Control

The Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers, first promulgated and signed by 25 states in 1937, now has more signatories—39—than any other such formal interstate agreement, other than the United States constitution. It is now in a better position than ever for effective administration since the completion of organizational procedure by the Interstate Compact Administrators' Association, the basis and purpose of which are described in *State Government* by the association's president, Joseph H. Hagan, administrator of the Rhode Island Division of Probation and Parole.

Within a year after the compact was initiated a set of rules and regulations was drafted, submitted to the various administrators and approved. Since then there have been various suggestions for changes and a number of criticisms with respect to handling of specific cases in certain states. In 1944, at the annual conference of the administrators, an interim committee was appointed to study the rules and regulations and report back the next year, at which time its major recommendation was for the establishment of an Interstate Compact Administrators Association to provide means and machinery by which questions of policy, compact interpretation and administrative regulation could be officially and continuously acted upon.

Accordingly, in November 1945, the association was set up, comprised *ex-officio* of the several administrators of the states and not more than one deputy or assistant administrator. Other deputies and assistants can be associate members. There is an executive committee for the business management and operation of the association. A council of five members has recently been established as a standing committee on rules and regulations and a clearing house for all matters that may arise under the rules and regulations and adopted forms. Any administrator may request the council's interpretation or opinion on the compact, the rules and regulations, or administrative practice. A majority opinion of the council is required in order to establish such rulings.

The compact was designed not only to aid rehabilitation of those with criminal records but also to stop "commuting criminals" from taking advantage of the legal devices affording protection by state lines.

Connecticut an Example

An example of its operation is described in *State Government* by Henry H. Hunt, administrator for Connecticut, where full-fledged operation of the compact has been in effect for a year. With rehabilitation and encouragement of the parolee the primary objectives of its program, the state provides careful supervision of parolees from other parts of the country.

If a parolee in Oregon, for example, wishes to live in Connecticut, where employment or family ties attract him, the Oregon compact administrator asks the like officer in Connecticut to investigate the parolee's proposed environment and opportunities for congenial livelihood. The results of the investigation are forwarded to Oregon where the administrator decides whether or not the parolee would be better off in Connecticut.

If the parolee is allowed to live in the latter state, its agency then takes over the duties of supervising his rehabilitation. Close coordination of agencies acting in this reciprocal program is furthered by the Interstate Compact Administrators Association. Movement of all interstate probation and parole cases is constantly observed.

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[3] See editorial, page 336, this issue.

States not yet participating in this reciprocal system are Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota and Texas.

Senate Modifies Plan of Congressional Reorganization

Faced with delaying tactics of members desiring more control of patronage, proponents of the LaFollette congressional reorganization plan[1] gave ground and secured adoption of a modified version in the Senate by a vote of 49 to 16 on June 10.

Senator LaFollette had first yielded on June 8 to opponents of an Office of Congressional Personnel by agreeing to appointment of committee aides by committee majorities, and on June 10 he offered to eliminate the anti-patronage provision in return for unanimous consent to limit debate. He claimed that the "keystone of the arch" of reorganization had been retained in the provisions permitting joint sessions and reducing standing committees from 33 to 15 in the Senate and from 48 to 18 in the House by consolidation of functions.

Increase of salaries of senators and representatives from $10,000 to $15,000 was included, together with a pension system more liberal than that for civil service employees.

Many provisions of the original draft were retained in the modified bill, which was sent to the House. Certain details in addition to those mentioned last month were summarized by John D. Morris in the *New York Times*:

> Committees would be authorized to appoint four professional staff members in addition to the regular clerical staffs, and the appropriations committees would be allowed four such experts for each sub-committee as well. Committees would receive subpoena power and expense accounts to make investigations, and special investigative committees would be banned.
>
> The bill would require joint sessions of the four revenue-raising and appropriations committees of the two houses at the beginning of each session to estimate expenditures and receipts for the ensuing fiscal year. When proposed expenditures exceeded estimated receipts, passage of a concurrent resolution by both houses raising the debt limit would be required. If actual receipts were found to fall below expenditures, the President would be required to reduce appropriations made by Congress.

Intergovernmental Highway Safety Plan Drafted

The President's National Highway Safety Conference in May adopted a comprehensive nation-wide program for traffic safety, the importance of which is emphasized by the fact that traffic deaths in the first four months of 1946 were 10,770, an increase of 45 per cent over 1945 and only one per cent under the record, in 1941. The 1946 number for April, 2,650, was an all-time high for that month. The program includes establishment of: a coordinating committee for federal departments, national committee of state officials, national committee of non-official organizations, coordinating committee of officials in each state, state highway safety conferences to be called by the governors, statewide traffic safety organizations where none exist, and similar local activities.

All such organizations are urged to further the technical highway safety measures approved by the President's conference.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 299.

Researcher's Digest . . . .

Public Employee Salaries Reviewed

Research Bureaus Discuss Payrolls and Increases

DEMANDS for salary increases for public employees are under discussion in most communities these days and research bureaus are, of course, coping with the problem.

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research reports that recommendations by that city's superintendent of schools and teacher groups for a $500 yearly increase will add an estimated $1,556,000 annually to school costs and "result in a salary hundreds of dollars per year higher than any salary paid by the other jurisdictions in the state for similar work." The bureau submitted to the Board of Education the results of its study of teachers' salaries in several California cities which disclosed that present San Francisco salary schedules have higher maximums than any other system in the state and, with two exceptions, have the highest starting salaries. A table published in a recent bureau bulletin makes comparisons between San Francisco, Los Angeles, Long Beach, Richmond and Alameda.

The San Francisco bureau, of which Alfred F. Smith is director, reports also that the Civil Service Commission now has before it demands by city and county employees which will cost between two and three millions a year.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** commends the action of the city's Board of School Commissioners increasing teachers' salaries by an average of $272 per year at a total additional cost of about $570,000. After study of the problem the bureau concluded that increases are advisable "to promote a higher standard of public education." In addition to granting individual increases, the school commission has raised the minimum and maximum salary schedules. Carl R. Dortch is bureau director.

According to the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, collections of delinquent school taxes were so good during the first quarter of the current year that the Philadelphia Board of Public Education "felt warranted in increasing the year's estimated revenue receipts by $500,000 and authorizing additional salary increments for teachers and other employees. Increases have been made in both minimum and maximum salary limits.

The **Municipal, County Research and Taxation Committee of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce** has prepared for the City Council a *Study of Proposed Salary Increases in the Zanesville, Ohio, Police and Fire Departments as Based on the Average Compensation Adjustment Formula* (six pages). The committee estimates that the proposed blanket increase of 25 per cent will increase police and fire payrolls an estimated $16,800 annually without correcting present inequalities in compensation. Such an increase is unreasonable, it declares. Several tables make comparisons of Zanesville police and fire department salaries with those in other Ohio cities. Director of research of the chamber is Robert E Layton.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** in cooperation with the League of Oregon Cities, has issued its annual

Salary Rates of Officials in 128 Oregon Cities. Five tables set forth salaries of the various communities divided according to population—under 500, 500-1000, 1000-2500, 2500-5000, over 5000. Noting the difficulties facing cities in replacing personnel leaving for higher wages in private industry, the bureau emphasizes the desirability of a more systematic development of municipal salary plans in the larger cities. The first step, says the bureau, should be "standardization, based on the type of work and the skill and ability required in each position." The second step recommended is the adoption of a program for increasing or reducing basic salaries on the basis of cost of living changes or general salary fluctuations in the community. Herman Kehrli is director of the bureau.

In discussing the 1946-47 school budget for **Providence,** the **Governmental Research Bureau** of that city (Robert E. Pickup, executive director) points to a $47,000 estimated increase in salaries and wages but states that, according to the superintendent's budget statement, this increase "is due almost entirely to the inclusion of the salaries of teachers who will return from military service."

Texas Bureau Compiles Planning Laws

Taking note of the fact that officials and interested citizens have indicated a need for a new compilation of state laws in the planning, housing and related fields, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** has issued *Texas Planning, Zoning, Housing, Park and Airport Laws* (91 pages). In his foreword, Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the bureau, calls attention to the fact that "in most instances only legislation of a general nature has been included." In a few instances, such as airport zoning, where a special law exists and there is no comparable general law, the special law is included. Statutes appearing in the compilation were selected by E. A. Wood, Dallas planning engineer; E. E. McAdams, executive director, and C. C. Crutchfield, field consultant, of the League of Texas Municipalities; and Wilfred D. Webb of the bureau.

New Research Publications Cover Many Problems

Organized Citizen Concern with Government (32 pages, 25 cents), by Lent D. Upson, dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work of Wayne University, is the second of the **Governmental Research Association's** special pamphlet series. The text is Dr. Upson's address before the annual conference of the association in December. G. Gordon Tegnell is secretary of the association.

A Comparison of Seattle and Tacoma Garbage Systems (five pages) has been made by the **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, for its City Utilities and Services Committee.

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, prepared *The Reconversion Problem in State Government Finance* (24 pages) to give legislators a broad view of Missouri revenue trends in recent years so that problems of reconversion might be considered in time for proper planning.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington** and the Association of Washington Cities have issued a joint report (eighteen pages) covering municipal research and services for the years from May 1944 to May 1946. Director of the bureau is Donald H. Webster.

Reorganizing the Congress (twelve pages), a Research Bureau report of the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce** (Leonard P. Fox, general secretary) summarizes the March 4 report of the LaFollette-Monroney Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress as a service to its members.

William J. Parish, assistant professor of economics and business administration at the University of New Mexico, is author of *The New Mexico State Budget System* (24 pages), third publication of the newly created **Division of Research** (Thomas C. Donnelly, director) of the university's **Department of Government.**

Research in Action is the latest of a series of reports issued by **Future Springfield, Inc.** (Massachusetts), of which Sherman P. Voorhees is executive director. The 28-page pamphlet tells of the work of the organization during its first year with pictures and text. It is attractively illustrated and impressively printed in colors.

Two issues of the *P. E. L. Newsletter for Western Pennsylvania* are devoted to "A New Distribution of State Aid to Schools—How School Districts and Teachers Will Fare Under Act 403" and "The County Bond Issue—the Pennsylvania Economy League Says 'Yes'." League director is Leslie J. Reese.

Recent publications of the **Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council** (J. F. Isakoff, director) include *County Zoning Ordinances in Illinois* (21 pages), *Assessment Ratios* (26 pages), *Absentee Voting by Civilians* (21 pages), as well as the Council's *Annual Report for 1945* (37 pages).

The sixteenth annual issue of *Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore* (fifteen pages), has been compiled and issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** whose director is D. Benton Biser.

Police protection concerns the **Research Department of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce.** In its *Research Brevities*, a chart shows the number of persons protected by one patrolman for Zanesville and eight other Ohio cities. Zanesville is at the bottom of the list, with 1388 persons per policeman as compared with the FBI standard of 900. "Increased revenue which the city is seeking," says the bulletin, "is designed to strengthen the police department by four employees," bringing the Zanesville rate down to 1210 persons per patrolman.

Another Zanesville chamber publication is *The Administration of the Civil Service Commission in Zanesville, Ohio* (14 pages). The purpose of the report "is to bring to the attention of the concerned city officials the several things which can be done to make the Zanesville civil service comply with city charter provisions, function with greater efficiency and bring a greater degree of merit selectivity for civil service employees."

Recommendations to the Civil Service Commission cover such matters as meetings of the commission, temporary appointments, position qualifications, tenure rights, efficiency records, determination of competitive and noncompetitive positions, reinstatement to eligible lists, and superannuation.

Child Care Probed

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** (George L. Nichols, director), has drawn up a summary of "pertinent facts dealing with Schenectady's child care program," i.e., day care of small children whose parents are not available because of employment, illness or incapacity. It has published its statement in *Research Brevities.* The Board of Directors of the bureau suggests to the City Council that a study be made of questions involved. Since federal aid was discontinued in February of this year, the city must now decide whether to continue the program on an emergency welfare basis. Costs per child amount to about $533 a year; total costs per year are $144,000.

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Civic Groups Scrutinize Budget

Ten local civic organizations in Detroit cooperated this year in studying the city's budget during the process of its adoption and signed a letter to Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., asking "serious consideration of underlying factors." The letter is reproduced by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research in its *Bureau Notes*. It is signed by the **Bondholders Management Inc., Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit Real Estate Board, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, Building Owners & Managers Association, Business Property Association, Detroit Citizens League, Realty Owners and Operators Association,** and **Taxpayers Council of Wayne County.**

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Change in Name

By action of the Board of Regents of the University of Washington, the Bureau of Governmental Research has now become the **Bureau of Public Administration.** The new bureau continues all the responsibilities of the old, functioning within the Department of Political Science as a research, fact-finding and service agency in the field of state and local government. Special emphasis will be placed on municipal government and administration. Donald H. Webster is director.

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Assistant to the Mayor

"Dusting off an old one," the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** again suggests an administrative manager or administrative assistant to the mayor for the city of Detroit. "We still think the plan merits consideration," says *Bureau Notes*, "because it has become increasingly needed. The plan stems from the simple fact that it is absurd in a business the size of Detroit to focus the amount of responsibility we do . . . in the position of mayor and provide no direct administrative assistance at that point of centralized responsibility. . . . No mayor with the demands upon him can maintain an adequate appraisal of the continuing quality of administration except as it becomes extreme. No mayor, even though he may attempt to unravel conflicts and to make necessary administrative decisions, can adequately inform himself on the background of each such situation." Loren B. Miller is the bureau's director.

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Public Welfare Organization

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** directed by W. Earl Weller, published in its monthly bulletin a comprehensive discussion of the New York State welfare law, commonly referred to as the Ostertag law, enacted by the 1946 state legislature. According to the article, the law is of great importance to local governments throughout the state. It is based on the recommendations of a special legislative committee and defines several basic changes in welfare procedures. It outlines five alternative systems integrating the welfare services of the city, towns and county and makes November 15 the last date by which cities and counties may choose the system under which they will operate. The study outlines the various provisions of the law and explains the optional forms of reorganization.[1]

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[1] See also page 377, this issue.

Teen-agers Active in Georgia Campaign

University Plans Course for Teachers of Civics

A REPORT by George Hatcher to the *New York Times* comments that in Georgia, the only state permitting eighteen-year-olds to vote, thousands of eighteen-, nineteen- and twenty-year-olds are eager to use their new suffrage rights.

Groups in colleges and universities are debating political issues, straw votes are being taken, students have organized voters' leagues at Georgia Tech, the University of Georgia and other schools to stimulate interest in politics and government, encourage registration and plan "get-out-the-vote" campaigns.

Because of the tremendous political interest among students the Georgia Board of Regents has declared primary day a holiday for the sixteen institutions of the state's university system so that students may return to their homes to vote. It has been estimated that better than 90 per cent of the students eligible will vote.

Connecticut University Plans Teachers Civics Course

Governor Raymond E. Baldwin and Chief Justice William H. Maltbie will head a distinguished faculty assembled by the **University of Connecticut** for a special one-week course on state and local government to be given at the university this summer for Connecticut social studies teachers.

The course will begin July 29. It has been planned by the university's Institute of Public Service in cooperation with the **Connecticut Social Studies Teachers Association** and the university's School of Education.

Governor Baldwin will speak on the duties and functions of the state executive; Chief Justice Maltbie will be discussion leader in a session on the administration of justice in the state.

Other state government officials to participate will include Superior Court Judge Howard W. Alcorn; James B. Lowell, state commissioner of finance; E. Lea Marsh, speaker of the House of Representatives; Robert Weir, state budget director; Charles McKew Parr, chairman of the House Committee on Public Information; and Nicholas J. Spellman, state senator.

From local governments and related agencies will be Carter W. Atkins, executive director, and Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; Roger S. Baldwin, of the Greenwich Board of Taxation and Apportionment; Phillip E. Curtiss, presiding officer of the Assembly of Trial Justices of the state; and Judge Russell Z. Johnston of Hartford.

University faculty members participating are: P. Roy Brammell, dean of the School of Education; W. Harrison Carter, head of the Department of Economics; and Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the Institute of Public Service.

Enrollment is open to teachers of social studies and to any other persons who are interested in increasing their knowledge in the field of Connecticut government.

Seattle League Opens County Charter Campaign

King County government is under the microscope of the **Seattle Municipal League** (C. A. Crosser, executive secretary) and its bulletin, the *Seattle Municipal News.*

At the league's 36th annual banquet Brigadier General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer and "modernizer" of Los Angeles County, spoke on "Streamlined County Government." The banquet was the "send-off" in the league's campaign to promote a county home rule charter at the 1947 legislature. "He's the spark-plug we need in our program to rejuvenate King County's government," said Forest Watson, chairman of the banquet committee, of General Allen.

Headlines in the *Municipal News* announce "County Faces Deficit of $300,000 This Year," "County Planning Commission Top-Heavy," "County 'Emergency' Rapped by League," "$400,000 Deficit Faces County Hospitals." Under the title "Tale of Two Counties" comparisons are made of King and Los Angeles Counties on organization, elections, officials, finance, purchasing, employees, and taxation procedure.

Tennessee Women Voters Back Constitutional Revision

"Tennessee has the oldest unamended constitution in the United States," says the **Tennessee League of Women Voters** in its latest publication, *Tennessee Needs a New Constitution* (20 pages). "It has not been changed so much as a comma since it was adopted in 1870—76 years ago. And at that time very few changes were made in the constitution of 1834." The pamphlet lists the members of the Constitutional Revision Committee appointed by Governor Jim McCord on authorization of the 1945 General Assembly. It discusses needed revisions in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government and in the state's taxation system. It points the necessity for city and county home rule, the merit system, abolition of the poll tax, and revision of the amending process. A list of references is included for those seeking further information on the subject. Mrs. Tom Ragland of Chattanooga is president of the organization.

Citizen Planning Groups In Action

"What's on the slate for Greater Cincinnati's Future?" queries the **Citizens Planning Association of Greater Cincinnati** in an attractive sixteen-page publication. The pamphlet is trimmed in blue and illustrated with cartoons featuring "Miss Cincinnati" as a pert lady of approximately six. "Start in your own back yard," advises the association. "See what your home and neighborhood needs are. . . . Consult the Citizens Planning Association, the City Planning Commission and others working on the job. Start now!"

The same group publishes *Planning and Development News*, a recent issue of which discusses public transit problems. Walton R. L. Taylor is executive secretary of the association.

Seventeen committees of the **Omaha Mayor's City-wide Planning Committee,** made up of 168 civic-minded men and women, have outlined a program of major postwar improvements for the city. In *The American City* for May, Arthur W. Johnson describes the work of the committees and the results of their studies. Their report to Mayor Charles W. Leeman lists projects totaling nearly $44,000,000 which have been divided into three categories: those considered urgent totaled $16,600,000; necessary, $11,600,000; desirable, $15,500,000. Committee members contributed some 16,500 hours of time during the six months devoted to the problem. Russell J. Hopley, president of the Northwestern Bell Telephone

Company, was in charge of activities. The Mayor's Committee was created to broaden plans, some of which were already contemplated by the City Planning Commission which aided in the committee's activities; to speed preparation of postwar public works; and to secure the interest of a large group of citizens in the promotion of civic improvements.

Mayor Leeman reports that his next step will be to select a group of citizens to explain the plan to the public and to urge support of a bond issue.

The committee's report covered civic, fraternal, religious, hospital and educational projects as well as those of business and industrial groups. It recommended that the City Council also consider them so that a proper labor balance be maintained over a period of years.

The *Citizens' Bulletin* of the **Citizens' Association of Chicago,** in an article "To Rebuild the Municipal Plant," discusses the recently proposed seven-year program of city development for fulfillment of the city's master plan. The report was made by the Engineering Board of Review appointed by Mayor Kelly in 1943 to study plans for improvement submitted by city agencies, aldermen and civic groups, "measuring their value against six requirements specified by the Mayor: the public benefit, agreement with the master plan, financial timeliness, the housing situation, the cost as against the benefits derived and feasibility of financing." Edward M. Martin is the association's executive secretary.

Chicago City Club Committees Make Reports

The Education Committee of the **Chicago City Club** urges a critical examination of the Chicago Plan Commission's proposed $30,000,000 program of reconstruction and expansion for schools. It suggests that a serious and careful restudy of the structure and program of the schools and their relationship to their communities be undertaken without delay. The committee has also made recommendations on the methods of selecting members of the Chicago School Board. Walker M. Alderton is chairman of the committee.

The club's Taxation Committee recommended a "no" vote on all six city bond issues, as did other civic groups. It pointed out that the June 3 election was an uncontested judicial election, that the vote would be extremely light, and that the bond issues should be resubmitted at the November election when a representative vote may be obtained.

The club's Public Health Committee (Dr. E. A. Piszczek, chairman) points to the increasing danger of rabies as a result of dogs running at large and urges a better dog licensing program.

Plea for Citizen Education in the Schools

In its bulletin, *Just a Moment*, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, asks that the schools take steps to teach young people the practical aspects of citizenship. Here are some excerpts from its article on "Education for Citizenship":

"Juvenile delinquency is receiving widespread publicity. To combat it, new and enlarged programs of recreation and education for youth are being proposed and put into effect. Erie County has established a Youth Bureau, the city is sponsoring a recreation project and the schools are endeavoring, through Parent-Teacher groups, to educate parents. Yet neither official nor educator has mentioned one of the most important phases in community development pertaining to youth—education in local citizenship. . . .

"To become an engineer, doctor, lawyer, merchant, school teacher, or work at any other job in later life, one must be educated for it. In a nation whose government is 'of the people, for the people and by the people,' there is an over-all job that belongs to all of us, namely to discharge the duties of citizenship no matter what we do to make a living. That job also demands educational preparation. It is the responsibility of adult citizens to see that younger generations receive this citizenship education. And the most obvious means by which this can and should be accomplished is our schools. . . .

"Buffalo can ill afford to overlook this lack. The future progress of our city will be wholly dependent upon how well informed and educated for citizenship our people are. And one long stride toward filling the need would be to require a full year's course in local government and history, preferably during the senior year in high school. Municipal government is no longer the simple setup of years ago. Today the people are called upon to decide such extremely important matters as a pay-as-you-go system, a throughway, a merger of libraries, to mention no others. What problems the citizens of fifteen or twenty years hence may be confronted with are, in some cases, beyond prediction. Suffice it to say, the responsibility rests squarely on us today to prepare them for it. To sum it all up, what good is it for our youth to have perfect grammar, know Shakespeare and work algebraic formulae, if they don't understand and, more important, don't care about local democratic government and its influence on our whole future existence as a nation?"

Other Side of the Picture

The Board of Township Commissioners of Nether Providence, Pennsylvania, a township not far from Philadelphia, announces that its first report on governmental activities was prepared by the pupils of the Nether Providence High School with the cooperation of the Parent-Teacher Association. The report, issued late in 1945, covers the calendar year 1944.

Pupils gathered the information necessary for the report from township officials and wrote the material, which was then edited and checked. The front cover was designed by the pupils and in some cases completion of graphs and charts was done by them.

Working at Democracy

"Citizens will die for democracy," said Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey, in a recent address, "pay taxes for it and give their blood for its soldiers. But vote? Work at democracy? It takes a revolution or a miracle to arouse them. They are convinced that democracy is better than despotism, and they will send their sons to fight dictators on any continent and on every sea; but in their own states and cities they will allow domestic dictators to fasten themselves upon our institutions and to enrich themselves at public expense. . . .

"To join societies for world organization and to listen to learned lecturers on the populations of the Balkans are all right; but it is no substitute for knowing about the problems of one's own city, county and state. There is not much that you and I can do about the Ruthenians or the Koreans . . . but we can pull our weight in our own boat here at home. We can throw our influence toward the nomination and election of honest and forward-looking men right here. We can see that democracy works in America. Effective citizenship is active citizenship."

City Income Tax

The **Municipal League of Toledo,** of which Ronald E. Gregg is executive secretary, is issuing a series of *Municipal League Bulletin* discussions on the city's recently adopted income tax. Adoption of the tax is not a "magic wand that causes all city problems to vanish," says the first of the series on the "Distribution of City Income Tax Revenue for the Several Purposes Provided by Law." "It does not automatically and immediately solve all the city's financial problems. Rather it brings new ones."

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Group Circulates Petitions

With its May issue of *What's What in Local Government*, the **Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri,** enclosed a petition seeking appointment of a commission to draft a new charter for Buchanan County. "Our only, and extremely troublesome, adversary is the indifference of the citizen," says the bulletin in urging members to secure as many signatures to the petition as possible. Henry Rolfes, Jr., is executive secretary.

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In a Lighter Vein

Handlebar Ranch was the scene of a picnic held by the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** (Forest Frank, executive secretary) on June 6. It was a "no-speech-making, no-money-raising, just-for-the-fun-of-it picnic," with the Young Charterites in charge of entertainment. A swimming party for the Young Charterites is promised for July.

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Tax Glossary

Tax Facts—A Glossary of Tax Terms (twenty pages), issued by the **Ohio League of Women Voters,** seeks not only to define tax terms but also to aid Mr. Average Citizen to get rid of his "tax allergies" by pointing the need for taxes as payment for services received. The league was aided in its preparation of the pamphlet—"by amateurs for amateurs"—by Professor Donovan Emch of the University of Toledo. Mrs. Charles Bang is president.

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Civic Activities Folder

Working for You is the title of an interesting folder issued by the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary. Tucked into pockets of the folder are five-by-seven sheets each describing one of the groups affiliated with the council and listing its officials. Where an organization such as the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association has numerous activities, separate sheets describe each. It's a handy gadget to have on hand if someone inquires as to what's what in the Minneapolis civic field.

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A Pat on the Back

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey** congratulates that state's legislature on the constitutional revision legislation enacted thus far this session. The legislature "has earned the plaudits of Missouri's citizenry for its accomplishment in reorganizing the state government as authorized by the 1945 constitution," says *Your Tax Money*, published by the survey. "No legislature ever faced a greater task. While the lawmakers themselves do not claim that perfection was achieved, the results generally are most gratifying."

* * *

Taxation Figures

Walter L. Pierpoint, president and manager of the **Association of Omaha Taxpayers,** has issued "Some Facts and Figures on Taxation for 1945." Results of the 1945 legislative session are reported; tax, assessment and other figures for Omaha and Douglas County in 1946 are listed.

(Continued on Page 388)

Proportional Representation · · *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Elections in Many Lands

France Votes Second Time
Italy Goes Back to P. R.

ELECTIONS in several countries in the last six or eight months furnish interesting evidence on the operation of various forms of proportional representation and may incidentally serve to lay a few ghosts in the perennial arguments for or against P.R.

The second P. R. election in France on June 2, under the same party list system as used in the election last October, confirms the significant fact that today under P. R. there is in France a far greater concentration of political strength in a few major parties than at any time in the last several decades under the single-member-district system. Such circumstances in the wake of the adoption of P. R. are by no means exceptional.[1]

As elected in 1936 under the single-member-district system, the Chamber of Deputies, comprising some 600 members, included eight party groups with more than 25 members and six smaller organized groups, as well as a number of independent members. The eight largest groups including a few non-member affiliates numbered respectively 156, 117, 72, 56, 43, 36, 28 and 27 deputies.

The results (Table I) of the post-war elections in metropolitan France (including Corsica but excluding North Africa—making a total of 522 seats) show the three largest parties controlling about 80 per cent of the seats instead of the 57 per cent obtained by the three largest parties in 1936.

The French experience clearly indicates that whatever the cause may

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[1] See Daniels, *The Case for Electoral Reform,* London, 1937.

Table I

French Election of October 21, 1945

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Popular Republican (MRP)	4,580,222	23.9	143	27.4
Communist	5,004,121	26.2	143	27.4
Socialist	4,491,152	23.5	130	24.9
Rightist groups	2,886,095	15.1	79	15.2
Radicals and other left	2,018,665	10.6	27	5.2
Others	125,785	0.06	0	0
French Election of June 2, 1946				
Popular Republican (MRP)	5,589,213	28.2	160	30.7
Communist	5,145,325	26.0	142	27.2
Socialist	4,187,747	21.1	115	22.0
PRL and other right	2,526,872	12.8	67	12.8
Radicals and other left	2,299,963	11.6	38	7.3
Others	56,840	0.03	0	0

TABLE II—ITALIAN ELECTIONS, JUNE 2, 1946

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Christian Democrat	7,876,874	35.4	207	37.2
Socialist	4,606,509	20.7	115	20.7
Communist	4,204,741	18.9	104	18.7
Democratic Union	1,486,277	6.7	41	7.6
Uomo Qualunque	1,164,152	5.2	30	5.4
Smaller parties	2,919,926	13.2	59	10.6

be for the failure of any party to obtain a majority of seats, it is not P. R. since parliamentary division was substantially greater under the single-member-district system. And in Norway and Greece majority parties appeared under similar systems of proportional representation.[2]

The system used in the French elections does not provide for adjustments to make it fully "proportional" on a nation-wide basis, although the deviation from nation-wide proportionality is small as the tabulated percentages above show. Proportional representation is applied separately within election districts which have between four and nine seats each. Seats are allotted to each department on the basis of the 1936 census, with the proviso that each shall be allotted at least two seats. Departments entitled to more than nine seats are divided into districts.

Italian Elections

The Italian election of June 2 produced even more concentration of power in the three largest parties than the French election of the same date. A party list system of P. R. was used. It was more strictly proportional than that used in France, however, since it permitted combination of "remainder" votes across district lines after the distribution of those seats that could be awarded on a full quotient basis. In Table II the popular vote totals are based on returns from 34,046 out of 35,236 precincts, but the distribution of seats represents final results.

A party list system of P. R. had been used in Italy just once in 1919—shortly before the advent of Mussolini and too late to affect fundamentally the tragic course of events already in motion. It is significant that Mussolini promptly abolished P. R. and that a democratic new Italy took the first opportunity to bring it back. Without P. R. and with three large parties there would inevitably have been a distortion of electoral justice which would have subjected the new republic to a severe strain.[3]

Election in Belgium

A pattern of two major parties and two substantial minor parties was established by the February 17 election in Belgium several months ago. Only in the lower house are the seats allocated proportionally to the vote. The Senate includes some members elected by provincial councils and a few ex officio and appointed persons. With the balance of power very close at present, the difference in constitution of the two houses is expected to cause

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[2] The Norwegian election was reported in this department for November 1945, page 517. Note also the clear parliamentary and electoral majority of the largest party in Eire, where the Hare system of proportional representation is used.

[3] See this department for November 1944, page 558.

TABLE III—BELGIUM ELECTIONS, FEBRUARY 17, 1946

Party	*Votes*[a]	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Catholic Social (PSC)	1,006,293	42.6	92	45.5
Socialist	775,121	32.7	69	34.2
Communist	300,099	12.7	23	11.4
Liberal	220,604	9.3	17	8.4
Belgian Democratic Union	51,095	0.5	1	0.5

[a] In this tabulation the 37,844 votes which were polled by a joint Socialist and Liberal ticket were divided in the same proportion in which the parties divided the four seats obtained and added to the individual party totals, in order to simplify the presentation.

a certain amount of political backing and filling. The results for the lower house are tabulated in Table III.

Unlike the French system and the pre-1933 German system, which required the voter to vote for an entire party list with no opportunity to change the order of preference among candidates established by the party, the Belgian system does permit the voter to indicate an individual preference within the list. Those who do not mark such a preference have their votes counted to fill up the quotas of the first candidates in the order of listing. In the Brussels district, which at the recent election chose 30 members of the lower house, approximately 30 per cent of the ballots carried individual preferences.

This device used in Belgium is but a grudging modification of strictures imposed upon the voter's choice by the party list method of proportional representation, as compared with the complete freedom of the voter to indicate his own order of preference among candidates under the Hare system (the form of P. R. used in English-speaking countries). The system used in the Netherlands gives more weight to individual preferences than does the Belgian system and the Norwegian system goes still farther.

Netherlands

The Netherlands, like Belgium, is ruled by a two-house parliamentary system, and the balance of power resulting from the recent election has been close enough to make the difference between the political complexion of the two houses a significant factor in government. The results of the elec-

TABLE IV—NETHERLANDS ELECTIONS, MAY 17, 1946

Party[a]	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Catholic People's	30.81	32	32
Labor	28.31	29	29
Anti-Revolutionary	12.90	13	13
Communist	10.57	10	10
Christian Historic	7.84	8	8
Freedom	6.41	6	6
State Reformed	2.14	2	2

[a] Three other parties drew less than one per cent of the votes and obtained no seats.

TABLE V—CZECHOSLOVAKIAN ELECTIONS, MAY 26, 1946

Party	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
Czech Communist	31.07	93	31.
Slovak Communist	6.91	21	7.
National Socialist	18.30	55	18.3
Peoples	15.65	46	15.3
Democratic	13.92	43	14.33
Social Democratic	12.05	37	12.33
Liberty	0.95	3	1.
Labor	0.7	2	0.7

tion of the lower house, conducted by a list system of proportional representation, are given in Table IV. The total poll was 4,760,202. According to Dutch practice, the entire country formed a single electoral district.

Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia a single-chamber constitutional assembly of 300 members was elected on May 26 by a party list system of proportional representation, with adjustments to make the nation-wide result strictly proportional. Such an electoral system was used in Czechoslovakia before the war. Slightly more than 7,000,000 votes were cast, with the results given in Table V.

It is to be noted that the Democratic party polled over 60 per cent of the vote in Slovakia and obtained a corresponding proportion of the seats from that section. On certain questions a concurring majority vote of the Slovak members is necessary.

Greece

A single-chamber parliament was elected for Greece by proportional representation on March 31. The Populist party and its National Liberal affiliates obtained a comfortable majority, with 58 per cent of the seats. The election was marked by abstention of the Communists and other leftists, which was carried out as a matter of political tactics for reasons not generally apparent to the rest of the world. The Allied Commission for Observing the Greek Elections estimated that the leftist parties would have obtained about 20 per cent of the votes (and of the seats) if their adherents had not abstained. In such an event the closely cooperating Populist and National Liberal groups would not have obtained a majority by themselves, but the general outcome would have been much the same since that group would still have controlled by far the largest single bloc of votes and could easily find allies in various other conservative groups.

As in some of the Greek elections before the war, a party list system of P. R. was used. Related popular vote and parliamentary division statistics are not readily available in this country, but the makeup of the parliament has been made public. Somewhat more than a million votes were cast. Contrary to the practice in other postwar European elections, women did not vote. The 354 seats went to five distinct political groups and three independent candidates. The Populist and National Liberal groups took 206 seats and the four other parties took 68, 48, 20 and 9 respectively.

WM. REDIN WOODWARD

New York

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Fulton County Voters Demand Manager Plan

Commission Will Appoint Committee to Draft Bill

AT THE Democratic primaries of June 4 the voters of Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, voted 24,610 to 11,377 on the question, "Do you favor a county manager form of government." The two-to-one majority is a mandate to the legislature for passage of an enabling act. Atlanta newspapers have given strong support to the manager movement, which has been recommended by the last ten Grand Juries.[1]

Commenting on the election results, the *Atlanta Constitution* said: "Most gratifying of all, however, was the overwhelming vote in favor of installation of a county manager form of government. . . . The people undeniably now have expressed themselves whole-heartedly in favor of a county manager... Certainly, it seems to us, citizens of Fulton County will be fully justified in voting against any legislative candidate who attempts to weaken or nullify the county manager program."

The *Atlanta Journal* said editorially: "Especially significant is the overwhelming majority of votes for the proposed county manager form of government. Now that the people have spoken decisively on this matter Fulton's delegation to the General Assembly should see to it that the proper legislation is enacted at the earliest opportunity."

In compliance with the vote, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners has authorized appointment of a committee of five to draft a manager bill, with the aid of the county auditor and attorney, for introduction at the next session of the legislature. "The people have spoken emphatically in favor of a county manager," said Commissioner Hailey, who made the motion for a committee, "and I'm sure that they want a county manager in fact and not in name. This committee should be able to steer the legislators so that Fulton County will have an executive such as the people have in mind."

The commission approved a motion that the League of Women Voters, who have actively supported the manager movement, as well as other civic groups, be notified and consulted on the plan.

Home Rule Urged for St. Louis County

In support of the campaign for a home rule charter for St. Louis County, Missouri, the Governmental Research Institute at St. Louis has issued a sixteen-page brochure entitled, "A Home Rule Charter for St. Louis County." It constitutes a collection of articles previously printed in the institute's regularly-issued publications. The articles analyze the home rule provisions pertaining to counties in New York and California and to Henrico County, Virginia, describe the multifarious governments in St. Louis County, and present arguments for a modernized system of government in the latter county.

Washington County Home Rule Campaign Continues

The Municipal League of Seattle is continuing its campaign for home rule in King County, Washington. It will support a bill to accomplish this objective in the 1947 legislature. As reported on page 366 of this issue, at its annual banquet held recently it featured an address, "Streamlined County Government," by Brigadier General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County, California.

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[1] See the REVIEW for June, page 320.

Wisconsin Interim Committee Plans Legislative Report

The Joint Interim Committee, provided by action of the 1945 Wisconsin legislative session to investigate the problem of county government in that state and report to the 1947 legislature, is expected to begin drafting its recommendations after its July hearing. Capitol reporters indicate two possible directions which the recommendations may take. The committee may submit a series of proposals aimed at solving some of the conditions which can be changed by legislative action under the present basic structure, or it may submit broader recommendations aimed at revising the whole constitutional basis of county government organization and function.

For ten or more years proposals have been made to amend the Wisconsin constitution to permit establishment of optional forms of county government and the selection of administrative officers by appointment. The constitution now provides for a uniform system of town and county government and for the election of certain administrative officers.

None of these proposals was ever successful in passing two consecutive sessions of the Wisconsin legislature as is required before the proposal may be submitted to the voters for approval. The 1943 legislature passed a resolution providing for optional forms of county government but the 1945 legislature refused to approve it. The latter session did, however, provide for the joint interim committee.

The committee, appointed by the governor, is composed of three senators, five assemblymen and five lay citizens. Legislative members of the committee are Senators Jess Miller of Richland Center, chairman of the County Highway Committee and Mediation Board; Frank E. Panzer of Oakfield, member of the Dodge County board since 1925, its present chairman, and president of the Wisconsin County Boards Association; William H. McKnight of Unity, member of the Marathon County board and formerly its chairman; and Assemblymen Hugh Harper of Lancaster, formerly chairman of Grant County board; Palmer F. Daugs of Lake Mills, sponsor of bills for county consolidation, nonpartisan election of county administrative officials, county reorganization and other local improvements; Pat W. Brunner of Lyndon Station; Guy Benson of Spooner, member of Washburn County board for twelve years, alderman and mayor of Spooner and a member of the Spooner Board of Education since 1920; and John R. Devitt of Milwaukee.

The citizen members of the committee are Mrs. John Wise and Miss Ruth Jeffris, both active in the League of Women Voters; Glen McGrath, associated with the Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey; Leo Tiefenthaler, secretary of the Milwaukee City Club; and Lorenz Adolfson of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, formerly a member of the Political Science Department of the university.

The committee held several meetings in Madison and one in Milwaukee. Individuals identified with various phases of Wisconsin county government have testified before it. At least one more meeting is contemplated at which the recommendations of county boards will be heard. Proposals to reorganize the structure of county government, provide for county home rule, establish a coordinating finance officer, abolish the fee system, consolidate administrative boards, provide for appointive administrative officials, reorganize the basis of representation on the county board, and provide for the partisan election of county board members are among the suggestions made.

Wisconsin has in effect at least three types of problems in county government: that of the metropolitan Milwaukee area, that of the larger more prosperous counties and that of the poorer counties of the north and western portion of the state. The committee is confronted not only with solving the immediate problems of the diversified areas but also of anticipating possible developments of the next three-quarters of a century. It has been that long since county government in Wisconsin was established in its present form.

C. K. Alexander, *Research Director*
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

Fulton County Appoints Public Relations Committee

The County Commission of Fulton County, Georgia, has appointed a public relations committee of three to inform, at no extra expense to the county, various civic organizations and the schools of county affairs. Those appointed include George Cornet of the County Police Identification Bureau, Rev. Bill Allison, county chaplain, and Harold Parker, director of parks and playgrounds.

New York Modernizes Health and Welfare Laws

New York State, which has the reputation of possessing the most complicated local welfare system in the United States, has enacted legislation which constitutes the most extensive single revision in the history of the 300-year-old system. It offers a number of optional systems of welfare administration to counties, but its purpose and net effect are centralization, integration and simplification in the county welfare offices.

The legislation will tend to eliminate some of the more than 900 local public welfare agencies administering home relief, veterans assistance, assistance to the blind, aid to dependent children, foster care of children, hospital care, care in public homes, other adult institutional care and burials. The proportion of costs of these programs borne by localities varied from 25 per cent to 100 per cent, but under the new legislation it will become fixed at 20 per cent. The specific plan adopted by any county will secure approval by the State Department of Social Welfare before it becomes effective.[1]

Changes in the public health laws include the provisions that localities can transfer any such institutions to the state with the latter's consent, that state aid to county health departments shall be increased to 75 per cent of the first $100,000 and 50 per cent on expenditures above that amount, that state tuberculosis hospitals shall charge 50 per cent rather than 100 per cent of the cost of maintaining patients, with a maximum of $2.50 per patient-day, and that state grants to county tuberculosis hospitals shall be 50 per cent of the cost but not exceeding $2.50 per patient-day.

Special legislation for Erie County includes the transfer of the Meyer Memorial Hospital from Buffalo to the county, establishment of the office of medical director and substitution of the office of superintendent of penitentiary for the abolished office of commissioner of charities and correction.

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[1] See also the June Review, page 321.

Road Centralization Continues in Kansas

The trend toward county centralization of highways is continuing in the state of Kansas. Nine counties adopted the county unit system in 1944-45, raising the total of such counties in the state to 34. In addition, in the other counties some townships have entered into contracts with the counties whereby the latter provide maintenance, construction or improvement of township roads. Legislation authorizing such contractual arrangements was passed by the 1945 legislature.

Western Counties Discuss Federal Tax-Exempt Property

The Interstate Association of Public Land Counties has been organized to attack the problem of loss of county tax revenue because of acquisition of real estate by the federal government within the boundaries of such counties. At a meeting of the association held recently in Reno, Nevada, delegates of nine western states attended. It was revealed that since 1941 the federal government had acquired more than 8,000,000 acres of land, most of it located in the states represented at the meeting. It was generally agreed by the delegates that the payments made by the federal government to states and counties in lieu of taxes were inadequate and unsatisfactory. Numerous resolutions were adopted endorsing plans which would increase and stabilize state and local revenues from such tax-exempt property.

Michigan County Abolishes Coroners

The Oakland County, Michigan, Board of Supervisors recently voted to abolish the office of coroner in the county. After January 1, 1947, the functions of the office will be performed by the health department.

Wisconsin Rejects Sheriffs' Proposal

The proposed constitutional amendment which would have removed the provision prohibiting sheriffs from serving two successive terms was rejected recently by Wisconsin voters by 170,131 negative votes as against 121,144 in favor of the plan. The proposal, which was supported by the Sheriffs' Association, previously had passed two successive sessions of the state legislature. Fifteen counties, all rural, of the state's 71, favored the change. Only 23 per cent of the eligible voters participated in the spring elections.

School Centralization Proposed in Wisconsin

Wisconsin associations of secondary and elementary school principals are reviving their attempts to centralize education by shifting control and responsibility upward to county, regional and state levels. The proposals which probably will be presented to the 1947 legislature include the establishment of county boards of education to provide administrative supervision of all public schools in the county.

Methods of Lot Sales Revised by Wisconsin County

Racine County, Wisconsin, has changed its methods of selling county lands acquired by tax deeds from public auction to sealed bids. No property, however, may be sold for less than the total cost of taxes, fees and penalties unless approved by the county board.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

U. S. Court Upholds State Property Classification

RFC Loses Suit Against Beaver County, Penna.

IN A ruling handed down early in May, the United States Supreme Court held that a state classification of property for taxation is binding on federal agencies, even though it results in a classification not "uniform" throughout the country.

At issue was the right of a Pennsylvania county to tax ad valorem certain machinery installed in a war plant built and equipped by the government and leased to a private operator. Under Pennsylvania law the machinery was classified as part of the realty. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation contended the machinery was personalty, and as such exempt from local taxation under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act which permits state and local taxation of real property but not personal property held by the RFC and its subsidiaries. The act does not define "real property."

The Supreme Court held that the extent to which real property was taxable under the act was determined by the applicable state laws rather than by any uniform definition of real property, holding that had the Congress intended to provide a uniform definition it could have done so. Since the Pennsylvania courts included within the definition of real property all machinery essential to a manufactory, whether firmly affixed to the building or not, the federal law is to be interpreted accordingly in administering its provisions locally.[1]

Cities Increase Service Charges to Suburbs

In order to help offset the rising cost of government, cities are increasing their charges for services to suburban residents.

San Francisco has boosted its rates for water to users outside the city limits on the ground that the city's residents alone bore the financial burden of acquiring the system. Further, the city has been paying taxes on its water lines outside its corporate limits.

St. Paul administrators recently proposed to raise charges for water, sewer and fire services outside the city.[1] Denver is engaged in a dispute with adjacent communities which have asked for city water but prefer not to be annexed to Denver, according to the American Municipal Association.

Boulder, Colorado, now charges users of city sewer connections outside its corporate limits exactly twice as much as it charges residents within the city. Its action amends a previous ordinance which made no distinction between sewer connection charges within the city limits and those outside.

Fire department fees for service to outlying communities have been doubled in Milwaukee. Under the new rate schedule a cash deposit of $600 is required for fire protection to neighboring municipalities plus $300 for the first hour of use and $200 for each subsequent hour.

Smaller cities are also following this trend toward increased fire protective charges. Waukesha, Wisconsin, has authorized a new outside fire service contract with five neighboring towns at a rate of $150 per call. The village of Hopkins, Minnesota, has increased the charge on outside fire department calls to $25 for the first call, $15 for the second and $10 thereafter. St. Helens and Lebanon, Oregon, no longer allow use of their fire fighting equipment outside city limits.

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[1] *Reconstruction Finance Corporation* v. *Beaver County, Pennsylvania.*

[1] See "What Price Aid to Suburbs?", by Carl P. Herbert, the REVIEW, June 1946.

Incinerators Urged for Boston

Boston's No. 1 postwar construction program—an incinerator system for disposal of the city's refuse—has apparently gone by the board in favor of retention of the half-century-old system of paying private contractors to collect and dump garbage and other refuse, according to a report to the Mayor and City Council by the Finance Commission of Boston, Edward F. Mullen, chairman.

Roundly condemning the present system as inadequate and subject to "charges of unsavory practices in the making of contracts . . . and with intimations of unwarranted and excessive cost" the commission states that "in no other city is there, proportionately, such a multitude of men and methods involved in the collection and disposal of refuse. In addition to city forces, there are ten operators having contracts with the city, nine for collecting refuse and the tenth for disposing of collections in part of the city, while a large number of private firms sell collection services directly to commercial establishments. Dumping areas are now at a premium, giving collectors now operating a virtual monopoly of the business, while in some sections the city has to provide dumping places for rubbish while the collectors retain the more lucrative disposal of garbage—mostly sold to pig farmers.

Contract prices for refuse collection increased from $415,260 in 1941, according to the commission, to $1,204,332 last year and an estimated $1,291,440 for 1946. Total cost of refuse collection and disposal is placed at approximately $3,000,000 per year, a figure deemed excessive to the extent of over $1,000,000.

Early in 1945 an appropriation was made and a contract let for the design of an incinerator, but the engineers' plans and estimates have become a center of administrative controversy and no provision for incinerators has been made in the budget, which must contain a 10 per cent "down payment" for any project to be financed by borrowing.

The commission urges construction of a large incinerator near the city hospital, where heat and power by-products may be used for hospital facilities, and additional smaller plants at other points in the city to take care of the load and eliminate the present dependence on dumping.

With disposal methods assured, real competitive bidding for collection contracts might result, since individual contractors would not have certain areas sewed up by possession of the only available dumping grounds. "Such a use of the city's borrowing capacity has as much merit as any of the other projects now being provided for," the commission concludes, "and more than some of them."

Los Angeles Adopts Sales Tax

The Los Angeles City Council has adopted a one-half of one per cent retail sales tax.[1] Also adopted were several other revenue measures in the shape of license and occupation taxes. The sales tax is expected to yield about $7,000,000 annually and the other charges $1,600,000. Not enacted was a proposed cigarette tax of two cents per pack, estimated to produce $4,000,000 annually.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1946, page 267.

The new sales tax went into effect May 11, and the first of the quarterly returns by retailers must be filed within 30 days from July 1. Failure to remit will entail a penalty of 10 per cent for the first month overdue, plus 5 per cent for each month up to 50 per cent.

While Los Angeles is the second largest city to impose a retail sales tax (New York City is the largest) there are already two smaller California places which have such imposts. San Bernardino and Santa Barbara have both levied one per cent retail sales taxes.

Tax Exemptions Irk Municipalities

Property now exempt from taxation because of ownership by the federal government, homesteaders, veteran groups and other organizations is being investigated by cities looking for new sources of revenue. Such property tax exemptions have removed almost a sixth of assessable real estate from tax rolls, says the Council of State Governments. New York City furnishes one extreme example. Valuation of exempt property there exceeds five billion dollars, more than 70 per cent of all exempt property in the state.

Federal property is exempt from taxation by statute or constitution in twelve states. All other states permit taxation of federal property which the federal government declares taxable. In some instances federal purchase of private property has resulted in substantial city revenue reduction. Hoboken, New Jersey, for example, lost an estimated $12,000,000 during the last two decades because of federal purchase of the city's pier terminus, the sale reducing its taxable property by 14 per cent.

The federal government, in many cases, compensates for its exemptions by payments in lieu of taxes. Such payments are being made to cities, for example, by tax-exempt federal housing projects.

Several bills have passed state legislatures recently exempting veterans and veteran organizations from certain property taxes. Twenty-one states exempt from taxation all veteran-owned property within certain limits of valuation. Property owned by the Grand Army of the Republic organization is exempt in 23 states while property owned by the Disabled American Veterans is exempt in 22 states.

Homestead Exemption

Homesteads—land on which the owner lives—are exempt from taxation in thirteen states. In several cities homestead lands are rising rapidly. In De Land, Florida, exemptions of this type increased from 21 to 31 per cent in the last decade. It has been predicted that by 1959, if the present trend continues, De Land homestead exemption value will amount to 50 per cent of the gross assessed value of all property in the city.

Industrial property exemptions are granted in some states, especially in the south, to attract new industry. Georgia's law exempting industries from property taxes during their first five years was discontinued last year, however, and Florida's industrial exemption law will end in 1948. Similar exemptions are granted to stimulate agriculture. Twenty-four states subsidize agricultural associations by granting them tax exemptions while sixteen states exempt certain agricultural products from taxation.

Religious, educational and charitable institutions are exempt from property taxes in all states. In New Jersey institutional exemptions account for some 15 per cent of assessed property valuation and in Connecticut about 14 per cent.

Cities Spend Taxes to Advertise

Promotional activities are being initiated on both state and municipal levels. San Antonio, Texas, spends some $100,000 yearly in city funds for promotion. Salina, Kansas, recently created a Department of Industrial Development supported by a half-mill industrial levy voted last year. The department is headed by a director paid $3,600 a year who is advised by an industrial development board of eleven men appointed by the city commissioners and serving without pay.

The Salina department publishes pamphlets designed to induce new industries to locate in the city and aids in boosting productivity of industry already established there. It also coordinates activities of civic groups interested in industrial development and links city efforts with the Kansas Industrial Commission program.

Advertising by Mail

Several cities are engaging in direct advertising by mail. The Industrial Commission of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for example, recently issued some 20,000 copies of a brochure promoting the advantages of locating industries in Cambridge and outlining the availability of city-owned land for industrial use.

Special taxes support boards of city development in several Texas cities. Kearny and Paterson, New Jersey, also have city-financed industrial commissions. Rochester, New York, has a city Department of Commerce, while in Utica, New York, municipal promotion is carried on by the city Bureau to Secure New Industries. Iron Mountain, Michigan, and numerous other cities have made similar provisions for encouraging industrial development.

Twenty-three states have enacted laws specifically enabling cities to engage in industrial promotion and direct advertising of municipal advantages. Statutory limitations on promotional expenditure by cities vary considerably. In Rhode Island cities may spend not more than one-quarter mill per dollar of taxable property valuation for promotion, while Michigan cities may spend up to four mills per dollar on advertising.

New Jersey Official Given Louisville Award

Walter R. Darby, director of the Division of Local Government of the State of New Jersey, was winner of the 1946 Louisville Award gold medal. Mr. Darby was presented with the medal, given annually for outstanding service by a public finance official, in recognition of his work in developing a *Handbook for Municipal Officials.* The book provides local officials in New Jersey with an authoritative summary of their duties and responsibilities.

J. D. Huffman, Jr., director of finance of Austin, Texas, was awarded a certificate of merit for designing and installing a modern machine accounting system for his city.

Judges in the contest were F. H. Elwell, dean of the School of Commerce at the University of Wisconsin; George P. Ellis, certified public accountant with Wolf and Company, Chicago; and Herman Kehrli, executive director of the League of Oregon Cities. The awards were announced at the annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, held at Richmond, Virginia, in June, where the organization had the largest attendance in its history.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Health Service Bill Before British House

Minister of Health Proposes Nationally Controlled Plan

THE Minister of Health, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, introduced the Labor government's National Health Service Bill in the House of Commons on March 19. Placing upon the Minister a general duty "to promote a comprehensive health service for the improvement of the physical and mental health of the people of England and Wales, and for the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness," the bill has important implications for the future of local government, says the *Municipal Journal.*[1]

There are at present in England and Wales two parallel hospital systems: the voluntary hospitals, which provide about 77,000 beds, and the municipal hospitals, which provide about 196,000 beds. These figures do not include 189,000 mental hospital beds, almost all of which are provided by local authorities.

In the new bill the government proposes that the two systems be coordinated into one unified system under national ownership, financed by national funds. To achieve this the government plans to take over the existing public hospitals, voluntary and municipal including mental hospitals. It would administer them on a regional basis through regional hospital boards, with day-to-day management by local hospital management committees.

The Minister of Health will have general direction of hospital administration and will be aided by an advisory Central Health Services Council of 41 members. Of these, 21 will be medical practitioners and the balance will represent dentists, nurses and other professional people as well as those having experience in hospital management and local government. Members of regional administrative boards will be chosen from similar groups and will also be centrally appointed. Local governments have been quick to protest their lack of adequate representation on these projected bodies, feeling that the medical profession will have too great a monopoly.

The need for nationalization of the hospitals, however, is generally conceded. Since free hospital and ancillary treatment is to be the right of all under the new bill, and since all will contribute through national insurance, the government must provide the necessary facilities.

Health Centers

Health centers are to be provided by counties and county boroughs under the direction of executive committees. These committees are to be composed of 24 members, eight from the local health authority (county or county borough), four appointed by the Minister of Health and twelve appointed by the local doctors, dentists and pharmacists. Thus local government is also in the minority on health center committees.

The object of the health center system, based on publicly provided premises, technically equipped and staffed at the public cost, is to provide facilities not only for the general medical and dental services but also for many of the special clinic services of the local health authorities and, sometimes, for outpost clinics of the hospital and specialist services. The centers will also be able to serve as bases for various activities in health education.

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[1] See the *Municipal Journal* (London), March 29, 1946, pages 631 and 637; also the *Municipal Review* (London), April 1946, pages 91 and 97.

Mother and child services are left as particularly local government matters, as is the health visitor service.

The entire health plan will be financed by national insurance contributions, national taxes and local rates.

After summarizing the Health Service Bill's main features, the *Municipal Journal* concludes: "Irrespective of what the desires of local authority may be, and accepting the certainty of having one of the country's most important social services run on other than traditional lines, with a lessened operation of the time-honored system of checks and balances, the bill has swung too far towards a managerial economy, perhaps too far from the influence of those people for whose benefit it was designed, the patients."

Local Government on South African Cabinet?

It has been suggested in South Africa that a portfolio for local government be created in the national cabinet. Under the proposal the cabinet would not be increased in size necessarily; the additional portfolio might be held by the Minister of the Interior, to whom municipal bodies should put their points of view and who should speak for those bodies at cabinet discussions.

Commenting editorially on the proposal, the *South African Municipal Magazine*[1] said: "The time is long overdue for a settlement of the points at issue between the municipalities and the state. The most urgent question is that of financial relations which has been dragging on, in one form or another, for about 40 years. . . . This is the most urgent question, but there are others which need to be settled. At present the municipalities have to negotiate with numbers of government and provincial departments when dealing with important works. This leads to delay and confusion.

"Furthermore, the municipalities' point of view may not necessarily be properly presented at cabinet discussions. There is a definite danger that a minister may go to the cabinet with an *ex parte* statement, obtain a cabinet decision on the strength of it and then use this as an argument for enforcing his will upon the local authority. . . .

"The tendency of the past half century has been for more and more power to be concentrated in the hands of a central authority. This may perhaps make for efficiency, but it should never for a moment be forgotten that the very roots of democracy lie in a system of decentralization, in which both power and responsibility reach down in gradations from the cabinet to the smallest local authority. . . .

"It is to be hoped that the government will recognize the work being done by municipalities all over the country by appointing someone in the cabinet to deal specifically with their general problems."

Libraries

In both South Africa and New Zealand a trend toward free public libraries is observable. Until recently fees have been charged.

* * *

Greater London Plan

The County and Greater London Plans have been accepted in broad principle by the central government. A million persons and many industries must move if the contemplated programs for decentralization are carried out. Four "rings" around London are planned: the inner or more concentrated ring, the suburban area, a green belt ring, and the outlying districts to which most of the million people will probably move.

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[1] March 1946, page 11.

* * *

English Boundaries

The recently established Local Government Boundary Commission in England and Wales has issued its first announcement as to procedure. Special priority will be given to county boroughs planning large scale reconstruction projects involving development outside the existing cities, local units which have had applications before Parliament during the war under the old boundary change procedure which have not been considered, and other cases where special circumstances make immediate consideration desirable. Beyond these situations, priority will be given to county and county borough boundary changes.

* * *

Fire Service

The British Home Secretary announced in March that henceforth the counties and county boroughs will control the fire services in England and Wales and the county and large burgh councils will do so in Scotland. In 1941 as a result of the war the 1,600 separate fire authorities were replaced by a National Fire Service which is now to be disbanded. A larger measure of central direction, control and grants-in-aid, however, is to follow.

* * *

Municipal Roads Tax

In South Africa, the Natal provincial executive committee proposes to introduce legislation into the provincial council granting power to all Natal borough and town boards to levy a municipal roads tax to be determined on a wheel load basis. The inadequacy of local rates is increasing with added postwar expenditures.

German and Austrian Schools

As a contribution to democratic education, the National Self Government Committee, with headquarters in New York, has proposed to the State Department that student self-government and discussion groups be introduced in German and Austrian elementary schools. The organization stresses that only practice in democracy in the schools now will lead to democratic government in these nations in the future.

The group's educational consultant, Dr. Earl C. Kelley, has outlined the program that might be followed. "Once discussion groups are accepted, simple student self-government may be encouraged. As students gain experience in governing themselves, greater responsibility may be granted to them. This practice will be invaluable for democratic government in the future.

* * *

Manager Plan in South Africa

The Joint Council of Ratepayers in Cape Town is studying the council-manager plan of government as put forth in the *Model City Charter* with a view to campaigning for a reformed charter along those lines. Initial interest in the plan comes from a member of the executive committee of the Joint Council who spent seven years in Oakland, California, during which time the manager plan was put into effect with good results.

* * *

Singapore's Appointive Commission

The governing body of Singapore since 1913 has been a municipal commission appointed by the governor of the Straits Settlements. In practice, however, nominations by various private groups, such as chambers of commerce and nationality associations, are permitted, according to "Municipal Administration in Singapore," by K. J. O'Dell in the Spring 1946 issue of *Public Administration* (London).

Books in Review

Public Men In and Out of Office. Edited by J. T. Salter. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xx, 513 pp. $4.

Mr. Salter, in the concluding essay in this book about 27 contemporary American public men "in and out of office," tells us that politicians "are like the people, only more so." In short this book undertakes to hold up 27 mirrors to some 50,000,000 American voter-politicians in the hope that they will see themselves in 27 of their political agents, and take appropriate heart and action, as the case may be.

The keynote of the book is to be found in Mr. Salter's repeated insistence: "By your politicians are ye known." The purpose is to reconcile voters and agents by making them see their essential identity in character and destiny.

The subjects range from Vice President, now President, Truman to the Mayor of Jersey City. They include the late Wendell Willkie, diplomats Messersmith, Grew and Winant, and Secretary Wallace; fifteen present or recent members of Congress and five governors, Messrs. Stassen, Dewey, Bricker, Kerr and Warren.

The Congressmen (of both houses) range from internationalists Fulbright and Ball to isolationists Nye and Fish, from Jerry Voorhis to Theodore Bilbo.

As Mr. Salter explains in his introduction, the bulk of the volume "is devoted to members of the House and Senate," and amounts to "an attempt to describe the national legislature in terms of characteristic and representative members of that body." Hence, it includes such current leaders, by virtue of seniority and Democratic majorities, as Sam Rayburn, Robert L. Doughton, Adolph J. Sabath, "Dean of the House," Alben Barkley and Tom Connally. The picture is rounded out with portraits of Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Sol Bloom, Claude Pepper and "Cotton Ed" Smith. Significant detail would have been added if some of the recognized Republican leaders and a couple of names never publicized outside their own states except in the *Congressional Record* had been included; but the book is fairly long as it is, and the matter of party affiliation is essentially incidental to its purpose.

The authors are mostly journalists and college professors, picked, obviously, in most cases for their practical as well as their academic and literary qualifications. A number are politicians in their own right. Considering the number, they maintain a commendably high level of readability and fidelity to Mr. Salter's main purpose, although they differ widely in their main approach to their subjects.

On the whole, the value judgments expressed in this book concerning most of the 27 public men and the measures they have dealt with conform pretty closely to what appear to have been the composite American public opinions concerning them. Perhaps this is just a way of saying that the authors are good politicians. Or, if we concede something to their political science, perhaps it is a compliment to the essential soundness of the political judgment of the American people as a whole.

JOHN E. BEBOUT

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

Amount of State Funds, by States, Appropriated for Airport Construction. Compilation Based on Reports Submitted by State Budget Directors. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1946. 8 pp.

Building Codes

Uniform Building Code. (Revised 1946). Los Angeles, Pacific Coast Building Officials Conference, 1946. 312 pp. $2.50.

Business Planning

New York Means Business in the Elmira Area—Counties of Steuben, Schuyler, Tioga, Tomkins and Chemung. **New York Means Business in the Niagara Frontier**—Counties of Erie and Niagara. Albany, State Department of Commerce, 1946. 23 and 28 pp. respectively.

Congress

For a Stronger Congress. By Philip S. Broughton. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Criminal Procedure

Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure with Notes Prepared under the Direction of the Advisory Committee Appointed by the United States Supreme Court and Proceedings of the Institute conducted by the New York University School of Law in collaboration with the Section of Criminal Law of the American Bar Association, the New York State Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut at New York, February 15 and 16, 1946. Edited by Alexander Holtzoff, with an Introduction by Tom C. Clark. New York, New York University School of Law, 1946. xxi, 335 pp. $4.

Economic Planning

Freedom under Planning. By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945. vii, 180 pp. $2.

Foundations

American Foundations for Social Welfare. Including a Descriptive Directory of 505 Foundations. By Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews. New York 10, Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. 249 pp. $2.

Housing

Housing: A Community Job. What Citizens Can Do to Make Their Communities Better Places for Living. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1946. 12 pp. Five cents.

Inflation in Homes and Home Sites. Report on a Nation-wide Survey. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1946. 37 pp.

International Trade

Tomorrow's Trade. Problems of Our Foreign Commerce. Guide Lines to America's Future. By Stuart Chase. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. xl, 156 pp. $1.

Municipal Codes

Administrative Code (Amended as of April 23, 1946) City of Marquette, Michigan. Marquette, 1946. 31 pp.

Pay Rolls

Employment and Pay Rolls of State and Local Governments 1929-1939. By Carol P. Brainerd. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1946. 64 pp.

Public Safety

State Regulation of Safety Education in the United States 1946. Revised Summary of State Laws, Regulations, Courses of Study and Required Teacher Training in the Field of Safety Education in the Forty-eight States and the District of Columbia. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. 39 pp.

Public Utilities

The Public Utility Franchise. Its Functions and Terms under State Regulation. By John Bauer. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 22 pp. $1.

Racial Discrimination

Police Action in Minority Problems. By Joseph T. Kluchesky. Address before the Fifty-second Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, December 1945.

New York 18, Freedom House, 1946. 16 pp.

Subdivision

Practices Followed by Virginia Towns in the Development of Subdivisions. Richmond 19, League of Virginia Municipalities, 1946. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Opportunities for the Improvement of the Virginia State Tax Structure. Report of the Committee on Taxation and Government of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Richmond 19, The Chamber, 1945. xxii, 181 pp. Paperbound, $2; clothbound, $2.50.

Report Relating to Property Acquired by the City of Boston by Foreclosure of Tax Title. Boston, Finance Commission, 1946. 32 pp.

The Self-Supporting City. Meeting the Problems of Housing, Employment, Taxes. By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1946. 108 pp. $1.

State Expenditure in 1944. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 30 pp.

Traffic

Report of Committee on Transit Operations. New Haven 11, Conn., Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1945. 7 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from Page 370)

Educating the Citizen

Dryden Kuser, director of the **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** is giving a series of Monday evening radio talks on taxation over KOH. The program is one of the association's activities designed to keep the taxpayer informed on governmental affairs and costs. Another activity, inaugurated at the association's annual meeting at Reno, is a weekly forum on selected tax subjects. Meetings are open to the public and invitations have been sent to various state officials and leaders in fields particularly interested in the subject matter discussed. The association hopes that this innovation will stimulate citizen participation in public affairs.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Dr. Robert S. Ford, associate professor of economics at the University of Michigan and director of the university's Bureau of Government, addressed the annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron on "Where Is the Money Coming From?"

S. Frank Bruno was elected unanimously as chairman of the Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union at its annual meeting in May. Mr. Bruno succeeds **Albert A. Arditti,** who has been chairman of the organization since its inception four years ago.

URBAN VS. RURAL

(Continued from Page 354)

interests who stand to lose positions of advantage.

Much is at stake in the electorate's decision on the reapportionment of the Senate. If the proposed plan is adopted, the urban population of the state—71 per cent of the total—will be able to exert power in legislative affairs roughly commensurate with its numerical strength. This probably will mean additional political influence on the part of organized labor and greater impetus to the quest for solutions to the great social and economic problems of urban and industrial society. Finally, victory for the new plan will mark a return to the principle of democracy that each individual should be politically equal whether he lives on a farm or in a city apartment.

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The League's Business

National Conference Plans

Plans for the National Municipal League's first National Conference on Government since Pearl Harbor are being formulated and will be announced in the October REVIEW and by mail to members and other interested persons and organizations.

The Conference will be held November 11, 12 and 13 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, opening with a luncheon Monday noon (Armistice Day) and closing with another luncheon session Wednesday noon. General sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons, with concurrent group sessions on important civic and governmental problems Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. The League's annual banquet, at which President John G. Winant will deliver the main address, will be held Tuesday evening.

This, incidentally, will be President Winant's first appearance at a League Conference since his election at the Springfield Conference in 1940. He went to London a few months later as Ambassador and, unable to attend the St. Louis Conference in 1941, addressed it over a nation-wide radio hook-up from England.

Meeting with the League, as usual, will be the National Association of Civic Secretaries and the Proportional Representation League.

Survey of Wicomico County, Maryland

The League's Consultant Service has completed a brief administrative survey of Wicomico County, Maryland, for which Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck, editor of the REVIEW's County and Township department, served as director. The survey was made for the Board of Commissioners of the county.

More Studies in Augusta, Georgia

The Consultant Service, which made an administrative and financial survey of Augusta, Georgia, in 1945, has been called back to make a similar survey of Richmond County, of which Augusta is the county seat. A new proposed charter providing the council-manager form of government will be drafted and plans will be prepared for joint city-county assessment and taxation, a nonpartisan board of education, and a personnel and pension system. The work is being directed by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, who made the 1945 survey.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Why Kill the Mayor?

AFTER the first six months of his four-year term, the Mayor of New York regrets that he got the job, says he doesn't want another term and, with refreshing forthrightness, admits he realizes that he is badly handicapped by lack of previous experience as an executive.

After he came to this country from Ireland as a young man, he worked as a laborer, bartender, policeman, lawyer, county court judge and district attorney. That adds up to a thrilling success story; but is it proper training for the chief administrator of the world's largest city with 184,000 employees and around 100 departments and agencies?

If a city manager felt inadequate in a situation like this he could resign and the people's representatives in the city council could pick a successor. But everything conspires to make the Mayor serve out his full term.

Even so, there is no real need for him to let this job get him down. Why shouldn't he divide up his tremendous responsibilities among a crew of able administrative assistants who would save him from the killing detail? The city manager of a certain city of 500,000 has two administrative assistants between whom he divides supervision of the departments. If a city manager with years of experience needs two, should not the mayor of New York have several such aids?

Come On In!*

A YOUNG man just out of the service was chatting with me the other day about the future. He was still trying to decide what to do for the rest of his life.

"I'll tell you one thing," he said quizzically. "I'm going to keep out of politics. You can have it."

I would have said the same thing a few years ago. I had no more notion of going into politics than you have—assuming you are the average American and have none at all.

I am still surprised, sometimes, when I wake up in the morning and remember that I am a congressman. But my greatest surprise is in finding myself liking politics. . . .

I had the same fear of politics that most normally sensitive men and women have. I knew that anybody in politics was traditionally a target for abuse. I knew that George Washington was accused of having "the foulest designs against the liberties of the people," that Jefferson was called "a contemptible hypocrite," that Lincoln's embittered attackers ran out of epithets only from exhaustion.

And I got my share of verbal sand-

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*Reprinted from *This Week Magazine*. Copyright 1946 by the United Newspapers Magazine Corporation.

bagging. I got booed and I got hissed. But it didn't hurt. When the campaign was over I checked up and found that I had thrived on it. I not only got elected (on my second try) but I gained sixteen pounds.

Campaigning, you get to meet fine people, make wonderful friends. I wouldn't trade the friends I've made in my home bailiwick for a million dollars. If elected you get the opportunity to do things which make you feel good.

More important is the satisfaction of having a hand in the guiding of the wheels of history. The theory of our democracy, of course, is that the hand of every man and woman helps guide those wheels.

That is the way it ought to be, particularly today when the steps that government takes, or fails to take, may mean the difference between an era of unparalleled prosperity and one of great depression.

We all believe that our best hope for wise decisions by government, for the right decisions, is in democracy. But you don't make democracy work by baring your head when the flag goes by nor even by going dutifully to the polls on election day to vote "yes" or "no" on the hand-picked candidates of political bosses.

You make it work by politics—and party politics at that. Party machinery is the base of our government. To ignore it, to be superior to it, is on a par with the concept of being "too proud to fight."

To think and act this way just makes it so much the easier for party bosses to push through a primary election, at which the "independent voter" doesn't bother to vote, a Tweedledee and a Tweedledum between whom he may choose on election day. You can figure out for yourself how much force he's exerting on history.

Many more people could offer themselves for public office. If they did we would have fewer people on the sidelines complaining of the low caliber of our public servants. And if everybody can't run there is plenty of room for participation in politics in other ways: working in the wards, precincts, districts, and voting at every election.

These are days when the word "crisis" is seldom out of the headlines. As just one congressman—one politician if you like—I cannot turn every crisis into a triumphant step ahead. But I can have the satisfaction of putting in my two cents' worth of thought and effort. Believe me, it *is* a real satisfaction. It is the deepest satisfaction of politics, whether you are in it as an elected official, a candidate or an active participant in the ranks of voters.

Others more eloquent than I have pointed out the duty of every citizen to participate in politics. Yet when election time comes around some ignore it. Some take a quick look, shudder and turn away. Some dabble a toe fearfully in the political waters and beat a hasty retreat. Old hands, of course, wallow in. Some few new ones jump timidly or allow themselves to be pushed. Others stand by, half afraid.

What I am trying to tell you is that the water is really fine.

Come on in! You'll be glad you did.

AUGUST W. BENNET
Member of Congress, New York

Light for State Legislatures

Three new legislative councils bring technical aid and stimulate efforts to free lawmakers from static habits.

By **JACK A. RHODES***

STATE and local government is today, as perhaps never before, in a period of fluid and crucial transition. Our time-honored instruments of government, designed to solve the relatively simple tasks in the negative police state of yesterday, are totally inadequate to solve new and immediate problems. These new duties of government in a positive welfare state press increasingly heavily for solution in the halls of legislation. Government has been forced to assume new and complex duties; its basic structural mechanism is outmoded by at least a century.

The recent war and its aftermath accelerated and made more intricate the problems of our 48 commonwealths. Many of the states, in the role of cooperative partners of the central government, were found lacking in expeditious and effective action in the face of the national emergency. The return of peace has thrust new and heavier responsibilities upon our commonwealths.

In a real sense legislatures temper the condition of life in the modern state. The popularly elected legislature is the core of representative government; yet many of its basic techniques antedate the inauguration of our experiment in federalism. Static organization, antiquated procedural machinery and lack of formal self-leadership opportunities are evils tolerated by an American public which holds in slight esteem most lawmaking activities. These weaknesses of state government have been intensified by constitutional limitations upon powers and procedures of legislative chambers. We have acted on the theory that the proper solution lies in reducing the legislature to a state of near impotency. Consequently, this branch, of the three traditional branches, is perhaps least equipped to respond to social and economic problems of life in the modern state.

The theory of representative government suggests broader discretion for internal legislative organization and procedures with sanctions imposed by an enlightened electorate through approving or rejecting candidates at the polling booth. Current trends point in the direction of: first, enhancing legislative efficiency and prestige within the existing legal framework; second, liberalizing our state constitutions.

In recent years sporadic experiments in the several states indicate that the importance of strengthening our legislatures is beginning to be realized.

Early technical aids to lawmakers culminated in the legislative research council idea, first proposed by the National Municipal League in the

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Model State Constitution of 1921. The essence of the program is establishment of a standing joint interim committee of the legislature with staff aid provided by a permanent research department. Basic functions of the council are: (1) continuous and impartial research and (2) advance interim planning for the legislative sessions.

This "genuine" legislative council program was pioneered by Kansas and Michigan, both in 1933. The former is generally recognized as the outstanding pattern for a successful council program.[1] A total of twelve states now have operating councils or comparable agencies with other names.[2] In addition, Oklahoma and Rhode Island have enacted council bills but refusal of either Senate, House or executive to participate has blocked the establishment of councils. In certain other states the effectiveness of the program has been severely curtailed by meager legislative appropriations.

Complexity of governmental problems and wartime burdens of lawmaking stimulated the introduction of council bills in several states. Councils were established during wartime in Missouri (1943), Alabama (1945) and Indiana (1945). The difficult stage of experimentation seems to have been successfully passed; the adaptation of the technique to special needs of the individual state is the current phase of development.

Councils in these three states are patterned basically after the provision in the *Model State Constitution* as modified in practice by the more successful councils, such as the one in Kansas. Latest reports indicate that each of these agencies has been accepted as an integral part of the state legislature. The future of the legislative council program seems encouraging, indeed.

Missouri Committee

The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, created by the 1943 General Assembly, is, in fact, though not in name, a "genuine" legislative council. It is composed of ten members from the Senate and ten members from the House of Representatives appointed by the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House, respectively. Appointments continue during the term of office of the member in the legislature. No major party may be represented by more than six members from each of the two legislative chambers.

The three important activities of the committee are: (1) to maintain a Legislative Reference Library; (2) to provide a research staff to make studies at the request of members of the General Assembly; and (3) upon written request of members of the General Assembly to draft or aid in drafting bills, resolutions, memorials and amendments. All activities are supposed to be factual and nonpartisan.

As in other council states the research staff is employed on a full-time basis. The Missouri committee contemplates comprehensive studies of the eleemosynary system, penal system, schools of the state, and the social security setup in Missouri. Some reports already submitted by the committee include: *State Certificates of Indebtedness of Missouri, Factual Data Concerning Social Security, County Poor Houses, and Eleemosynary Institutions,* as well as others of a more limited scope. The committee reports that it has drafted about five hundred revision bills which conform to the new state constitution. Plans are under way for a comprehensive study, within the next year or two, of taxation in the state.

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[1] See "Better Laws Through Research," the REVIEW, December, 1945.

[2] Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Mr. Charlton F. Chute, until recently director of research,[3] indicates that few if any difficult problems face the committee and that "The committee and its staff have been well received." He anticipates that sufficient funds will be forthcoming to increase the work of the committee. The appropriation for the current fiscal year is $100,000; this large amount was provided for the difficult task of revising statutes to conform to the new constitution.

For the April 1944 session of the General Assembly the committee, through the Legislative Library, placed at the disposal of legislators all bills recently enacted on the important subject of soldier voting. During this special session the Committee on Legislative Research was directed to obtain data from the Social Security Commission relating to its request for additional appropriations. Factual data was requested on the question of increasing the salaries of St. Louis policemen. An analysis of police salaries in several cities in the United States was made available to the lawmakers. In addition, various factual questions, relating largely to social security, insurance, forest resources and maintenance of state government buildings, were answered by members of the research staff. The committee and its staff take pride in their high standard of objectivity in performing functions for the legislature. Here is a clear-cut recognition of the fundamental principle that the successful council must regard itself as the impartial servant of its master, the legislature.

The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research is still in the infancy stage and the difficulties of obtaining staff and research facilities in wartime were tremendous. Indications are that with an increase of staff members and research equipment the committee will pursue studies of far-reaching importance to the state of Missouri and to other states.

First Year's Work

In its First Biennial Report, 1943-1944, the committee pointed out "that never before in the history of the state has the General Assembly had its own source of information concerning any of its problems or responsibilities. The Assembly is called upon to appropriate approximately one hundred million dollars a year and to legislate upon a multitude of activities in which every Missouri citizen is engaged. In an undertaking of such magnitude the Assembly should not be compelled to rely exclusively on the presence of information or expert service of outside sources." The report stresses the opinion of the committee "that if the activities of this committee are continued on the sound, progressive, nonpartisan basis which has activated the committee so far, it will become an indispensable tool to the General Assembly in helping it to better perform its very important functions in government."

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[3] Dr. Chute has returned to his position as director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, from which he had been on leave of absence.—EDITOR.

Alabama's Legislative Council

It is encouraging to learn that the council program is spreading to southern states. The Legislative Council for Alabama was written into law by the 1945 session of the legislature; it was organized on June 26, 1945. The same statute created a Legislative Reference Service to be under the supervision of the Legislative Council. The reference service in Alabama performs the duties of the research department in other council states.

The Alabama Legislative Council follows the general pattern for the program in the older council states. Membership consists of twelve persons: the president of the Senate, four members of the Senate elected at each legislative session by the Senate for terms of two years, the speaker of the House of Representatives and six representatives elected by the members of the House. The practice of choosing members by an election in each house marks a point of departure from the usual council procedure in other states. This practice may reduce the potential danger of concentrating too much power in the hands of a few legislators who have the power of appointing council members.

The three principal duties of the Alabama council are: (1) supervision of the activities of the Legislative Reference Service to insure that the legislative intent is carried out in practice; (2) examination of the effects of constitutional provisions and statutes and of the effectiveness of operation of state and local government in Alabama; (3) preparation of suggestions for legislation, in the form of bills or otherwise, which in its opinion the welfare of the state demands, and the submission of these suggestions to the legislature.

Duties of the Legislative Reference Service include: (1) inquiry on Alabama government organization and administration; (2) studies and reports on problems of state and local government called to its attention by members of the legislature, the governor, state departments and other persons and instrumentalities (it may also engage in research on its own initiative); (3) compilation and codification of statute law at the request of the legislature; (4) bill-drafting. Other tasks may be assigned to the reference service at the discretion of the Legislative Council or the legislature.

The Alabama council has held three meetings and has undertaken a study of several projects despite the handicaps of the war period. These studies include: (1) advisability of establishing a state printing office; (2) the question of abolishing sales tax tokens; (3) divorce laws in Alabama; (4) study of state, county and municipal business licenses;

(5) improvement of methods of legislative procedure in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Legislative Reference Service has completed over three hundred projects. Its report of January 31, 1946 (period from October 24, 1945, to January 31, 1946) shows 39 projects completed for legislators, six for the office of the Governor, 37 for state agency officials, sixteen for local government officials, seven for federal officials and state and local officials outside of Alabama, seven for private organizations and citizens in Alabama, and nine for private organizations outside of Alabama.

The report shows the nature of the projects to be: 47 on information concerning 1943 and 1945 legislative enactments, 21 on facts relating to the status of Alabama law on various subjects, twenty on research and technical assistance on state and local government problems, nineteen on the operation of Alabama state government, seven on analyses of laws and operations of the 48 state governments, and four on bill-drafting.

Projects completed by the reference service include *Mechanics for Consumer Payment of Retail Sales Taxes, Statutory Grounds and Residence Period Requirements for Absolute Divorce,* and a summary of the *State and County Privilege License Schedule.* At the request of the Governor the reference service prepared a recommended course of action for thirteen southern states in the use of regional education facilities for whites and Negroes and an analysis of the need for regional cooperation. The report was adopted by the Southern Governors' Conference with only slight modification.

At the end of the period covered by the report the reference service had the following projects on its agenda: (1) handbook of Alabama state agencies; (2) manual of information for 1947 legislators; (3) study of Alabama's bastardy and desertion and nonsupport statutes; (4) study of procedures for expediting legislative processes; (5) report on the advisability of a state printing plant; (6) estimate of the cost and work involved in making and keeping current a compilation of all general and local laws, as well as briefs of court rulings and decisions of the attorney general, applicable to duties of the Division of Examiners of Public Accounts of the State Department of Finance; (7) a study of controls which could be exercised over rules and regulations promulgated and enforced by state administrative agencies.

Adequate Funds Appropriated

During the 1945 session the legislature appropriated $2,000 annually for the council and $25,000 annually for the reference service. The report of the reference service indicated that the budget was "entirely adequate." The postwar era, however, will bring an increasing number of complex problems to our legislative councils and other technical aids to lawmakers. These agencies cannot be expected to render their maximum contribution to improving state government unless the budget is adequate for their many tasks.

As in the case of the Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, the Alabama Council and Legislative

Reference Service recognize their clear-cut duty of objective, nonpartisan service to the legislature. The report of the reference service reflects this "master-servant" relationship in its final paragraph: "Any comments which you care to make concerning the foregoing or concerning our operations generally would be appreciated sincerely. We're trying here to do, as near as we can determine, what the legislature anticipated by our creation. If we're wrong, even slightly, we'd like to know."

The record of the "infant" Alabama Legislative Council and its research department, the Legislative Reference Service, is impressive and encouraging. The director of the latter agency reports: "Our prospects, from here, are good. We have done, with limited personnel, quite a bit of work at least reasonably well. The growing pains incidental to organization, employing and equipping are almost over. With a full staff in the offing, if not in sight, we will be able to do more work better."

Indiana Commission

The wartime contribution of Indiana to the legislative council movement was the creation of a Legislative Advisory Commission in 1945. This joint standing committee of the General Assembly acts in an advisory capacity to the Indiana Legislative Bureau. The commission is composed of the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives, three members of the Senate to be named by its president, and three members of the House of Representatives to be named by the speaker. In each case not more than two of the three members may be affiliated with the same political party.

The Indiana Legislative Advisory Commission is also a "genuine" legislative council. The legislative bureau is the counterpart of the research department in other council states. Its duties include: research and the securing of information for the legislators, bill-drafting, and the preparation of measures for the General Assembly "which will improve the form and wording of and reduce the size of the statutes of this state, and classify, reconcile and codify their provisions."

It is the duty of the commission "to collect information concerning the government and general welfare of the state, examine the effects of previously enacted statutes and recommend amendments thereto, to instruct the director of the bureau as to what research and investigation shall be made by the bureau." The commission has the duty of studying programs designed to improve legislative procedures, to increase the effectiveness of administrative organizations, to eliminate waste and overlapping functions, and to institute economies in state government generally.

The commission reports to the General Assembly and may draft tentative bills as it deems advisable for the information of and consideration by the full legislature.

The General Assembly in 1945 appropriated $30,000 for "personal service," and $6,000 for "other operating expenses" of the Indiana Legislative Bureau and the Legislative

Advisory Commission for each fiscal year of the following biennium.

The act creating these two independent state agencies became effective on July 1, 1945. The commission in Indiana is now functioning; its operation thus far has been largely that of organization. L. H. Carpenter, executive secretary of the Commission on Interstate Cooperation, reports that "there is a closely knit relationship between our legislature and this new bureau and commission."

New Impetus to Program

The three state agencies discussed herein have given significant impetus to the program for equipping the legislature for a more adequate discharge of its constitutional duties. In each the fundamentals of a "genuine" legislative council program are embodied in the statute creating the agency. The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, the Alabama Legislative Council and the Indiana Legislative Advisory Commission have added an impressive chapter to the movement for continuous research and advance interim planning as essential staff aids for legislatures in the postwar state. Officials of these state agencies are optimistic; council advocates believe the projects are well grounded in the fundamentals of legislative council programs.

The future of the Missouri committee, the Alabama council, and the Indiana commission depends, in no small degree, on the size of the appropriations from the legislature. An inadequate budget will reduce materially their effectiveness; financial strangulation has too often been a definite handicap to the operation of legislative councils. Successful councils, such as the one in Kansas, have overcome this handicap by winning the confidence of the legislature through supplying excellent research studies, engaging in comprehensive intersession planning projects, drafting tentative bills, codifying statute law, and by expediting legislative processes, improving administrative functions and effecting state economies in general.

The principles of the legislative council idea seem to have become firmly established in many states; the period of adaptation to the needs of the individual state is well under way.

The Capital Goes to the People

Indiana officials go back to home towns to talk things over with the folks, teach government, learn of needs.

By **FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE***

"BRINGING the capital of Indiana to the people" is the theme of a novel, statewide program of civic education under the personal leadership of Governor Ralph F. Gates. In carefully organized community conferences, attended by the Governor, department heads and other public officials, the work of the Indiana state government is discussed with high school seniors, college students, civic groups and the general public.

The first purpose of the conferences, the Governor has said, is "to give the opportunity to the people of each community to see and talk with the heads of the various departments of state government and to have questions answered without the necessity of traveling to the capital of the state." The second purpose "is that the heads of state departments may understand more thoroughly the problems of the local communities." Good government, Governor Gates believes, must be close to the people; for effectiveness it must meet their needs and for improvement it must depend on their support and understanding.

Beginning in December 1945, five regional conferences have been conducted, each for one day, at East Chicago, South Bend, Evansville, Terre Haute and New Albany. Not less than 8000 high school seniors or college students have attended the conferences, participating in study classes. High school or college buildings have been used as centers, particularly to emphasize among young citizens the responsibilities which confront them. All meetings and classes have been open to the public.

In each community non-political sponsorship has been arranged for the conference. Schools and colleges, chambers of commerce and service clubs have appointed committees for local arrangements. Plans for each conference are made by the State Department of Commerce and Public Relations headed by Lieutenant Governor Richard T. James. Paul M. Ross, executive director of the department, is in charge of detailed arrangements. Costs of the programs are absorbed without specific budgetary allocations by participating state departments and by cooperating local organizations.

Morning sessions of conferences have been devoted to a preliminary convocation and to three class periods attended by high school

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seniors. Virtually all seniors from public and parochial schools have attended, transportation being provided when necessary by school buses. Depending upon the population of the region selected, seniors have represented schools in a single county or in as many as seven counties.

Classroom Instruction Given

Typically, officials from eighteen state agencies which provide extensive public services are prepared to offer classroom instruction.[1] Large attendance has at times required multiple sections in each subject, and additional sections have occasionally been organized in the afternoon. State officials are encouraged to present basic information and to afford time for full discussion and for questions. Visual aids, including motion pictures, slides and charts, are used in several classes, and literature is distributed freely.

It is understood, upon the insistence of the Governor, that instruction must be nonpartisan but that discussion may range fully over the services and problems of state departments. The State Department of Public Instruction has cooperated in making advance arrangements with schools to facilitate selection of the three class sessions which each student will attend, to encourage note-taking and participation in discussion, and to plan oral reports by students when they return to their schools.

The Governor has whenever possible visited various classes during the morning sessions and has held a press conference with student reporters from all school newspapers of the region. A civic luncheon program is usually arranged by one of the sponsoring organizations.

Group Conferences Held

Afternoon sessions are devoted to individual or group conferences. The widest advance publicity is given to the availability of state officials for conferences with local officials, citizens or citizen groups. State departments have sent hundreds of letters of open invitation to organizations, to officers of counties, cities, towns and townships, and to state officers and agents working in the area. Newspapers and radio stations have announced conference hours. Each state department represented at the afternoon sessions has maintained a separate temporary headquarters. State officials have been especially prepared to discuss cooperation or specific services in the communities of the region. Attendance at the afternoon conferences has been both representative and large.

No attempt has been made to reach final decisions at these afternoon conferences—sometimes called clinics by the newspapers. But state officials and many local groups have expressed enthusiastic appreciation for the contacts and frank discussions of problems. Delegations have from time to time presented conflicts of opinion about local or regional needs, and such occasions have

(Continued on Page 412)

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[1] Class instruction has been given under these topics: attorney general, aviation, commerce and public relations, conservation, economic council, education, employees' retirement, employment security, fire marshal, flood control, highway commission, labor, legislative bureau, public health, tax commission, traffic safety, veterans' affairs, and welfare.

Reorganization in Missouri

Seventy separate agencies reduced to thirteen as state legislature moves to carry out new constitution's mandate.

By **MARTIN L. FAUST**[*]

WHEN the voters of Missouri ratified a new constitution on February 27, 1945, the 63rd General Assembly then in session found itself confronted with a legislative program of vast proportions which it could neither evade nor postpone.

Among the many duties included in this assignment none was more imperative than that of reconstructing the machinery of state administration. Unless reorganized in conformity with the new constitution, virtually the entire administration would be unable to function legally after July 1, 1946, the date fixed by the constitution when all laws inconsistent with it would cease to be in effect.

In spite of the many difficulties, which at times made the situation seem hopeless, the General Assembly was able to recess by April 1 with the measures embodying the essential parts of the state administrative reorganization program on the Governor's desk.

The outstanding features of the reorganization program are consolidation of more than 70 separate agencies of administration into thirteen major departments, creation of a comprehensive finance department designated as the Department of Revenue, establishment of a state civil service system.

The provisions of the new constitution designed to bring about administrative integration under the governor are unique in several respects. In the first place, the constitution enumerates ten major offices or departments and limits the legislature to the creation of not more than four additional. The legislature, under the guidance of the Governor, saw fit to create only three additional departments, the idea being to keep one in reserve for future needs. The thirteen departments are: State Auditor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Department of Revenue, Department of Education, Department of Highways, Department of Conservation, Department of Agriculture, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Department of Business and Administration, Department of Corrections, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations. Only the last three are not named or made mandatory by the constitution.

A second unique feature is the

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[*] Dr. Faust is chairman of the Department of Political Science and professor of political science at the University of Missouri. During the summer of 1945 he served with the Missouri Legislative Research Committee and, with another member of the staff, drafted the Department of Revenue Act described here. Prior to the adoption of Missouri's new constitution, Dr. Faust served as director of studies in connection with the preparation of reference manuals for the Constitutional Convention, writing the *Manual on the Executive Article* and supervising and contributing to the rest of the series. He is author of *The Custody of State Funds* (1925) and *The Security of Public Deposits* (1936) and has contributed to various publications in the political science field.

role which the constitution assigns to the governor in the reorganization process. The constitutional convention, fearful lest the legislature abuse or fail to assume the responsibility of administrative reorganization, incorporated the following provision in section 12 of the executive article:

> Unless discontinued all present or future boards, bureaus, commissions and other agencies of the state exercising administrative or executive authority shall be assigned by the governor to the department to which their respective powers and duties are germane.

Departmental Reorganization

This provision places the governor in a key position to effect and to maintain a functional integration of the state administrative structure. Fortunately, the present governor's long service in the State Senate gave him a thorough understanding of the far-flung activities of the state and the delicate nature of the allocation problem.

Late in November he announced his plan of assignments. All existing agencies were distributed among the ten major departments required by the constitution and the three additional departments which he proposed the legislature create. His plan was well received in all quarters. It then became the task of the legislature to create these departments and to work out for each an internal organization that would make possible an organic and functioning entity.

Attention should be called to at least one other distinctive feature of the constitutional provisions affecting reorganization. This is the limitation on the duties of the minor elective executives — state auditor, state treasurer and secretary of state. Although the convention was able to move in the direction of the short ballot only to the extent of abolishing the elective superintendent of schools, it did take the additional step of substantially "clipping the wings" of these three executives. The method of the framers was to define the duties of the auditor, treasurer and secretary of state, respectively, and to provide in each instance that no duty was to be imposed on them by law which was not related to their duties as prescribed by the constitution. The immediate result was to effect a considerable deflation of these formerly powerful offices.

Of the nine departments under the governor, five are headed by single executives called directors who are appointed by the governor and Senate. These five departments are Revenue, Agriculture, Public Health and Welfare, Corrections, and Business and Administration. Commissions dominate the Departments of Conservation, Highways, Education, and Labor and Industrial Relations. The members of the Conservation Commission are appointed by the governor, but the members of all the other commissions are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate.

The Departments of Conservation, Highways and Agriculture have been affected only slightly by the reorganization. Highway and conservation functions as at present established are largely the result of initiative constitutional amendments adopted prior to the new constitution. In view of the origin of these provisions and the prestige of the Highway and Conservation Departments, the convention reincorporated them in the new constitution with only slight modifications. The most important change affecting the Department of Agriculture has been the absorption by it of the old Grain Warehouse Department.

The Labor and Industrial Relations Department, headed by a commission of three members, is organized into four divisions: workmen's compensation, employment security (unemployment compensation), industrial inspection, mine inspection. All four of these units formerly operated independently of one another.

The Health and Welfare Department as now constituted absorbs the work of the former Department of Health and the State Board of Health (except the board's licensing functions), the board of managers of the state eleemosynary institutions (principally mental hospitals), the Social Security Commission, the board of managers of the Federal Soldier's Home, and the Cancer Commission which operates the state's new cancer hospital. The last two boards have been retained and allocated to appropriate divisions within the department, but all the other boards enumerated have been abolished. Activities of the department are organized into three divisions: health, mental diseases and welfare. The department and the divisions are each headed by a director appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Since the constitution required one department for health and welfare, it seemed advisable, in order to avoid a topheavy organization, to create a separate department for correctional institutions. The Department of Corrections was set up with three divisions: penal institutions, educational institutions and the board of probation and parole. The director of the department, who also heads the division of penal institutions, has no authority over the other divisions. This anomalous situation is due to a constitutional provision which classifies the institutions for juvenile delinquents as educational institutions and requires that they be placed under the supervision of a board of trustees of six members.

Civil Service Provisions

The Department of Business and Administration is essentially one of business regulation and promotion. The arrangement for the most part represents a paper consolidation. Assigned to it as divisions within the department are the Geological Survey, Public Service Commission, Insurance Department, Department of Finance (banking), Department of Resources and Development, Athletic Commission, and the Division of Savings and Loan Supervision. The state civil service law placed the new personnel division which it created in this department.

This last assignment is a bit illogical, and one may well be apprehensive about the arrangement. Although provision is made for a director of the Department of Business and Administration, his position is hardly comparable with that of the other heads of departments. The division of the Public Service

Commission is made completely autonomous. For the other divisions within the department the director acts in the capacity of a business manager, looking after such matters as budgeting, procurement, prescribing a central system for their payrolls and accounts, and developing plans for coordinating their work. The only control over the personnel of the department which he exercises is over the employees of his central office.

Headless Education Setup

The new Department of Education brings together all the state's educational activities, but as established it is virtually headless. The new Board of Education created to supervise instruction in the public schools may require reports of the other divisions in the department but that is the limit of its jurisdiction over them. In addition to a number of miscellaneous boards and commissions, some of which might well have been eliminated, the department houses the nine separate boards of the state's ten educational institutions. With the exception of the Board of Law Examiners, which is under the Supreme Court, all professional licensing and examining boards have been assigned to a Division of Registration created within the department.

The real achievement in administrative reorganization from the standpoint of education is elimination of the elective superintendent and the old ex officio Board of Education. Under the new arrangement there will be a Board of Education of eight members appointed by the governor and Senate, the members serving eight-year terms, one member retiring each year. The board appoints a commissioner of education as its chief administrative officer. There is good reason to believe that this new plan, which has the enthusiastic support of the educational leaders of the state, will mean a great improvement in the state's supervision of the public school system. The amorphous condition of the department and the need of a carefully coordinated state educational program pose problems for the future.

The reorganization of the state's fiscal structure stands out as one of the outstanding accomplishments of the whole reorganization program. The new Department of Revenue comprehends all the state's fiscal activities except those of custody and disbursement of funds, which remain with the elective state treasurer, and that of auditing, which remains with the elective state auditor. The department is organized into five divisions: collection, budget and comptroller, procurement, fund commissioners, public buildings. The department and the first three divisions are headed by single executives appointed by the governor and Senate. Since the director of revenue who heads the department is a member of the Board of Fund Commissioners and acts as its secretary, he is closely tied in with the work of that division. The Division of Public Buildings is headed by an ex-officio board composed of the governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general. This board appoints the director of the division. A State Tax Commission created under a separate statute is also placed in the department, but the director of revenue may exercise no authority or control over it.

Revenue Reorganization

Real significance attaches to the new Department of Revenue for the following reasons: it brings about for the first time a centralization of the state's revenue collections, it establishes an administrative audit system under a comptroller responsible to the governor, it effects a revision of the state's antiquated and costly system of procuring printing, it aims to establish a more effective control over the state's public structures and to develop a long term plan of public building construction. Since the state already had centralized purchasing and executive budget systems, these were simply reincorporated in the Department of Revenue measure with such modifications as the new situation required. The chief problem in setting up the new Department of Revenue has been and will no doubt continue to be the adjustment of relations between the elective state auditor and the divisions of collection and of budget and comptroller.

The reorganization had little effect on law enforcement agencies. The governor assigned to his office the highway patrol, the liquor control department, the adjutant general and military forces. The elective attorney general was unaffected by the reorganization. The other elective officers, secretary of state, treasurer and auditor were stripped principally of their tax-collecting functions, which in the case of the secretary of state and auditor had assumed vast proportions. They also lost some miscellaneous ex officio powers which were no longer germane to their duties as prescribed by the constitution.

A final and crucial element in the reorganization program is the new state civil service law. The civil service sections of the constitution did not make mandatory a comprehensive merit system. The key provision is that of section 19 of the executive article which specifies that "all employees in the state eleemosynary and penal institutions, and other state employees as provided by law, shall be selected on the basis of merit, ascertained as nearly as practicable by competitive examinations." The highway section provides with respect to that department that "the selection and removal of all employees shall be without regard to political affiliation." Another section makes mandatory merit system procedures for all employees of the institutions for juvenile delinquents.

The state civil service law which implements these provisions did not aim to go much beyond the constitutional minimum. The act applies to the positions and employees of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, the Department of Corrections, and the Division of Employment Security (unemployment compensation) of the Labor and Industrial Relations Department. Since social security and unemployment compensation have been operating under merit system procedures, the real gain is the elimination of the spoils system from the eleemosynary and penal institutions.

The effect of the act is to place approximately 6000 or about half the state's employees under a centralized merit system procedure. The state's educational institutions, the highway patrol, the conservation and highway departments, all of which have been outside the patronage orbit, account for more than 4000 additional employees. This leaves an estimated 2000 employees, principally in the fiscal and regulatory departments, who continue to be subject to spoils considerations.

The act provides for a Personnel Advisory Board of three members to be appointed by the governor and Senate. In order to qualify for appointment members must be in thorough sympathy with merit principles and must not have been politically active within one year of their appointment. The first duty of the board is to make up a register of qualified persons to hold the office of director and then certify the names of the three highest on the register to the governor. The governor appoints one of the three as the director, who is designated as the administrative head of the personnel division.

The limits of this article do not permit an extended analysis of the act. Although the limited coverage was disappointing to some, the act in other respects follows closely model state civil service laws. The provisions relating to exemptions, veteran preference, etc., seem quite reasonable. It is an excellent basic statute which can readily be extended as public sentiment develops.

It is, of course, too early to present a critical analysis of the reorganization program. There are many loose ends and numerous hurdles remain. When one recalls that most members of the 63rd General Assembly were not too friendly to the new constitution, that they received no extra compensation for their arduous labors, and that they were confronted with not one but many revision problems, then one cannot help but feel that the accomplishments in the single field of state administrative reorganization were truly remarkable.

Milwaukee Seeks Pay Justice

After many years of playing hide and seek with business cycle five governments of area try for realistic policy.

By RICHARD CHRISTOPHERSON*

WHEN the perfect administrative organization at last arrives, pay policy will doubtless become a province of objectivity. But it may well be the last phase of government to reach that long-promised land. Personalities and pressure politics have dominated our public compensation schedules in the past; they are doing so at present; there is every expectation that they will continue to do so far into the future.

And yet the road to fiscal hell is most assuredly paved with good budgetary intentions and poor budgetary execution. Even in such a Gibraltar of municipal financing as Milwaukee, four distinct crises have emerged during the last 25 years as pay planning lagged behind the course of the business cycle. Three of these crises found the municipality vainly trying to drug a rising national income and the blandishments of private industry with scattered bonus opiates; one of them saw the city in the throes of scrip financing. But, whether expressed by an acute shortage of dollars or an acute shortage of personnel, crises remain crises.

Today, however, the city, the county, the school board, the vocational school and the Sewerage Commission, though separate in organization, all pledge allegiance to a common pay plan which serves to guide both basic and "cost-of-living" adjustments. While this allegiance is subject to many reservations in practice, its mere existence makes the area no longer a house divided by traditions of non-cooperation. If the present ideal of "like pay for like work" can grow into the greater ideal of "right pay for right work," there is no reason to suppose that a fifth crisis need occur.

In 1917 Milwaukee met the first shocks of a compensation tremor that was to persist until 1921. The city's Common Council paid due attention to particular claims presented by particular groups in the fashion followed time out of mind. This crisis, however, did not evaporate with the coming of the peace but seemed to worsen gradually with scant regard for Council action or inaction. Then it was decided to turn the whole perplexing problem over to the Board of City Service Commissioners for a study of how personnel could be retained through a recognition of the relationship between "living costs and compensation rates." The commissioners complied, and thereby marked Milwaukee's first plunge into "cost-of-living" waters.

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To be entirely fair we must admit that the graduated salary increase plan first proposed in 1920 accorded very well with the justice of the moment. Had the commissioners desired to meet the rising cost of living, and that alone, they would have separated their recommendations from the basic salary schedule. This they did not do. Nevertheless, judged by the standards of its era, their proposal was sufficiently advanced to encounter opposition and defeat at the hands of the Common Council. Then the aldermen voted a flat bonus for everybody and settled back to await the crisis' end.

It never came. Compromised but not eradicated, Milwaukee's 1920 shortage of competent personnel continued to dangle over the heads of city fathers all through the following decade. As a matter of fact, when pay planning is absent pay crises seldom end: they only merge into succeeding crises. The period 1925-29 again brought municipal recruitment efforts down to the level of a voice crying in the wilderness, as the cumulative effects of nationwide prosperity became apparent. Just after World War I, then, there was evident on the Council's part an inclination to consider the new national economy evanescent; and actions that it took were confined to easing the pressure of high prices and job openings elsewhere on low income groups.

As events turned out, the new national economy *was* temporary. General municipal policy, at the cost of ten years in the doldrums, might have attained a reputation for prophesy after 1929. Unfortunately for both general municipal policy and the aldermen's place in history, however, they had initiated a series of sweeping upward revisions in basic wage scales just before the blow fell. So the city now entered upon a long depression period with its payroll grossly inflated and no visible policy except inertia.

Depression Crisis Looms

Another compensation crisis inevitably arose. At this point, though basically sound as a gold dollar, Milwaukee was forced to hoard its slender reserve of cash to the accompaniment of payless paydays and devaluated scrip for its employees. Yet they did not quit, partly because they had no place to go and partly because the city's fundamental salary schedules were still those of America's prosperous heyday. Experts were called upon to make surveys, but their unavoidable proposals for wage reductions met with stony indifference in the policy chambers. It is typical of pay studies during a depression that efforts are made to drop responsibility for the hot potato into the lap of an outsider, who can then leave town before it's too late.

With the passing of the desperate days of 1933 and 1934, the municipality found itself spared any necessity to plan progressively. Nevertheless, Milwaukee's Common Council did finally make some adjustments, although no drastic action was taken until 1940, fully ten years after the crisis had begun to appear. Slashes in wage rates were confined largely to the lower brackets, which had been enjoying a greater competitive advantage in comparison with similar jobs in private business. A commentary on the methods used to secure these salutary ends is contained in the *Milwaukee Journal's* statement that "the mayor and other officials did this job more or less secretively, largely to avoid endless haggling and innumerable arguments over minor details." Yet, however excellent the means and motives of 1940's action may have been, the fact remains that it came about ten years too late. Any beneficial effects such singularly tardy consideration might have produced were almost wiped out by the fact that the following year witnessed a complete reversal of the business cycle.

So crisis government is born. As America endures its periodic ups and downs, no city is exempt from the compelling necessity of stringing along. The only thing left for local government, therefore, is to compensate its employees in accordance with some understanding of what workers everywhere else are earning. A fixed money wage is never a fixed real wage. Perhaps some of the peaks and hollows can be smoothed a little, but a single business such as government can ill afford to ignore the national experience altogether.

Quite naturally the years 1941-44 saw the coming of a fourth pay crisis. They could not have done otherwise. On this occasion, however, public employees, taxpayers and the municipal administration restrained themselves from trying to run past trouble blindfolded. Perhaps this crisis was too severe in its impact. An indication of the strain it placed on facilities for getting and keeping the best qualified workers exists in the decline of job applicants from 7826 in 1938 to 1579 in 1944, whereas the number of resignations quadrupled and the percentage of those passing examinations increased from 55 to 62 during a like period. Obviously 1944's candidates were not that much better than 1938's.

"Cost of Living" Considered

In any event, the aforementioned three interest groups forged a more or less uneasy alliance to conduct a three-fold attack on the compensation problem and on each other. They first sought a solution through a popular device known as "cost-of-living increments."

For this purpose a Technical Committee, composed of administrative representatives from each of the five tax-levying bodies operating within the Milwaukee city area, and a Policy Committee, composed of legislative representatives from the same jurisdictions, were set up to conduct the necessary studies. Their proposals, which established a $1620 annual "family maintenance income" for the average public employee, and calculated one standard adjustment for everybody, gained immediate approval from the legislators and continue unchanged.[1]

This was reasonably successful as a general panacea, but it evoked slight admiration from those employees nearest the subsistence borderline. While adding the same amount of money to both low and high incomes surely benefited the former more than the latter on a percentage basis, no appeal to mathematics could convince city laborers that they enjoyed the 82 per cent wage rise experienced by Milwaukee area industrial workers.

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[1] See "Milwaukee Local Governments Join in Salary Adjustment Plan," by Ovid B. Blix and Norman N. Gill, the Review, October 1943, page 482.

Consequently a laborers' "work stoppage" occurred during the month of November 1943, resulting in a grant of 200 extra hours per year at time-and-one-half to those who walked out and protests against "discrimination" from those who did not. Here, of course, city workers completely parted company with their allies among taxpayers' organizations and the political arm of the municipal government. Yet this estrangement lasted only a short time. By 1944 the concert of Milwaukee was in operation once more, and Milwaukee aldermen could again ride the compensation whirlwind without exactly commanding the inflationary storm.

Still Another Try

Now it was possible to get a final attempt at solution under way by organizing a basic compensation and classification analysis for the area. Men of the Technical and Policy Committees had put across the "amazingly acceptable" cost-of-living program originally advanced by the local affiliated taxpayers, and they still trailed laurel leaves from this success, so they set out to create another.

Their new venture was much more difficult. Between February 16, 1945, when the Technical Committee rendered its final report to the Policy Committee, and February 11, 1946, when the Sewerage Commission at last joined the undertaking, special circumstances have forced a wide variance between proposals and performance. In spite of eighteen months characterized by constantly increasing "intensifications of effort," and in spite of a million-dollar personal service boost in the city's budget alone, there has been no assurance to date that the survey's adoption will end either inequality among the five units of government or inequity in the pay schedules of each individual unit. Its achievements so far lie in other directions.

First of all, it brought the frequently quarreling factions that make up the five units together for a uniform plan. This is something which has been accomplished in no other city, not even on a ramshackle footing. Second, it subjected the school certificated personnel to a general rule and to class specifications, which is also something that never was done before. Third, it courageously ventured a lower "maintenance rate" for skilled craftsmen, instead of the "prevailing" part-time rate for full-time work they had been receiving. Fourth, and perhaps most important, it curiously has evoked sincere praise from representatives of organized, articulate, taxpaying public opinion although the program will cost their supporters plenty. The viewpoint of these worthies seems to be not that they love the Technical and Policy Committees more, but that they love chaos less.

Milwaukee can at least be credited with making a start toward justice in compensation. Whether by its cost-of-living program, payments for overtime, or revisions of basic pay schedules, the city has obviously abandoned inertia as a policy. It is true that the mills of democratic action grind slowly and sometimes exceedingly small. From a national point of view, however, Milwaukee's recent experiences can well serve as a bellwether for other municipalities, most of which still languish in the dark ages where scientific compensation is concerned.

Perhaps if the deleterious effects of an inflexible pay policy were more clearly realized no spur to further action would be needed. Perhaps if the fact that such a policy damages public enterprise by loading up the service with inferior personnel was made plain, the "moral equivalent" of a new municipal administration would be at hand. Certainly the vision of legislature and executive as great, untrammeled neutrals in a sea of self-interest must be fulfilled before such a regeneration can take place. For it is only in this way that the dilemma of static payrolls and fluctuating prices will ever be finally resolved.

THE CAPITAL GOES TO THE PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 401)

become informal public hearings. Newspaper coverage has been extensive; in Terre Haute even questions and answers were printed.

Experimentation has revealed that, measured by attendance, the conference day is more effectively closed with a dinner meeting than with a program in an auditorium. As the principal speaker, the Governor has presented department heads with brief, nonpartisan explanations of their functions in the state service. Questions are invited from the floor and the Governor assigns them to appropriate officials for answers. In practice, questions have been less readily volunteered by the adult audiences than by students meeting in the morning sessions. To avoid preparation of questions at the state capital, however, committees on local arrangements have been asked to suggest problems of significance and interest.

More Conferences Planned

Because of the early closing of rural schools, governmental service conferences have not been scheduled from the middle of April until early fall. The five conferences already held will be augmented by at least twelve more in order to reach every section of the state. Favorable local reaction has resulted in many requests for annual conferences. The Governor expects to meet the requests, perhaps selecting a new center for each region when conferences are repeated.

The Indiana program of conferences is an outgrowth of Governor Gates' conviction that public officers, whether elected or appointed, should maintain the closest possible contacts with the people. In the broadest sense, the processes of civic education must flow in two directions. Officials and citizens are mutually teachers and pupils. Both have governmental responsibilities and, by a method of sharing, problems may be halved and accomplishments doubled.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Intergovernmental Relations Probed

Anderson Directing Project in Minnesota

A GROUP of University of Minnesota political scientists, headed by Professor William Anderson, are undertaking a five-year study of the operation of our federal system of government and its intergovernmental relations. The state of Minnesota will serve as the laboratory for this investigation. Assisting Professor Anderson will be Edward W. Weidner, instructor in the university's political science department, and a staff of research assistants. The Rockefeller Foundation has granted $72,700 to finance the research program.

Professor Anderson stated that the study will be directed toward making recommendations for ultimate improvement of intergovernmental relations. He emphasized that "with the increase of governmental activities—national, state and local—in recent decades, the relations between national and state governments, interstate relations, state-local relations and national-local relations have undergone profound and wide-ranging alterations."

Among the topics to be studied are the following:

1. As a result of recent changes in intergovernmental relations are the public services being rendered more or less efficiently than in the past? More or less economically?
2. Is there a real and measurable decline of local self-government within the state? Is the state getting weaker or stronger?
3. What methods of intergovernmental cooperation have proved most successful? What specific legislative and administrative techniques do they call for?
4. Does interstate cooperation hold out any promise of making action by the national government less necessary than in the past?
5. What is the present balance of forces among pressure groups and what is the state of public opinion on the subject of intergovernmental relations?
6. Is the trend in government toward centralization or toward decentralization? Are some phases of government tending toward centralization and others toward decentralization?

Emphasis will be placed upon certain of the major functions of government such as: public health, social security and public welfare measures, public education, public works, law enforcement, conservation of resources, finance and government regulation of labor and labor organizations and government services to labor. Each of these major phases of government will be studied in a wide sampling of Minnesota communities, and a different sampling will be used for each phase.

Several organizations interested in the functions of government have conducted or are now sponsoring related studies in this field, according to Professor Anderson, who asserts the University of Minnesota project will be the most comprehensive examination of intergovernmental relations undertaken to date.

Intergovernmental Problems of West Coast Discussed

Originally established in June 1945 (see the REVIEW for September 1945, page 404), the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations has been functioning for more than a year and has held five meetings, the fifth being on June 20, 1946, at Timberline Lodge on the slopes of Mount Hood in Oregon. This meeting was preliminary to a joint conference with the American Municipal Association (western region) on June 21 and 22.

City, county, state and federal government representatives devoted the BIR meeting to consideration of welfare, education and housing. Equitable division of welfare costs between various governmental agencies was discussed and much variation among the three Pacific Coast states, as to the amounts spent for welfare and the relationship of state and local governments, was shown to exist. More federal aid was urged, including the substitution of participation ratios for ceilings. State and federal responsibilities as to veterans' education and housing were gone into.

Michigan Research Group Studies Metropolitan Problems

The University of Michigan has established a social science research project in conjunction with the Metropolitan Community Seminar and the Flint, Michigan, metropolitan community; $20,000 per annum will be expended on research in metropolitan problems in the Flint area. The program involves a permanent full-time research staff and headquarters in the area and the creation of six or seven $1,000 fellowships with additional allotments for travel. Both the work of the resident research staff and the graduate students are under the supervision of the Metropolitan Community Seminar, an interdepartmental graduate research seminar with headquarters at Haven Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Its faculty includes representatives from architecture, economics, geography, political science, public administration and sociology.

Teachers Study State and Local Government

A Workshop in State and Local Government for teachers and prospective teachers of high school civics and social studies was held on the campus of Michigan State College, July 8-26, 1946. The program was sponsored by the Institute of Local Government, Michigan Municipal League, State Department of Public Instruction, State College, University of Michigan, Wayne University and the State Colleges of Education. The instruction staff was chosen from state, county and city officials and from teachers of political science from the sponsoring institutions. The program presented the opportunity to learn first hand about governmental problems from active practitioners and about the theory and fundamental principles of government from people in the educational field with a wide variety of special types of interest.

Congressional Reorganization Becomes Law

President Truman on August 2 signed the Congressional Reorganization Act after the original LaFollette Monroney bill[1] had been considerably amended (chiefly by elimination) in both the Senate and the House.

Senator LaFollette, in an article entitled "Congress Wins a Victory over Congress" in the *New York Times Magazine* of August 4, stressed the importance of various features of the act, including the reduction in numbers of standing committees, the addition of staff experts and the correlation of committee work as between the two houses and between Congress and administrative departments; continuous review of the work of related administrative agencies; closer budgetary control and better preparation for consideration of the budget; the delegation of various minor duties, nonlegislative in character, to administrative or judicial agencies; the increase in compensation for legislators and the allowance of more time for contact with their home areas.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 299, and July, page 361.

He regretted the deletion by the House of provisions for majority and minority policy committees and a joint legislative-executive council to minimize deadlocks between the President and Congress.

Despite shortcomings and room for future improvement, Senator LaFollette commended the legislation, saying:

"By simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with the executive branch, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the constitution, the reorganization of Congress will speed up the legislative process, quicken the solution of our pressing postwar problems and help the country go forward with confidence into the future.

"The ultimate implications of this proposed reorganization go far beyond the shadow of the Capitol and the government buildings in Washington. As I see it, the future history of the world will depend in large measure on the success or failure of our representative form of government in meeting the needs and desires of the people, especially in the crucial years just ahead."

Congress Requires No-Strike Pledge

Following the adoption by the newly formed United Public Workers of America[1] of constitutional provisions outlining strike procedure, Congress adopted legislation prohibiting use of federal funds, under the deficiency appropriation bill, for the payment of salaries of any employees engaging in strikes against the government, or belonging to any organization that permits such strikes.

The UPWA had declared that it was not its policy to engage in strikes—although making provision for strikes with the requirement that such action should be referred to the UPWA president. The executive board, after the action of Congress, declared that the union's president should never approve a strike "against the government," and ordered all locals with federally employed members to amend their bylaws to forbid strikes. Apparently the prohibition does not extend to strikes against a state or local government.

Constitutional Revision in Prospect for Louisiana

At the recent session of the Louisiana legislature the Louisiana Law Institute was directed to make a draft of a new constitution for submission to a proposed constitutional convention that may be called in 1948 or 1949. The institute prepared a state criminal code that was enacted in 1942 and is currently engaged in other law revision work.

Georgia County Unit System Attacked as Unconstitutional

Following the nomination of Eugene Talmadge as Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia, he having received a majority of county-unit votes although his chief opponent received a plurality of the popular vote, suits have been brought in a three-judge federal court challenging the constitutionality of the 1917 act that set up the county unit system. Under that system Fulton County, containing the city of Atlanta, counts for only six county units although it has a popular vote of about 84,500, while Chattahoochee County with a popular vote of 265 has two county units. Thus a voter in the latter county wields over one hundred times as much influence as a voter in Fulton County. This situation is claimed to be an abridgement of privileges protected by the fourteenth amendment.[1]

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 306.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Spartanburg, South Carolina, adopted an ordinance providing for the manager plan on July 26. Voters of the city had expressed their desire for the plan in an advisory referendum held last year.

The city of **Grants Pass, Oregon,** at a special election on July 10, approved a charter amendment authorizing the city council to appoint a city manager. The manager in turn will appoint all other city officials and employees except the city auditor and municipal judge. The vote was 120 to 103.

On June 4 **Ada, Oklahoma,** adopted a council-manager charter which went into effect July 22.

Elko, Nevada, adopted the provisions of the state council-manager act on February 15.

A charter commission has framed a council-manager charter for **Santa Ana, California.**

The city of **Coquille, Oregon,** has taken budgetary steps toward the appointment of a city manager; the city council was authorized several years ago to appoint a manager at its discretion.

The City Council of **Moxee City, Washington,** has established a limited type of manager position. The appointee is to perform several types of functions including those of city clerk, street and water supervisor, law enforcement officer and deputy sheriff.

The town of **Ripley, Maine,** at its annual meeting last spring adopted the provisions of a 1939 state act by which it obtained the manager plan. A manager was recently appointed.

The Massachusetts legislature, although it defeated the proposal to let the citizens of **Boston** vote on a Plan E charter (manager and P. R. council), authorized a special commission to study the Boston charter and all legislative acts concerning Suffolk County; the commission to include two members named by the president of the Senate, three by the speaker of the House, two by the governor and two by the mayor of Boston. In an effort to educate the Boston electorate as to the features of Plan E the Boston League of Women Voters circulated 2,000 petitions in July calling for a Plan E bill for Boston.

The charter commission of the town of **Darien, Connecticut,** has proposed an "executive agent" to be chosen by the Board of Selectmen, resembling in some respects a town manager.

The **Hamburg, Pennsylvania,** Borough Council has before it a proposed ordinance to provide the manager plan for that community.

Chattanooga, Tennessee, is to have a referendum this fall on adoption of the manager plan.

Adoption of the council-manager plan in **Athens** and **McMinn County, Tennessee,** where a group of veterans recently "took over" the administration, is being given serious consideration (see also page 435 this issue).

A referendum on adoption of the manager plan in **Charleston, West Virginia,** was scheduled for August 27.

The City Council of **Brewton, Alabama,** is considering adoption of a manager ordinance.

An active movement for the manager plan has developed in the city of **Lincoln Park, Michigan,** with leadership and support from City Councilman Walter E. Gibson, the press, the Kiwanis Club, etc.

The **Owosso, Michigan,** *Argus-Press*

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[1] On August 26 the trial court upheld the 1917 act.

has editorially pointed the issue of the manager plan as a successor to the existing commission plan in that city.

In **Madison, Wisconsin,** the Citizen's Association on Municipal Government has approved a council-manager ordinance to be submitted to the City Council, and petitions have been put in circulation requesting a November referendum on the question. The League of Women Voters is particularly active in support of the movement. Chief opposition seems to come from certain labor spokesmen, who especially oppose election at large for the council.

The **Montevideo, Minnesota,** charter commission held its initial meeting in July to consider the council-manager plan.

The Charter Commission of **University City, Missouri,** has voted to draft a council-manager charter.

In **Boonville, Missouri,** Mayor S. L. Jewett has appointed a fifteen-man committee to study the manager plan as a possibility for that city.

In Kansas the cities of **Emporia** and **Ottawa** are planning to vote this year on adoption of the manager plan. In both cities the newspapers—the *Emporia Gazette* and the *Ottawa Herald*—are advocating the plan, which is also supported by the Chamber of Commerce in each city. It appears likely that a referendum vote will be taken at the November election.

The City Commission of **Enid, Oklahoma,** has agreed to call an election on a charter amendment to establish the manager plan.

A charter commission in **Beaumont, Texas,** is working out improvements for that city's government without weakening the present manager plan in effect in that city.

The City Council of **Glenwood Springs, Colorado,** has adopted a resolution favoring the manager plan, particularly in view of the impending acquisition of a municipal electric plant.

Petitions signed by 381 voters, calling for a special election on the council-manager plan, have been presented to the City Commission of **Delta, Colorado.**

In West Virginia favorable action on the council-manager plan is looked for soon in **Beckley, Mullens** and **Mount Hope**. In **Grafton** a new charter commission is functioning and is expected to give consideration to the plan.

Interest in the manager plan is being demonstrated in many other cities, including **Beacon, New York**; **Paulsboro, New Jersey**; **Hagerstown, Maryland**; **Richmond** and **Marion, Virginia**; **Fairmont, West Virginia**; **Statesboro, Georgia**; **Two Harbors, Minnesota**; **San Antonio** and **Cisco, Texas**; **Prineville, Oregon**; **Petaluma** and **San Luis Obispo, California**; **London, Ontario**; **North Brattleford, Saskatchewan**; and **Penticton, British Columbia.**

At the annual convention of the International City Managers' Association, held in Montreal, Canada, in June, with a record attendance, the following officers were chosen: President, V. R. Smitham, manager of Dallas, Texas; first vice president, D. C. McMillan, manager of Alameda, California; second vice president, George J. Roark, manager of Pensacola, Florida; third vice president, Rodney L. Loomis, manager of West Hartford, Connecticut.

New Orleans Charter Changes Make for Simplification

Three bills introduced in the Louisiana state legislature this year sought to simplify the governmental structure of the city of New Orleans and improve budgeting methods. Though strong opposition developed, a compromise bill providing some reorganization was adopted. The legislation was a partial result of studies made by the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research at the request of Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison shortly after the advent of his administration this year.

New Orleans operates under a "commission council" form of government prescribed in 1912, to which many independent boards, commissions and officers have been added, and which was radically altered in 1936 during the administration of Governor Huey P. Long to concentrate appointments and veto power under Mayor Robert Maestri, after the "Old Regular" Democratic organization was defeated.

The first of the three bills sponsored by the Morrison administration was concerned with reorganization and redistribution of functions. It consolidated municipal activities somewhat, setting up thirteen departments grouped under the five commissioners (including the mayor). The sole appointing power formerly held by the mayor was divided among the commissioners, according to the departments assigned to each. The mayor's veto power, which could be overridden only by unanimous action of the other four commissioners, was replaced by the right to require reconsideration of ordinances or motions, and after a five-day period these could be repassed by majority vote. The bill further sought to clarify confusion that has existed as to what positions are within and outside the classified service under the city civil service law.

The second bill revised charter provisions as to police and fire functions. In the case of the police department there has been divided responsibility between the mayor, the commissioner of public safety and the police board. The bill abolished the latter and established a department of police with a superintendent appointed by the mayor with the approval of a majority of the Commission Council. Fire protection was likewise complicated by the existence of an administrative fire board, a separate fire prevention board and a fire-alarm office independent of the fire board and the chief engineer of the fire department. The legislation as adopted calls for unification of all activities relating to fire and also authorizes an advisory fire board with no administrative power but designed to give technical advice to fire officials.

The third bill attempted to improve budgeting procedure and required an annual budget prepared along the lines set forth in the *Model City Charter*.

The "Old Regulars," in opposition to the Morrison administration, introduced a charter amendment bill that would have restored the situation to the 1935 status quo. The legislature adopted a compromise bill, which included some of the provisions of the first bill described above but omitted those that clarified the status of positions in the classified service and definitely delineated departmental functions. The provisions as to the police and fire departments were enacted as stated above. The budgetary provisions were eliminated in the compromise bill. One revenue dedication heretofore required in the charter and a provision requiring a special department for the handling of special assessments were removed upon recommendation of the bureau.

On the other hand the legislature adopted a bill setting high mandatory appropriations for various parish (county) offices—the assessor, the civil and criminal sheriffs and the state tax collector. These offices are in the hands of the Old Regulars with the exception of the criminal sheriff, who had been on the Morrison ticket but had broken with the administration.

City's Activities Told in Daily Radio Talks

The city of Glendale, California, has completed a series of radio programs designed primarily to educate the citizens about the types of service rendered by the municipal government. The talks were for fifteen minutes, each beginning at 7.45 A.M. five days a week, for two months. Each city department was given time on the air to present programs, which in many instances represented joint efforts of many employees and served to increase departmental morale. The superintendent of schools welcomed the series as an aid to the study of city government in the local high schools.

The series was conceived by City Manager Charles Baird, who reported at its conclusion that it had met with enthusiastic response from city officials and employees, and was to be recommended to cities where there are local radio stations.

Full-time Public Relations Staff for New Orleans

Under the new administration of Mayor deLesseps Morrison, the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, will have a public relations section staffed by three former New Orleans newspaper men on a full-time basis, with a secretary. The annual cost will be approximately $17,000, as against a $25,000 publicity contract under the former administration. Mayor Morrison stated that the new section is to further an "open-door" policy and facilitate free access of the press to administrative officials; in this connection it will also handle some of the Mayor's correspondence.

Cooperative Plan for War-Built Pipe Lines

As an alternative to either public ownership or ordinary private ownership of the "big inch" and "little big inch" pipe lines constructed by the federal government for wartime transmission of oil to the eastern seaboard, a "mutual-cooperative" plan has been offered to the War Assets Administration by Dr. John Bauer and Mr. James Imbrie. They propose the formation of a nonprofit corporation to acquire the lines and possibly construct an additional one, using them to carry oil, oil products and natural gas at cost to oil refineries, oil dealers and gas distributors, who would receive participation certificates establishing their rights.

The corporation would be controlled by a board of directors including not only representatives of these participants but also of city governments in the territory served, an agency of the federal government, bondholders or other private creditors, and labor and management of the corporation.

A price of $70,000,000 for the lines, on the basis of a government loan at 4 per cent, is proposed, as against a reported original cost of $100,000,000 and private offers ranging up to $146,000,000. Additional costs would be met by private borrowing. The price is related partly to the wartime character of the original construction and also to the claim that the non-profit cooperative plan would result in lower prices to the consuming public, prevent monopoly, encourage independent oil refineries and dealers, and promote free enterprise, as contemplated in the Surplus Property Act.

Distinguished Service Awards for Florida Legislators

Five members of the 1945 Florida legislature have been honored for distinguished service by plaques and medals awarded by columnist Allen Morris in the name of various Florida newspapers that publish Mr. Morris's column entitled Cracker Politics each week. According to the *Florida Municipal Record* for July, the men honored were selected by secret ballot of legislators, cooperating with the column, as excelling in law-making intelligence, diligence and skill.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Report on Themselves

Review Past Activities; Forecast Future Problems

THE **Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., of Duluth, Minnesota,** Harry R. Reed, executive secretary, in its 25th annual report recalls "that the conditions which called the organization into existence at the close of World War I are again a correct description at the close of World War II." Here is the bureau's own earlier description of the conditions which resulted in its establishment "with the announced purpose of assisting city, county and school officials in avoiding waste":

"High taxes or the threat of high taxes started the movement after the war (World War I). The city needed more money, the county needed more, the schools needed more. City and county school districts had taken on new duties. City, county and schools had advanced wages to new scales. City, county and schools had to catch up with delayed programs. State taxes also increased."

The current report proceeds to analyze the present trend toward increased local services and expenditures, and restates the bureau's conception of its duty to provide citizens and public officials with the information needed for intelligent decisions and to advise them on "how to accomplish more with less."

In this and other reports, research bureaus around the country are indicating their awareness of the post-World War II challenge to a task which is "ever-changing, yet eternally the same."

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** asserts in its fourth annual report that "now as never before there is need for careful stock-taking in the field of government; for re-examination, and revaluation of governmental functions, organizations and procedures; for analysis of intergovernmental relationships, both financial and administrative; for sound, long-range planning of fiscal and administrative policy; and for reconciling the growing complexity of government with effective popular understanding and control." The report continues with the observation that as the "scope of government activity broadens, it becomes increasingly apparent that taxpayers' research organizations must place greater emphasis upon the social and economic impact of governmental activities."

The Connecticut organization, of which Carter Atkins is director, reviews its varied activities at the state and local levels, including the promotion of self-surveys by local communities and the use of its consulting service by some 30 municipalities during the past year.

Writing in the July number of *GRA Notes and References* Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** shows what can be done through collaboration of a reform administration and a local research bureau. Having largely completed the surveys requested by Mayor Morrison,[1] the bureau's staff is now working closely with city officials on the installation of recommendations already made. Mr. Moak lists fourteen basic recommendations which have been made, including centralization of financial administration, elimination of seventeen special attorneyships in the city's legal department, abolition of a number of boards and commissions, establishment of a comprehensive municipal retirement system, lengthening of the work week for clerical staff and establishing of uniform personnel and pay procedures, consolidation of a number of related functions, regulation of grants to non-governmental associations which had grown to $340,000 in 1944, disposal of fourteen municipal markets, and simplification and improvement of procedures in the police department. The last recommendation grew out of a 46-page printed report by Bruce Smith of the **Institute of Public Administration.**

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1946, page 96, also page 417, this issue.

The Smith report recommends a drastic structural reorganization of the New Orleans Police Department to substitute unity of action for the overlapping of authority and distribution of functions among 21 separate units. Abolition of the Police Board is recommended and the superintendent of police would be directly responsible to the mayor. More effective distribution of man power and substitution of civilian for uniform employees in appropriate places would permit a reduction in numerical strength. It is proposed that ten precincts be reduced to not more than five, and a plug is put in for one-man patrol cars.

Another annual report, the thirteenth from the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.,** is signed by M. W. DeWees, executive director and secretary. Like other local bureaus, the New Haven council has dealt primarily with city and school problems, but it has also interested itself in the federal budget. Noting that "municipal government will be tested and will be required to do things that it has never done before," Mr. DeWees takes the optimistic view that New England municipal government may "change from a comparatively high cost . . . to a relatively low cost" basis. In the immediate future the report sees the need for modernization of the New Haven city charter as a prerequisite to approval of suggestions for new city revenues.

GRA Directory and Conference

The *1946-1947 G.R.A. Directory of Organizations and Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research* may now be obtained for $1.50 by writing to the **Governmental Research Association** at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. It is a well printed job, much more nearly complete than the previous directory and well worth the money to anyone interested in a handy list of names, addresses and professional personnel of "established agencies concerned with the improvement of the organization and administration of government and the promotion of economy and efficiency in the performance of public services." It is organized in six parts: Local and state agencies; national agencies concerned with governmental research; research divisions of federal government departments, a helpful addition, in view of the increasing interest of local bureaus in federal problems; unaffiliated individual members of the G.R.A.; alphabetical index of organizations; alphabetical index of individuals.

The 1946 annual conference of GRA will be at the Oceanside Hotel, Magnolia, Massachusetts, September 10-13. Members and friends are invited to bring their families and combine business with an "early fall vacation."

Secretary G. Gordon Tegnell announces that awards in the 1946 competition for the most noteworthy piece of research prepared by members of GRA will be made at the conference.

Education Through the Telescope

Just a Moment, **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.**, Sidney Detmers, managing director, reminds us that "from a financial standpoint, providing educational facilities is the most important service rendered by local government." The report notes that although rising costs of education in Buffalo were checked in the '30's, they have again started upward, despite the unchecked decline in pupil membership. Although past school buildings and repairs will not be completely paid for until 1960, the superintendent of schools has announced that immediate building needs average a new school per year.

The **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau,** in its report number 6 dated August 2, agreeing with Governor Dewey that "the spending of money on education is the best of all expenditures," wonders why Lackawanna pays more than other comparable cities for principals and especially for janitorial services.

Chicago Civic Federation, Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, has issued a 59-page report comparing Chicago teachers' salaries with those in fourteen other large cities and four Chicago suburbs, and also with salaries in other professions. The report finds Chicago teachers are on the average better paid than those in Chicago's suburbs, Chicago high school teachers receive more on the average than those in other large cities, while Chicago elementary school teachers receive less than those in other large cities. Perhaps a bit surprising is the finding that "Chicago teachers' salaries compare favorably with the incomes received by other professions," and that between 1922 and 1945, "the real salary of the Chicago teacher has on the average kept pace with variations in the cost of living." The report doubts "that the children in Chicago's elementary schools would necessarily receive any better education because of a single salary schedule for teachers" and notes that, unlike most other cities, Chicago secures its elementary school teachers from one source only, the Chicago Teachers College.

"Teachers' Salaries Go Up," is the title of the June 1946 *News Letter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director. The report, based on a sampling of school districts, reports that "school boards everywhere are troubled" over the problem of "the rapid advance of teachers' pay scales without a consistent plan to finance the increases." Local pressures and needs have continued to nullify the attempt of the legislature to equalize salaries among school districts. The report continues that "the time is ripe for a thorough consolidation of school districts into sound economic units, and for a permanent delineation of the state's share of the cost of education."

The **Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council** reports on *Reorganization of School Districts in Kansas, 1945-1946.* By virtue of Chapter 291, Laws of 1945, 1292 elementary school districts had been eliminated by March 1, 1946—a reduction of 18 per cent. Considerable variation in the rate of progress by counties was found. "The most outstanding feature of reorganization thus far has been the large number of natural community centers established." Frederick H. Guild is the department's director.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.,** George L. Nichols, director, assuming general acceptance that a new high school is needed to replace outmoded facilities, urges that construction be postponed in view of present building conditions and the probability that no grants-in-aid are presently available. It urges careful consideration of location, size and type of building in the light of a study of the functions of the public high school and of probable continued decline in student enrollment until 1957, to be followed by a six-year upward trend.

The **Institute of Public Administration,** New York City, Luther Gulick, director, has reestablished its graduate school of administration. The institute expects to enroll not more than eight students who must be of "upper fifth scholarship and outstanding campus or job leadership." Training schedules are tailored to individual needs and "instruction will be intensive and personal." Twenty courses cover the broad field of public administration, finance and research, including internship in public service and field investigation. Degrees of master of public administration and doctor of public administration are offered. Robert J. M. Matteson is director of training.

Material for Summer Reading

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** beginning July 11, devoted a series of its weekly, *Just a Moment*, to a history of "The Development of Buffalo" from the earliest days to the time of the present charter. The bureau undertook this as a result of the response it received to its 1945 summer series on the present charter and government of Buffalo.

And Thinking

The **New York Institute for Public Service,** William H. Allen, director, suggested a lot of questions for "vacation thinking about school reading and histories." Sample question: "Would it be cheaper and safer for USA to buy up mis-educating texts from parents, schools and publishers, with plates, than to invite certain penalties by continuing postwar use of such texts?"

Let's Talk About Taxes and Where the Money Goes

As always, the chief talk of the researchers, summer as well as winter, is about taxes. The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** devoted most of its June numbers and its Independence Day number of *Just a Moment* to this perennial. Among the conclusions indicated: The importance of equalization of assessments, the thoroughness with which the state has pre-empted possible "new tax" sources, the need for reduction of tax-exempt real estate, the benefits to be derived from payment of the city debt and adoption of pay-as-you-go financing.

A thoughtful analysis of "Connecticut Tax Prospects" appears in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government*, published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.** Tax payments for all levels of government rose from 10.3 per cent of total Connecticut income in 1930 to 40.9 per cent in 1944, dropping to 39 per cent in 1945. Although federal taxes accounted for most of this increase, state taxes increased 173.3 per cent between 1930 and 1945, of which 99.2 per cent was unemployment compensation taxes. Taxes for local government rose 20.9 per cent. Return to peace conditions should reduce federal expenditures "but may be expected to increase rather than decrease state and local activities and the taxes needed for their financing." In view of the increasing proportion of the taxpayer's income that goes to government, the "social benefits" resulting from government expenditures "become matters of increasing importance."

"No new state taxes needed" is the encouraging conclusion of *New Mexico's Tax Structure* by Rupert F. Asplund and Albert K. Nohl, published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico,** Thomas C. Donnelly, director (31 pages, five tables).

Dollars and Sense in Government, **Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis,** is publishing a series on St. Louis revenue and expenditures. Purpose of the series is to provide a factual basis for solution of the city's problem of avoiding mounting deficits. The reports analyze receipts and revenue fund surpluses and deficits since predepression days. They show that property tax receipts are still 8 per cent under those for 1929-30, while business taxes produce 133 per cent more than seventeen years ago, and now account for 25 per cent of the total receipts of $38,457,458. Water rates and bridge tolls produce substantial sums.

Dr. Charlton F. Chute returned to full-time direction of the Institute on June 26 from leave to serve as first director of research for the new Missouri Legislative Research Committee.

Government Research, Inc., of Los Angeles, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, concentrating on county government, seems cheerful about increased county expenditures. Its June *Monthly Bulletin* attributes a 25 per cent increase in the county budget chiefly to the 25 per cent increase in population since 1940. An authorized increase in personnel by the creation of 2710 new positions, increase in relief costs, and substantial expenditures to replace out-worn equipment and for capital improvements are noted. In the July *Monthly Bulletin* Government Research recommended a "Yes" vote in August on seven county bond issues totaling almost $44,500,000, and a county charter amendment increasing salaries of members of the Board of Supervisors.

News Bulletins of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, have also been concerned with problems of increased budgets and taxes. For the most part, these bulletins have been confined to factual reporting and analysis. The June 18 number notes an ordinance proposed by the Civil Service Commission which would place ten veterans of senior or graduate standing in city or county offices for intern training.

"How Much Can We Afford for Our City?" asks the **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Bureau of Governmental Research,** Carl R. Dortch, director, in *It Is Your Business,* which calls attention to a number of causes for increasing city expenditures including state mandates and the cost of service to suburbanites who pay no city taxes. "Sweeping reforms and revisions" suggested include scientific reassessment of property for taxes, possible annexation of contiguous territory and "revamping and modernization of our corporate and administrative structure of local government to service metropolitan areas."

The *Bulletin* of the **Rochester (New York) Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, follows its appraisal of the effects of the Moore plan for state aid to local units by suggesting a financial program for Rochester designed to take advantage of the new state law.

A somewhat similar analysis of the Moore plan in Schenectady County appears in the bulletin of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.**

Recent publications of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, discuss Providence refunding, the effect of population trends on municipal finances, the Providence revenue structure and the Rhode Island Community Redevelopment Act.

The June 15 and July 29 *White Papers* of the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Horace L. Brittain, managing director, carry on that organization's practice of brief clear reporting on the city budget. The June 29 number also reports positive results from a campaign to obtain "citizen cooperation in civic housekeeping."

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** in Bulletin 86, makes a short plea for giving judgment in tax assessment the guidance of a definite procedure, and urges citizens to find out whether or not their city or town has such a procedure.

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** of which Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, in its *Subscribers' Bulletin,* reports briefly on a number of items, including a request by policemen and firemen and day laborers for substantial increases which would amount to $240,000 a year.

The **Zanesville (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce Research Department** in the July issue of *Research Brevities* finds tighter fiscal control necessary, but holds that "Zanesville's paramount problem is getting more revenue."

Citizens' Business, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, reports that "In its expenditures in 1944 for important services, Philadelphia ranks low among the large comparable cities in the United States." The same bulletin reports that a proposed tax of 10 per cent on charges for hotel rooms had been dropped as harmful to the city's business.

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** D. Benton Biser, director, recommends that $17,000,000 of new loans be submitted to the voters at the November election: $10,000,000 water loan, $5,000,000 highway, $2,000,000 sewer.

An illuminating short explanation of the New Jersey cash basis form of budgeting "by which municipalities and counties correlate their cash income with their cash expenditures," is given in the leading article in *GRA Notes and References* for June. The article is by James A. Arnold, Jr., research associate, **Princeton Surveys,** and shows that since 1941 taxes in New Jersey municipalities have been lower under cash basis budgeting than would have been the case under other forms.

Michigan's Budget System, by Irving Tenner, **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** (June 1946, $1), makes some 30 findings which add up to a substantial criticism of the organization for budgeting and of the preparation, consideration and execution of Michigan state budgets. Its recommendations contemplate a budget department so set up as to implement the governor's responsibility for budgeting and control, and a reduction in the size of the legislative committees which consider the budget, with the proviso that joint hearings should be conducted by the committees of the two houses. Loren B. Miller is bureau director.

Legislation Affecting Municipal Finance in Massachusetts—1906-1945, by Thomas L. Hinckley, **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, director (April 1946, 36 pages, 75 cents) summarizes effects of major changes in Massachusetts laws concerning municipal finances.

Ten Years of Expenditures 1935-1944, Cities, Schools and Counties in Ohio, is a 44-page statistical compilation offered by the **Research Department of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce,** Arch D. Schultz, director, as a starting point for consideration of the present search by cities for new major revenue sources.

Citizenship Activities Planned for School Agers

Junior Cities, Boys' Nation, Summer Camps Aid Youngsters

AT ITS last meeting for the spring season, the Students' Committee on State Affairs of the **Massachusetts Civic League** participated in three round table discussions: (1) The Judicial System in Massachusetts, Does It Insure Justice? led by Judge Lawrence G. Brooks; (2) Juvenile Delinquency—What Is Is? Why? What Can We Do About It? led by Joseph J. Galligan, South Boston district court probation officer; and (3) Should the Towns and Cities of Greater Boston Unite to Form a Metropolitan Unit with a Metropolitan Government? led by Richard Atkins, director of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Plans have now been made for the forthcoming season's work. It is hoped to expand the committee, thus far limited to some 25 public and private schools, to include all students in the state who are interested in state government. Ruth Staupas of Brockton High School is committee chairman.

According to *Western City,* organ of several state leagues of municipalities, the **Young Astorians**, a group of high school students studying municipal government, have branched out to form a **Junior League of Oregon Cities**. Thus far plans have been perfected for units in high schools of four other cities. Two conferences have been held with Governor Snell.

The **Wichita, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce** has arranged 59 tours of its city by schools from outside cities. The tours are conducted by social studies instructors to aid in the study of government, history and geography.

In Kansas City, Missouri, junior officer citizenship camps have been arranged for practical training in citizenship and community leadership. Participants include a hundred selected junior officers from 25 schools in the city. Each camp is organized as a **"Junior City"** with its own governmental setup. The program has been arranged by the Community Service Division of the city's Welfare Department.[1]

The Montclair, New Jersey, Public Library has arranged a series of exhibits of the work of the city's various departments. Represented were the Bureau of Public Welfare, Town Recreation Department, Health Department, Mayor's office, Department of Public Works, Police and Fire Departments and City Planning Department.

Introduction of student self-government and discussion groups into German and Austrian elementary schools has been proposed to the State Department by the **National Self Government Committee**. In making this announcement Richard Welling, chairman of the committee, commented that: "Practice in democracy in the schools now will lead to democratic government in those nations in the future."

On behalf of the committee, Dr. Earl C. Kelley, of Wayne University, Detroit, authority on student self-government, presented detailed plans to State Department officials. He suggested adoption of ten-minute discussion periods in the elementary schools as a preliminary step.

At the suggestion of State Department officials, the staff of the National Self Government Committee is preparing information on successful American student self-government programs to be sent to Germany and Austria.

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[1] See also "The Children Get a Chance," by Hayes A. Richardson, the REVIEW, June 1946.

Growing out of the "Boys' State" programs of the **American Legion** is the "Boys' Nation" which met in Washington in August to set up a miniature U. S. government. The 115 boys taking part in the program—a majority of them postgraduates of the Boys' State—formed two political parties, the Nationalists and the Federalists. They elected a president, vice president and congress and appointed a supreme court. Problems of the day were put before them for solution during the five days allotted to the "nation."

The Boys' State program of the legion—there is now one for the girls too—originated with its Illinois department, developing from the idea that youth "should be offered a better perspective of the practical operation of government; that the individual is an integral part and commensurately responsible for the character and success of government." The idea has spread rapidly, 1941 finding 34 state programs in operation. Outbreak of the war necessitated the abandonment of the project in many states, but there has been renewed activity since the cessation of hostilities. Participants in the so-called "state" are boys or girls of high school age, usually juniors, selected for their qualities in leadership.

Groups in Two Counties Work for Home Rule

"Any county should have the right to determine its own type of organization and should say what officers should carry out its functions," Arthur H. Campion, chief deputy administrative officer of Los Angeles County, told 500 members of the **Seattle Municipal League,** city and county officials, and visitors at the league's 36th annual banquet. The banquet was the opening gun in the league campaign for a home rule charter for King County. Mr. Campion pinch-hitted for Brigadier-General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County, scheduled as principal speaker but unable to attend.

Mr. Campion outlined the operation of Los Angeles County government under its home rule charter. He pointed out the seven features of that government which, he said, have been attained in practically all county home rule charters: the short ballot, salaries fixed by supervisors, civil service, centralized purchasing, single highway administration, consolidation of offices, performance of municipal functions. In closing he warned: "Don't expect your officeholders to give you better government unless you, and groups like yourselves, insist on better government." C. A. Crosser is the Seattle league's executive secretary.

To acquaint voters with the county home rule charter idea and with the advantages to be gained from the development and adoption of such a charter, two members of the **Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph,** together with Henry Rolfes, Jr., executive secretary of the association, and Tom Wallace, of the **Junior Chamber of Commerce,** recently made an extended tour of the rural sections of Buchanan County, Missouri. According to the association's *What's What in Government,* the reception given these representatives was encouraging and the charter program gained many new adherents. The organization is circulating petitions to place the election of a commission to draft a home rule charter on the ballot.

Citizen Groups Report to Their Members

The latest annual report of Lawrence Bates, as president of the **Municipal League of Seattle,** covers the period ending June 1, 1946. Members, reports

President Bates, have increased from 2500 to 2845; 134 meetings of the league's eighteen standing committees and subcommittees have been held with a total attendance of 862.

During the year the league has investigated candidates for city primary and general and school elections and reported its findings to the voters; city and school referendum and initiative proposals were studied and reported with recommendations. In all, nearly 65,000 reports on election matters were distributed.

One of the league's greatest accomplishments during the year—and in the league's history—was participation in the preparation and passage of the new city charter adopted in March of this year.[1] "This new charter," says the report, "should give Seattle better government in years to come."

The league participated actively in the preparation of the 1946 city and county budgets. It has kept up a steady flow of publicity on the county's muddled finances and its committees have made many special reports on municipal and county problems.

In its *Annual Report for 1945-1946,* the **Union League Club of Chicago** states that subcommittees of its Public affairs Committee, Edward W. Martin, secretary, have individual memberships totaling nearly 800 men. When duplicate memberships are eliminated, the number of actively participating individuals is about 500, a high point in the number of Club members active in its civic work. Listed among the committee's recommendations to the Board of Directors is one asking the club to "reaffirm its support of the city manager plan as applied to Illinois and cooperate with other organizations in securing the enactment of an enabling statute in this state."

At its annual meeting for 1946, the first held since 1942, the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association,** whose acting secretary is Clara A. Kane, passed a series of resolutions, most of them in the interest of holding the line on government spending. Among other actions, the convention expressed approval of the major principles embodied in the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress; it deplored the expansion of the federal government into fields it considered as properly belong to local government and individuals; and recommended adoption of an initiative measure which would have made it mandatory for Sioux County, because of its small amount of taxable property, to adopt one of the state's optional forms of county government as more efficient than its present form. (On this measure see also page 436 of this issue.)

The **Jasper County Tax Economy Association's** 1946 annual progress report is titled "Conserving Your Tax Dollar!!" With offices in Carthage, Missouri, the association, of which Gerald N. Hardy is executive secretary, attempts to keep citizens throughout the county informed on vital taxation matters—local, state and federal—through its publication, *The Jasper County Taxpayer.*

Citizen Planning Groups in Action

The **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, has issued its 1946 "Highlights from Reports of Committees." Titled "Plans in Action," the report lists numerous accomplishments by the association, in cooperation with city and state officials. Legislation has been secured freeing the Municipal Bridge of tolls; efforts of the association's Smoke Abatement Committee have resulted in passage by the Board of Aldermen of a new smoke ordinance for the city;

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1945, page 569; January 1946, page 31, and May 1946, page 248.

more off-street parking space has been acquired as well as a new neighborhood playground site.

Legislation providing for a metropolitan sewer district has been passed which authorizes the city's Board of Aldermen to set the machinery in motion as of July 1, 1946, and provides for collection of sewer rentals as a source of revenue for the construction and maintenance of sewers in the area. Two other acts of the legislature authorize Jefferson County, heretofore hampered in its participation in the Louisville area's development by limited constitutional powers, to set aside money for a building fund and to condemn property required by the county for public purposes. The county part of the proposed new flood wall, the proposed city-county penal farm, the civic center, and many other projects which had the unanimous endorsement of the L. A. D. A., will be aided by this legislation.

"What is happening in the world's largest metropolitan region?" inquires the **Regional Plan Association of New York** in its latest publication, *You, Your Community, and the Regional Plan.* The pamphlet points out the stupendous task in planning which lies before the citizens of the New York area stretching into three states, and reports on the work of the association. Frederick P. Clark is planning director.

The **Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area** discusses "Planning for Housing" in its July *Planning and Development News.* In its summary the article comments that "legislation, good planning, including the execution thereof, and neighborhood group action appear to be three of the most important parts in planning for housing." Walter R. L. Taylor is executive secretary.

Support for Toledo Charter

The **Municipal League of Toledo, Ohio**, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, is conducting a vigorous campaign in support of the city's council-manager-P. R. charter, now under attack. It is asking citizens to serve on a fact-finding City Government Survey Committee sponsored by the league to study the strengths and weaknesses of (1) the present form of city government; (2) other plans publicly sponsored; (3) other plans or methods brought to the league's attention. It asks for suggestions for a better city government.

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Manager vs. Mayor

In Madison, Wisconsin, where a manager ordinance will be voted on at the fall election, the **West Side Business Men** held a debate on "Manager vs. Mayor." C. K. Alexander, research director of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, spoke for the manager plan; Former Alderman Stuart H. Becker, for many years a member of the Madison Common Council, supported the mayor form.

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With the Women Voters

The **Wisconsin League of Women Voters,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, reports that the **Wauwatosa** branch of the **Milwaukee County League of Women Voters** has appointed a youth committee, responsible for supplying high school social science departments with league material and for conducting tours to the city hall, court house, common council, etc.

Two new leagues have joined the Wisconsin group—**Rice Lake,** Mrs. William A. Cameron, president; and **Edgerton,** Mrs. Woodrow W. Hass, president. The Rice Lake group is making a survey of its community with the aid of the league pamphlet, "Know Your Town's Future."

The five **Leagues of Women Voters** in **Fairfield County, Connecticut,** are planning to continue their weekly broadcasts in the fall. In the past, members of each of the leagues have taken turns appearing on the air. Other local Connecticut leagues which have been broadcasting include **South Windsor, Woodbury, West Hartford, Wethersfield,** and **Farmington.** The **Connecticut** league has issued a plea for script writers for its news broadcasts on "What's Going On in the World." Mrs. John G. Lee is state president.

Current best buy in league material, says *The Active Voter* of the **New York City League of Women Voters** (Mrs. Walter Neale, president), "is a one-page guide to the New York City Council which gives a bird's-eye view of the seating arrangement at Council meetings, the order of business, typical examples of Council 'jargon,' tells you how to address your city representatives and lists the Council's standing Committees." Its cost is five cents per copy.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has issued its 1946 *Illinois Voter's Handbook.* Prepared by Mrs. Robert C. McNamara, the book may be purchased through the Illinois league, Chicago, at 50 cents per copy with discounts for quantity purchases. Mrs. Walter T. Fisher is state league president.

The **New York State League of Women Voters** has elected Mrs. M. E. Cummings as president to succeed Mrs. Charles E. Heming, forced to resign because of illness. Mrs. Heming continues in her capacity as director of the national league and ex officio member of the state board.

"Before you vote consider the record," warns the **Missouri League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Wendell H. Griffith, president. In its **Bulletin** the league sets forth the voting records on important issues of Missouri members of Congress and representatives in both houses of the Missouri legislature.

The **Georgia League of Women Voters** has questioned state candidates on important issues and published their replies, together with biographical information, in a broadside to which they have given wide distribution. Mrs. Charles R. Leibman is state president.

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Young Voters Active

With "a lot of civic fish to fry," the **Young Voters** of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** organized in the spring, have plans for the fall and winter well under way. Meetings have been addressed by Professor Spencer Shank of the University of Cincinnati, who spoke on "How Can We Keep the Ideals for Which We Fought?" and Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, whose address was on "A Progressive Program for Young Voters." Another meeting discussed organization plans, proposed officers, amount of dues, etc. The latter were set at two dollars for all voters 30 years of age or less. At this meeting topics for future consideration were weighed and a vote "in order of choices" was taken on topics and methods of dealing with them—whether by members' papers, outside speakers, or discussion. W. Charles Sulan was appointed temporary chairman of the group.

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A Prize Winning Idea

The **United States Junior Chamber of Commerce,** at its convention in Milwaukee, awarded the **Yonkers (New York) Young Men's Chamber of Commerce** first prize for activity in the field of tax education in a contest participated in by 1,100 junior chambers. The award, a bronze plaque, was made by a committee of 25 to the Yonkers group because of its School of Civic Service, a project now being copied all over the country. The school consists of a series of meetings open to the public at which city officials explain their work and conduct discussions. The Yonkers group had previously won two state awards for its school.

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Citizens on the Air

The August schedule for radio programs sponsored by the **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miss Katherine V. E. Lyford, executive secretary, covered a series of talks on problems of the veteran. The programs have been prepared by the league's Research Committee on Special State Problems.

The "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," a weekly radio program of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** of which A. R. Everson is executive vice president, has recently completed two years on the air.

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Budget and Assessment Hearings

Citizen groups are announcing the dates of hearings on budgets, assessments, etc., in order that those interested may be aware of their opportunities for protest. The **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** in its *Tax Bulletin,* calls attention to the itinerary arranged by the State Tax Commission for hearings on county and municipal budgets. These hearings, suggests the bulletin, "afford taxpayers and citizens an opportunity to learn something about the details of our public business." Rupert F. Asplund is director.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, calls attention by means of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* to meetings of boards of review throughout the state. Owners of property who are dissatisfied with their 1946 local assessments must appear before these boards to obtain adjustments. A recent issue of the bulletin of the alliance describes the work of boards of review.

"What's Going on at City Hall," a department in *Minneapolis Civic Activities* published by the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** reports that during the first four days of meetings of that city's Board of Equalization, one lone citizen appeared to protest the assessed value of his property. It comments that "Minneapolitans are apparently well satisfied with the work done by the assessor's office." Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary of the Civic Council.

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'Equal Pay for Equal Work'

The Board of Trustees of the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City,** at its annual meeting in June, adopted a resolution calling for reclassification and standardization of the positions in the local civil service. The resolution called for equal pay for equal work, with modern personnel methods applied to all the civil service. Harold Riegelman, counsel to the commission, spoke in support of the resolution. He pointed out that the city's classification is more than 40 years old and asserted that reclassification and standardization would revitalize the service rating system, lift employee morale and provide a real incentive to more efficient and economical work.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Unicameral Citizens Organization of Missouri, which plans to submit to the voters of the state a constitutional amendment providing for a one-house legislature, has made **Stratford Lee Morton,** a member of the National Municipal League's council, its temporary chairman.

Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago, addressed the Chicago City Club on "Consolidation of the Chicago Park District with the City of Chicago."

The Citizens Budget Commission of New York City has elected **William Church Osborn** as its president. **Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler,** former president of Columbia University who served as president since the establishment of the commission in 1932, was chosen honorary president.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Costa Rica Holds P. R. Election

New Electoral Code Calls for Party List System

SIXTEEN of the 30 seats in the National Congress of Costa Rica were obtained by the National Republican party in the election of February 10, 1946. The election was held under the proportional representation system which has been used, with occasional modification, since 1913—the earliest use of the proportional principle for public elections in North America. A new electoral code making substantial revisions but preserving the aim of proportionality was enacted in March of this year.

The system of election as devised in 1913 gave more than proportional representation to the majority party. A transferable vote system was used permitting votes in excess of the quota to be transferred to subsequent choices marked on the ballots. There was, however, no transfer of ballots by elimination of candidates at the foot of the poll. Instead, all places not filled by full quotas of votes originally cast or transferred as surplus were assigned to the party list having the greatest number of votes. The use of a relatively high quota (total vote divided by number of places[1]) tended to increase slightly the number of places thus awarded as a "bonus" to the largest party.

The disposition of these remainder places was altered in the electoral law of 1927, which provided that they should be divided among the contending parties, the first place being awarded to the party with the largest vote, the next to the party with the next largest vote, and so on in rotation.

This year's election under this system gave a close approximation to proportionality, as the results in the accompanying table show.

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
National Republican	50,387	51.4	16	53.3
Democratic	42,180	43.1	13	43.3
Popular Vanguard	5,425	5.5	1	3.3

The new electoral code adopted in March provides for a party list type of proportional electoral system, with each list obtaining in the first instance as many seats as it has quotas (the quota being the total vote divided by the number of places to be filled). The remaining seats, if any, are distributed among the parties in the order of the size of the remainders. Parties which do not poll 75 per cent of a quota are excluded in this distribution. Certain supplementary alternate members are chosen in each electoral district by distribution among all parties polling at least 75 per cent of a quota in order of the size of the vote cast.

WM. REDIN WOODWARD

New York

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[1] This is known as the Hare quota. Practically all other places employing the single transferable vote, or Hare system, in their elections use the so-called Droop quota found by dividing the total number of ballots by one more than the number to be elected, adding one to the result, disregarding fractions. This is the smallest number that will assure election no matter how the votes may be distributed among the candidates.

Winnipeg Legislative Members Chosen by P. R.

The election of ten members of the Manitoba legislature from the district of Winnipeg, on October 15, 1945, was by the single transferable method of P. R., in use since 1920.

The Conservative and Liberal parties, joined in support of a coalition government, put up five and four candidates respectively; against the coalition were eleven candidates, six from the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, two from the Labor-Progressive party (formerly Communist), two from minor parties (including a bolting Social Credit candidate) and one independent.

Four candidates were elected on first choices, one Liberal, two C.C.F. and the independent anti-coalition candidate. The ten finally elected included four CCF, one Labor-Progressive and one independent on one side, and three Liberals and one Conservative on the side of the government in power.

The two minor parties which failed to obtain any representation cast but 1 per cent of the vote. The other five political groups (four parties and one independent) obtained a proportion of the representation corresponding within 3 per cent to the proportion of the total first-choice vote polled by the candidates of these groups.

W. R. W.

English Society Reports on Continental Elections

The 1946 *Annual Report* of the British Proportional Representation Society, in addition to reviewing elections many of which have already been reported in this department, mentions several instances of activity in promotion of improved electoral systems.

In the British zone of Germany, after certain difficulties had arisen in connection with a newly devised hybrid electoral system, the Control Commission obtained advice from the Proportional Representation Society, but the short time available to John Fitzgerald, the society's secretary, on his visit to Germany for the purpose, did not permit anything more fundamental than a little expert patchwork.

The society's report expresses the hope "that when the drawbacks become evident in practice Germany may turn to the single transferable vote for the remedy." It is interesting to note that the departure from the list system of proportional representation previously used in Germany, and recently used in the American and French zones, was stated to be because "the Germans had expressed a wish to abandon the list system in favor of one giving scope for the personal factor, but they were aware of the drawbacks of a majority system."

In its report on Holland, the British society comments on the first use of the single transferable vote in that country, in the indirect election of emergency municipal councils. The report quotes a Hague correspondent who, in writing of the elections, commented: "Everything went very smoothly, no difficulties were experienced. Practically no votes were spoiled."

The report notes a change in the Danish electoral law permitting the voter to indicate preference for one individual candidate on what is otherwise a party list ballot in elections previously held on a straight list system.

Although gratified by the comparison of the P. R. election in France in October 1945 with previous elections under the single-member district system, the British society viewed with some regret the selection of the list system in a most rigid form. Its report comments:

> It is curious that of all possible variations of P. R. France should choose the German one. The impos-

sibility of expressing any preference as between candidates is giving rise to great dissatisfaction among the French people, though the majority, even of deputies, clearly do not realize that there is any means of providing for such expression without sacrificing justice between parties. Our society is doing its best to make Frenchmen aware of the way in which the single transferable vote combines freedom of choice with justice.

Greetings from Britain

The British P. R. Society, at its annual conference in June, cabled greetings to the editor of this department in these words: "Annual meeting British Proportional Representation Society 20 June sends warm greetings to fellow reformers. Welcomes increasing worldwide interest in fair representation and in grateful memory of John Humphreys determines vigorously to continue the fight."

W. R. W.

Council Vacancy Elections in New York and Long Beach

An instructive contrast in methods of filling vacancies under P.R. is afforded this year by the neighboring cities of New York and Long Beach, New York.

In New York two councilmen, one for the borough of Manhattan and one for Queens, resigned to take other positions and their places were filled, in accordance with the New York charter, by citizens of the same borough and party appointed by the remaining members of the Council. Because of a state constitutional provision, however, such an appointment can last only till the end of the year in which it is made and the vacancy must be filled by the voters at the next general election. Since a single vacancy cannot be filled by P.R., the ordinary plurality voting machinery is used, partisan primaries and all. The result may be to give the vacant place to a party or group of voters already fully represented, and to leave those who elected the vacating member without any representation at all. This year the vacating members were both nominees of the Democratic organization, which customarily wins borough-wide elections on the plurality plan, so no great injustice may be done.

In Long Beach, as in Yonkers, a better plan is used, which permits the voters left without representation by the vacancy to fill it. Although it is impossible to identify these voters, it is not impossible to identify their ballots, which show their order of choice among the candidates at the time of the last election. These particular ballots—the quota that elected the vacating member and the usually smaller number that helped elect no one because all their choices were either defeated or elected by others—are recounted according to the principles of the Hare system to determine who is their majority choice for the vacant place. Since such a recount is an election and not an appointment, the state constitution permits its result to stand for the balance of the unexpired term.

A member of the Long Beach City Council died this spring and his place was filled by a recount on June 13. Since both the vacating member and the runner-up at the last election were Democrats and most of the latter's ballots figured in the recount, having elected no one at the regular election, it is not surprising that the two leading candidates in the recount were Democrats. The runner-up at the regular election was elected to the vacant place and the general make-up of the Council remained unchanged.

Long Beach Fight on P. R. Dropped

The Democratic organization of Long Beach, which had fought the adoption of P.R. bitterly and lost its control of

(Continued on Page 441)

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Tennessee County Mixes Bullets and Ballots

Political Machine Bosses Challenged by Veterans

IN THE elections held August 1 in McMinn County, Tennessee, bullets were freely mixed with ballots, making the election, without doubt, the most spectacular in the United States for many a year. The town of Athens, Tennessee, with a population of 7,000 persons, temporarily became a flaming battleground reminiscent of comparable towns in Europe in which many of the participants had recently fought.

Major interest centered in the election of county sheriff. The well organized local political machine was fairly liberal in granting permission to residents of the county regarding their privilege of voting, but it guarded closely as its own secret ritual the prerogative of counting the ballots.

A group of young men of the county, even while fighting as United States soldiers far from the shores of home, saw a disconcerting resemblance in the doctrines of the enemies of the United States and the practices of their county government. They resolved that, given the opportunity, they would turn that government back into the channels of democracy.

These young men, upon their return home, immediately began to mold that opportunity within which they expected to operate. They organized to meet the challenge of the political machine in a test of ballots in the county elections. They nominated an ex-GI slate of candidates for various county offices to oppose the machine candidates. They appointed poll watchers to observe the balloting process. They appointed representatives to participate in the counting of the votes.

The machine bosses quickly realized that their power was in jeopardy. They imported "guards" from outside the county to "protect" the elections. They announced that the ballots would be counted only by "regular" Democrats.

On election day the special deputies decided that the ex-GI poll watchers were disturbers of the peace. Several were arrested and imprisoned and others were held incommunicado under the watchful eyes of special guards. A temporary distraction permitted two ex-GI's who were detained in this manner to make a successful lunge for liberty and, after necessary first aid treatment, they reported at their headquarters the terroristic tactics of the special guards. Shortly thereafter various types of firearms began to appear on the streets in the hands of the ex-soldiers.

As the day drew to a close, a public count of the ballots was begun, but returns of two-to-one in favor of the ex-GI ticket proved most embarrassing to the machine-selected election judges. To secure a more favorable environment they moved the ballot boxes containing the uncounted ballots to the seclusion of a jail cell.

At this stage of the proceedings, the emphasis shifted from ballots to bullets. The ex-GI leaders demanded return of the ballot boxes and upon refusal they began a six-hour siege of the jail. The special deputies who had barricaded themselves inside the jail threatened to kill the ex-GI hostages who had been arrested and imprisoned, but at 2 A.M. their ammunition was exhausted and they surrendered. There were numerous injuries but no fatalities. The deputies, in turn, became prisoners.

The victorious ex-GI party proclaimed at once that its ticket was elected, and no machine candidates or county officials were in evidence to dispute the point. The machine boss, the sheriff and others prominent in the machine had left the county. From unknown whereabouts the sheriff submitted his resignation. The election commissioner decided to certify that the five ex-GI candidates for county offices were duly elected, and a rump county board was "persuaded" to appoint the victorious ex-GI candidate for sheriff to fill the unexpired term of his predecessor. The board also accepted the resignation of Boss Cantrell, who had served as its chairman and as justice of peace. The coroner, who had served as chief deputy to the sheriff, was removed by the board.

One of the leaders of the GI group has announced plans for a public mass meeting to obtain backing "for a complete change in our city and county forms of government." He added that the veterans wished to "institute city and county manager forms of government as quickly as possible."

Peace is returning to McMinn County, Tennessee.

Yell County, Arkansas, Sounds Off

The ex-GI's of Yell County, Arkansas, taking their cue from McMinn County, Tennessee, have set out to overthrow the political machine in control of their government. They are calling mass meetings, compiling their slate of candidates for various county offices, and touring the county with placards in support of their cause.

North Dakota Amendment Fails

A proposed constitutional amendment, under which Sioux County, North Dakota, which has the lowest assessed valuation in the state, would have been obligated to choose one of the optional county plans provided by the 1941 legislature, was defeated by a popular referendum which rejected also several other proposed constitutional changes.

Arlington County Adopts Pension System

The Board of Supervisors of Arlington County, Virginia, has enacted an ordinance placing all full-time employees of the county, except the manager, under a retirement system. Participation by policemen and firemen is mandatory but for other full-time employees it is voluntary.

The county board appropriated $50,000 for initial financing. The major source of revenue, however, will be a 3½ per cent salary deduction from the pay checks of all participants in the plan. Retirement benefits are graduated from $52 monthly after eighteen years of service to $80 monthly after twenty-five years for policemen and firemen. For other employees the minimum is dropped to $40 monthly after twenty years of service, and the maximum is placed at $80 monthly after thirty years. Policemen and firemen become eligible at 55 years of age, other county employees at 65 years. The ordinance provides also for the payment of $10,000 to the beneficiary of a policeman or fireman killed in the course of duty.

The plan will be administered by a pension and retirement board composed of the county treasurer, a member elected by the policemen and firemen, a member elected by the other participating county employees and two members selected by the county board.

Monroe County, New York, Assumes All Welfare Functions

Under the option provided by the Ostertag Law, Rochester, New York, has voted to transfer all welfare functions to Monroe County. Present city welfare employees will be transferred to the county. The consolidation will result in a substantial increase in state aid and a considerable saving to local taxpayers.

Iowa County Plans Pay-As-You-Go

Woodbury County, Iowa, home of the currently popular "Sioux City Sue," also thinks of bond issues and tax revenues. The Taxpayers Conference of the county anticipates that the county's capital improvement program during the next ten years will cost $5,000,000 more than can be provided on the basis of current taxes at prevailing rates. In order to adopt a pay-as-you-go plan and avoid bonded indebtedness and further burdens on real estate, it proposes that additional revenue be raised by licensing taverns to sell liquor by the drink, adoption of a city automobile tax, amusement tax, and cigarette tax, and an increase in the state sales tax.

Nebraska Counties Plan Consolidation

Frontier, Red Willow and Gosper Counties, Nebraska, are initiating action by which the three counties will be consolidated into one. Petitions are being circulated and if they are signed by at least 40 per cent of the voters who cast votes for the governorship in the last preceding general election, the commissioners of the three counties will draft within the following six months a plan for consolidation. To be adopted, the plan must then secure a 60 per cent affirmative vote in the subsequent referendum.

Baltimore County Manager Plan Candidates Defeated

In the recent Democratic primary election in Baltimore County, Maryland, a group of local citizens formed a "county manager ticket" and ran for nomination for the county board of commissioners on the pledge they would install a manager plan if nominated and elected. They were defeated, however, in the primary elections.

Cooperative Office Building in Kansas

A joint county-township office building for northeast Johnson County, Kansas, has been approved by county commissioners and the Mission and Shawnee Township boards. It will house the road patrol office, the police and fire services, and possibly the office for issuance of automobile licenses.

City-County Airport in Minnesota

Crow Wing County and the city of Brainerd, Minnesota, have adopted resolutions appropriating sums of $20,000 each for the construction of a joint city-county airport. An additional $120,000 will be supplied by the state of Minnesota and the federal government.

Pennsylvania County Controllers Meet in Pittsburgh

The annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Association of County Controllers is being held in Pittsburgh this month.

Wisconsin County Government Committee Progresses

The Wisconsin Interim Committee on County Government has closed its public hearings and will draft preliminary reports. One subcommittee is drafting a report on constitutional changes and another is working on statutory changes which will not require constitutional amendments. These reports will be presented to the whole committee on September 23.

New Revenues for Cities Continue in Limelight

St. Louis Tries Income Tax; San Diego Adopts Sales Tax

MUNICIPAL taxes based on sales and income continued to hold the interest of local officials and taxpayers during the summer. The city of St. Louis joined Philadelphia and Toledo in imposing a municipal income tax while San Diego adopted a city sales tax. The Atlantic City sales tax, however, adopted under a 1945 act of the New Jersey legislature, was ruled invalid on the grounds that the enabling act was special legislation.

The St. Louis municipal income tax was adopted July 10 and became effective August 1. It will be levied at the rate of ¼ of 1 per cent on gross income from salaries, commissions and other personal income and on the net income of corporations and businesses. Individual income taxes will be paid by withholding on the part of the employer where this method is applicable, with payments due quarterly on January 15, April 15, July 15, and October 15. Individual taxes not payable by withholding will be due annually by March 15. Business and corporate income taxes will also be payable March 15 annually.

The new income tax is expected to yield St. Louis about $4,000,000 annually. Of this amount about $650,000 is expected to come from corporations and businesses and the remainder from individuals. The yield is expected to be distributed about $2,100,000 for salary increases, about $1,650,000 for other operating purposes, and about $250,000 for restoration of services curtailed because of lack of funds.

Prior to enactment of the income levy, St. Louis had considered adoption of a sales tax. While the proposals were under consideration, a St. Louis representative in the Missouri legislature sought to block the use of either device by introducing a bill prohibiting cities, towns and villages from assessing and collecting income, sales or use taxes and providing the unusual penalty of forfeiture of the municipal charter. Other cities joined St. Louis in defeating the bill.

San Diego Adopts Sales Tax

On July 1 a city sales tax of ½ of 1 per cent went into effect in San Diego, which expects to secure upwards of one million dollars of new revenue from the excise. The tax will apply at the retail level. It will include sales by retailers where deliveries are made outside the city limits. Returns will be quarterly.

About the same time that San Diego was acquiring its sales tax, Atlantic City lost the first round in a court battle to retain its 3 per cent retail sales tax which went into effect May 29, 1945. The New Jersey Supreme Court held the tax unconstitutional on June 14, ruling that the enabling legislation was so drawn as to limit the authorization to a class of which Atlantic City was the sole example. The decision will be appealed to the state's highest tribunal, the Court of Errors and Appeals.

Tax on Utility Bills Voided

City taxes based on sales of a special type also received a setback during the summer when the Ohio Supreme Court held illegal a tax levied by the city of Youngstown on consumers' utility bills. The rate was 2½ per cent of the amount of the bill. A 5 per cent tax on utility bills levied by Columbus, and similar taxes levied by various other Ohio cities, were reported jeopardized by the court's opinion.

Earlier in the year, as previously reported, New York City returned its sales and use tax to 2 per cent (it had recently been 1 per cent), while a municipal sales tax was adopted by the city of Los Angeles. A number of cities are studying sales tax and income tax proposals, and it is reported that the Madison, Wisconsin, City Council has requested a council committee to draft a city income tax ordinance.

Billion in Soldiers' Bonuses Considered

Bonuses to veterans of the last war adopted or being considered by eight states are reported to provide for nearly a billion dollars of payments.

Three states have already started payment of their bonuses. In 1942 Vermont began payment of bonuses up to a maximum of $120 each, expected to cost the state about $4,000,000 to be paid from surplus and current funds. New Hampshire initiated its bonus in 1943, paying from a $4,000,000 bond issue up to a maximum of $100 to each veteran. The bonds are being retired from a special three-dollar poll tax. Massachusetts began distribution last year and is paying from $100 up to a maximum of $300 to ex-service personnel with overseas duty. It is estimated the cost will be upwards of $180,000,000.

This year legislatures in Illinois, Rhode Island and New York enacted bonus measures which must be ratified by the voters to become effective. The Illinois measure will pay $10 per month of service for domestic duty and $15 per month for foreign duty, and will be financed by a bond issue of about $385,000,000, to be submitted at the November election. Rhode Island's bonus will amount to $200 each for veterans and merchant seamen and will be financed by a $20,000,000 bond issue to be submitted at the fall election.

The New York bonus measure will provide payments ranging from a minimum of $50 to a maximum of $250, depending on length and type of service. If a veteran is deceased payment will be made to the next of kin. The act provides for a $400,000,000 bond issue to provide the money. The statute must be re-enacted by the 1947 legislature and then approved at a referendum in the fall of 1947 before it becomes effective.

In two other states—Maine and Michigan — legislatures assembled in special session during the summer to consider soldiers' bonuses.

Miami Beach Using Meters on Parking Lots

Miami Beach, Florida, which is one of many cities experimenting with municipal parking lots in an effort to relieve street congestion, is using parking meters on municipal parking lots to help defray costs and discourage all-day parking.

One lot is already in operation and three more are expected to be completed by November. Eventually, sixteen lots are planned, with a capacity of 4,000 cars at one time. The program will be spread over a five-year period, and will cost an estimated $300,000 to be raised by a bond issue. Six of the lots will be on land already owned by the city while sites for ten will be acquired by purchase.

New York Airport Authority Hits Snags

New York City's new Airport Authority, created earlier this year at the insistence of Mayor O'Dwyer and his public works expediter, Robert Moses, to take over operation of La Guardia

Field and the new Idlewild Airport, appears to be dying on its feet. Two of its three-member governing body have resigned, and the proposal to have the authority acquire the two large city airports is being scrapped in favor of operation of the major metropolitan airports by the Port of New York Authority, an agency which many observers had contended should be given the job at the time the separate authority proposals were first advanced.

The new authority met its first headache when it attempted to "renegotiate" the contracts with the air lines for facilities at Idlewild. These contracts were signed during the LaGuardia administration on a basis said at that time to assure self-support of the field after full-scale operations were attained. The air lines were adamant, and there was immediate talk of taking the New York metropolitan area trade to Newark airport. Further difficulty was encountered when it became evident to the city administration that authority bonds would necessarily bear an interest cost higher than that for city general obligations, throwing cost estimates and expectations for the entire project out of line.

Late in July the Port of New York Authority, which had been requested by the Newark City Council to state its terms for taking over the Newark airport, announced its plans for taking over both the Newark airport and the Port of Newark. While the terms were criticized in Newark in some quarters as not being sufficiently profitable to that city, the move was immediately countered by New York City, which asked the Port Authority to investigate the possibility of operating the city's two large fields. With this move the separate New York Airport Authority appears to have quietly passed out of the picture.

Since the task of the Port Authority embraces all transport in the port area, and air transport is now a vital part of the whole, many observers are hoping that the bi-state agency will assume the obligation of operating both the New York City and Newark airports, ending a senseless intercity rivalry, improving airport facilities for the area, and, by making the airport debt self-sustaining, free part of New York City's debt margin for general improvements.

Kentucky Holds Assessors School

One hundred and thirteen county assessors and seven city assessors attended a school on assessing practices sponsored jointly by the Kentucky Department of Revenue, the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky and the National Association of Assessing Officers. During the first day and a half of the conference attention was devoted to technical and legal requirements and instruction in the use of Kentucky forms, reports, etc. The final part of the program was devoted to major assessment problems and practices, with special attention centering on real and tangible personal property, particularly farm lands and buildings.

Florida Studies Local Tax Problems

Pleas of Florida municipal officials for greater shares of state-collected revenues were partially rewarded by the Florida legislature in the appointment of a legislative joint committee to study means of solving local financial problems. The committee is to formulate "an over-all and coordinated tax program relating to local subdivisions of government."

At the same time, the Florida League of Municipalities set up a special committee to join with the counties and schools in formulating a comprehensive program for local aid.

Arizona Cities Seek Gas Tax Division[1]

Initiative petitions for a public vote at the November general election on a proposal which would give incorporated Arizona municipalities a share in gas tax collections have been formally filed in the office of Dan E. Garvey, secretary of state.

Mayors and other officials of eight cities were present at the filing. Also present were Governor Osborn and John L. Sullivan, attorney general, who are required by the constitution to witness the filing of such petitions.

The gas tax division petitions carried a total of 21,322 names of purported electors of the state. Every county in the state except Mohave and Apache were represented among the petition signers. These two counties had no signers because neither contains an incorporated municipality.

The gas tax initiative measure in substance proposes to allocate to the 35 incorporated towns and cities of Arizona 10 per cent of the total gas tax receipts. That amount would be deducted from the 30 per cent which under the present system goes to the counties. The existing 70 per cent allocation to the State Highway Department would be unchanged.

The measure specifies that the money it proposes to allocate to cities shall be used solely for "the improvement, construction, reconstruction or maintenance of municipal streets and highways and administrative expenses in connection therewith, including the retirement of bonds issued after the effective date of this act for the payment of which such revenues have been pledged.". . .

The petition filing brought to a climax years of continuing effort by Arizona cities to gain a share in gas tax collections. In past years cities have endeavored to attain that objective through the state legislature which has repeatedly turned them down.

Now they are carrying their case directly to the people for final decision.

The group present for the filing had arranged quite a little "show" to publicize its movement, including a radio broadcast from the secretary of state's office on which several mayors spoke briefly advocating adoption of the initiative act.

Chatters Made Controller of New York Port Authority

Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association since 1932, has been appointed controller of the Port of New York Authority. He will undertake his duties on his return from Germany where he is chief of the Public Finance Section for the Office of Military Government in Berlin.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 434)

the Council in the first P.R. election last fall, started circulating petitions this spring for a vote on the new system's repeal. In so doing it counted on dissatisfaction among the supporters of P.R., notably the Long Beach Citizens Union, which led the fight for adoption but elected only one of its five candidates to the Council. The Citizens Union directors, however, after careful consideration, issued a strong statement reaffirming the organization's support of P.R. and its determination to fight the repeal amendment. Thereupon the petitions were withdrawn.

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[1] From Western City, July 1946.

English Conferences Herald Postwar Era

NALGO Debates Affiliation with Trades Union Congress

A SIGN that English local government is still vigorous in the postwar era is the large number of conferences of various local government associations. Of special importance are the conferences of the National Association of Local Government Officers and the Association of Municipal Corporations.[1]

Affiliation with the Trades Union Congress was again the number one issue confronting NALGO. As before, the conference rejected the proposal, this time by a vote of 65,250 to 43,742. The majority favorable to rejection had decreased 60 per cent in a year's time.

In the words of the *Municipal Journal:* "It seemed that every conceivable argument was advanced both for and against the proposal. We heard speakers disclaiming that the fundamental economic interests of local government officers [employees] are similar to those of the bricklayers, engineers, laborers, gas workers, and so on. 'Unity is strength'—we heard lots about that—and delegates indignantly dissented from the suggestions of one or two of the more vigorous protagonists of affiliation that they might consider themselves 'too respectable' to link up with their fellow workers. . . .

"The suggested political significance of affiliation was a strong point with the anti-affiliationists. Officers who have a hand in the framing of policy of local authorities should be completely independent. They should be above suspicion of any suggestion that their attitude is 'tainted' with political significance. Affiliation would involve a conflict of loyalties—one to the TUC and the other to the public. Besides, would not affiliation at the present time savor of currying favor with the political party in power? There must be no 'scuttling under the umbrella.' . . .

"The advocates of affiliation just as strongly resisted these arguments. Association with the TUC, they contended, would not involve NALGO in attachment to a political party. The political levy would be taboo. Moreover, local government officers did not allow their private views to interfere with their conduct of day-to-day administration. Affiliation would add strength to NALGO. Nor would affiliation be an alternative to Whitleyism. NALGO could give a wealth of experience to the TUC. And is not the old order changing?"

One speaker expressed the hope that trade union matters would be taken out of politics, and at that time there would be no conflict of loyalties in joining the TUC. Service conditions, he emphasized, should never be a matter of politics. To this the *Municipal Journal* asks: "Has not NALGO itself used the political machinery pretty effectively in its attainment of, at any rate, some service conditions?"

Other matters stressed at the conference included the encroachments on local government by some of the new bills in Parliament, such as the new towns and health service bills. The conference urged "every possible action to secure the continuance and expansion of the traditional effective democratic local government."

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[1] See *Municipal Journal* (London), May 31, page 1015, and June 21, page 1131; also various issues of *Local Government Service* (London) and *Municipal Review* (London).

The Association of Municipal Corporations in its conference likewise was concerned with the trend away from local government in the fields of housing and health. It went further in expressing a belief that the non-county boroughs should not be stripped of all powers such as has been done with police recently. As one speaker said, the tendency was towards the large units of administration, but the last local government election showed that the interest of the electors was keener in the non-county boroughs than in the counties. Unless something was done to stop the present trend, non-county boroughs would have very little power left and would be reduced to the position of rate collectors and sanitation authorities only.

Local council members, who serve without compensation in England and Wales, put forward the suggestion that a payment for actual expenses in attending meetings be permitted. The Labor government, it was reported, is sympathetic toward the idea, but could not promise any action on the matter this session of Parliament because of the many more pressing issues and bills that it plans to bring before that body. A member of the association's conference suggested that when the government does get to such a bill, it should include in expenses any wages lost because of attendance at council or committee meetings.

Finally, one representative suggested that the aldermanic system—whereby a fourth of the membership of many councils is appointed by the elected members of the council—should be amended or ended. He stressed the growing feeling against what he considered an undemocratic practice. This is not a new proposal but it has not been considered seriously by any government recently.

Indian Report Makes Local Government Recommendations

The Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, appointed by the governor of Bengal in 1944, made strong recommendations relative to the reorganization of local government. All members of municipal, district and union governing bodies should be locally elected instead of having a part of their membership centrally appointed, the committee said. In addition, certain small municipalities might well be consolidated with neighboring units of government, while the problem of metropolitan government in the Calcutta area required large-scale amalgamation of the several local units now independently operating. The establishment of an independent ministry of local self-government and the passage of a provincial town and country planning act were also recommended.

News on England and Wales

Service Standards: Eleven weeks after the National Whitley Council recommended a national scale of salaries, hours and working conditions for local government clerical, administrative and professional workers, 276 of over 1500 local authorities had already accepted its provisions and only twelve had rejected it.

* * *

Rate Increases: A general increase in taxes in England and Wales is taking place this year because of the greater cost of the numerous postwar local functions.

* * *

Police Act: The police bill, making counties and county boroughs and not non-county boroughs the police authorities, received royal assent in April.

* * *

Local Periodicals: Several localities in

England have begun to publish monthly or quarterly periodicals in order to better inform the inhabitants on what their local government is doing. Some objections have been raised by certain publishing groups, members of which feel this will compete unduly with private enterprise.

* * *

New Housing Developments: The government has introduced a bill in the House of Commons providing for development corporations to build new towns. The corporations would be responsible to the Minister of Town and Country Planning. The proposal has been criticized on the ground that local governments should perform such functions, or at least should have great influence in the formation of policies so intimately affecting them.

* * *

Health Service Bill: The *Municipal Journal*, in an optimistic mood, recently editorialized as follows on the National Health Service Bill: "It is not impossible that, in this present move away from local government towards a managerial system, the Minister is retreating the better to effect a later advance. Whatever may be the short-term action of the Local Boundaries Commission, it is likely that sooner or later we shall find the main social services in the hands of bodies of regional size and of a uniform pattern. As it is difficult to conceive of the whole of social service departing from local government principle, it may not be an idle imagining that at some future date the comprehensive health services of the country, systematized according to the proposals of the present bill, will be passed back to local government, operating in large units. A merit of such a move would be that it would avoid the present intense dislike by the medical and allied professions of local government control and yet be able honestly to operate such a control at a later date."

* * *

Airports: The government has issued a *White Paper* on "British Air Services" which among other things stipulates that airfields required for scheduled services will be acquired by the national government. In a report on the matter the Association of Municipal Corporations strongly urges the government to take over all airports belonging to local authorities whether they will be used for scheduled services or not. Under the present *White Paper* proposal, fields used only for feeder, charter, or private flying would not come under national ownership and operation.

* * *

Pay for Council Members

There is some demand in the Union of South Africa and in various parts of Australia for salary or cost compensation to members of local government councils.

* * *

Reorganization

An act providing for consolidation of rural units of government is to be introduced soon into the Saskatchewan, Canada, legislature. A committee of inquiry on the reorganization of municipalities is still investigating that general subject preliminary to making recommendations.

* * *

Investigatory Commission

The *South African Municipal Magazine* has heartily endorsed the suggestion of a university lecturer that a commission of inquiry into local government in the Union be appointed. As one reason for such a move the periodical states that "the general lack of uniformity, more particularly as far as the standards of services supplied are concerned, is all too apparent and inevitably results in expensive inefficiency and waste."

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1946. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1946. x, 593 pp. $8.50.

Here again is one of the best year books in any field and the most useful single reference book on American municipal government. This statement is so obviously true that no one who knows the book will dispute it. It is worth repeating if it leads a single serious seeker to this, not bigger but ever better, source of useful knowledge about the organization, financing, functions, personnel and problems of American cities, large and small.

Like each of the earlier volumes since annual publication began in 1934, the *1946 Year Book* covers some important new matters of current interest. These include urban redevelopment, municipal airports, off-street parking lots, and personnel data on veteran preference, Saturday work schedules, vacation and sick leaves and annual wages for unskilled laborers.

One of the most common uses of the book is as a source of comparative information on the organization and operations of government in different cities. Intermunicipal comparisons are always tempting, often helpful and sometimes grossly misleading and unfair. But if anyone errs in making comparisons from the *Year Book,* it is strictly his own fault.

We know of no other compendium of information on governmental matters which includes such expert paraphernalia for guidance of the user. Beginning with the table of contents and ending with the excellent index, these helps include a chapter on "How to Use the Year Book"; an up-to-date economic classification of cities over 10,000; careful explanations of tables and charts; analytical summary articles on recent developments in such fields as federal-city relations, personnel developments in 1945, and more than 25 others; and copious bibliographies and references to other sources of information. Three pages (11-14) on the use of statistical data constitute a remarkably clear, condensed manual on how to use and to avoid misusing comparative local government statistics.

An excellent device which avoids the ballooning of the *Year Book* to unmanageable proportions is inclusion in the index of references to compilations and articles in earlier volumes that have not become so outmoded as to justify revision. Thus, the *Year Book* for several years has been able to carry new features and still keep within or near a 600-page limit. A word to the wise: Keep your *Year Book*!

It may seem ungracious to find a gap in so good a work. However, we cannot refrain from noting that the *Year Book* does not yield the information that some 8,687,000 Americans in eleven cities elect their municipal governing bodies by proportional representation. Thus, Cincinnati is reported, in the same terms as Detroit and Pittsburgh, as having a council of nine members elected at large. Yet, the *Year Book* does tell us that 8,687,000 Americans (populations given to the nearest 1000) in seventeen cities still support bicameral councils.

But do you want to know something specific about city government in the U. S.? By all means, turn first to the index of the *1946 Municipal Year Book.*

J. E. B.

Southern State and Local Finance Trends and the War. By James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1945. 106 pp. Fifty cents.

A number of significant studies have

appeared in the last decade or two dealing with specific phases of public finance at various levels of government in the South. The essay on trends by Professor Martin is a distinctive contribution to the literature in that it presents a well balanced, comprehensive analysis and interpretation of government finance on a regional basis.

Here is a study that is more than a mere description of what the financial statistics show for a given state or local unit. The author has engineered a lucid evaluation of what has happened since World War I at the state and local levels in the South in terms of revenue policy and administration, expenditures, debts, intergovernmental relations and general fiscal administration. While the title indicates an analysis of trends focusing on the impact of World War II, the apparent purpose was to develop the factual background for interpreting changes in major policies as indicated by available statistics and numerous special investigations. In the opinion of the reviewer, the author has adequately accomplished his purpose.

No government finance officer who wishes to bring his thinking up to date can afford to miss reading this important monograph. In fact, the same may be said for every student of public administration.

For long range fiscal planning, far more data are needed than are available in most southern states, or elsewhere. As indicated in the text and in an appendix, there are a number of limitations in the data, particularly for local government, and the conclusions must be interpreted accordingly.

One of the most impressive contributions in the entire essay is the chapter covering general fiscal management. Professor Martin points out that one of the chief results of the impact of the war was to make governments and their finance officers more acutely aware of the need for long range fiscal planning. The treatment of budget principles and trends should prove of unusual interest to such officers, whether state or local. A number of examples are cited where outstanding work is being done by certain states and municipalities.

William G. Herzel
Kentucky Department of Revenue

Know Pennsylvania: Your State and Local Government. By Louise M. Young and Harold F. Alderfer. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Book Service, 1946. 180 pp.

This "Handbook of Basic Information" by the vice president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters and the director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, should be very useful to civic organizations, schools and citizens of Pennsylvania who feel "a personal concern" for their state and community.

The facts are well organized and presented in thirteen chapters covering local government, the constitution, nominations and elections, the principal state departments, and functions of state and local agencies. Most of the column breaks are in the form of questions, e.g., "What is the Approximate Allocation of the Total Tax Burden?"

This effort is worthy of emulation in other states. An index would make it easier to use for quick reference.

J. E. B.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

The Local Development of Airport Facilities. New York 5, Cities Service Oil Company, 1946. 19 pp. Illus.

Contracts

The Protection of the Public Inter-

ests in Public Contracts. By Herman G. James. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 90 pp. $2.

Directories

Directory of City and Town Officials of Colorado 1946. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1946. 16 pp.

GRA Directory of Organizations and Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research.[1] New York 20, Governmental Research Association, 1946. 44 pp. $1.50.

Guide to Public Affairs Organizations with Notes on Public Affairs Informational materials. By Charles R. Read and Samuel Marble. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, Public Affairs Press, 1946. vi, 129 pp. $2.

Officials of Washington Cities. By Belle Reeves. Olympia, Office of Secretary of State, 1946. 30 pp.

United States Government Manual—1946. (First edition, revised to May 1) Washington 25, Division of Public Inquiries, Governmental Information Service, Bureau of the Budget, 1946. 708 pp. $1.

Employment

City Employment in 1944. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 48 pp.

Interstate Relations

Incodel. The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin. A Decade of Planned Progress 1936-1946. Philadelphia, the Commission, 1946. 25 pp.

Land Use

1945 Summary of Outstanding Federal and State Legislation Affecting Rural Land Use. Regular Sessions of Legislatures in 1945. Washington, D. C., United State Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1946. 127 pp.

Municipalities

Digest of 1946 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1946. 36 pp.

Twelfth Annual Convention, May 16-17, 1946, Association of Washington Cities with the cooperation of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Washington. Business Meetings, Resolutions, New Officers, Registration. Seattle, the Association, 1946. 19 pp.

Planning

A Master Plan for the Physical Development of the City. Richmond, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1946. 280 pp. Illus. Maps.

New York Means Business in the Capital District. Counties of Warren, Saratoga, Schenectady, Washington, Schoharie, Albany and Rensselaer. **New York Means Business in the Syracuse Area.** Counties of Oswego, Cayuga, Onondaga, Cortland and Madison. Albany, New York State Department of Commerce, 1946. 29 pp. each.

Proposed Plan for Redevelopment of the Riverfront. City of Detroit Master Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 32 pp. Illus.

Politics

Handbook of Politics and Voter's Guide. By Lowell Mellett. New York, Penguin Books, Inc., 1946. 138 pp. 25 cents.

Public Health

Alcoholism Is a Sickness. By Herbert Yahraes. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Public Safety

Accident Facts. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, Inc., 1946. 96 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Action Program. The President's Highway Safety Conference. A Summary of the Recommendations of Conference Committees on Laws and Ordinances. Washington, D. C., 1946. 23 pp.

A Blueprint for Action. A Presentation of the National Traffic Safety Contest. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1946. 16 pp. Illus.

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[1] For a review of this pamphlet see page 421.

Public Welfare

Laws of Illinois Relating to Public Aid 1945-1947. Springfield, Illinois Public Aid Commission, 1946. xi, 88 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1946 (Final). By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 14 pp.

Balancing Public Expenditures. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 4 pp. 25 cents.

City Capital Outlay from 1937 Through 1943. By Inez A. Applebee and Leon Rothenberg. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 21 pp.

City Debt in 1944. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 60 pp.

A Half Century of Public Debt. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 5 pp. Twenty-five cents.

1945 Proceedings of the 38th Annual Conference on Taxation. Edited by Raymond E. Manning. Washington, D. C., National Tax Association, 1946. xix, 344 pp. $3.75.

Taxation of Horse Racing. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1946. 30 pp. Seventy-five cents.

Total Government Expenditures in 1944. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

Every Policeman a Traffic Officer. The Story of the Traffic System Which Gave Milwaukee for Years the Lowest Death Rate from Motor Vehicles. Digest of an address before the Second Annual Highway Traffic Conference of the Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control. Saugatuck, Connecticut, the Foundation, 1946. 16 pp.

Model Traffic Ordinance. As Revised and Approved by the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946. 34 pp. Ten cents.

Veterans

Facts About Jobs in Government for Veterans. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1946. 17 pp.

Veterans on the Move. Report on Transient Veterans. New York 19, National Committee on Service to Veterans of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 1946. 16 pp. Ten cents.

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The League's Business

Back to the Old Home Town

All signs indicate a large attendance at this year's National Conference on Government, perhaps the largest in the League's 52-year history. We go back to the city of our "birth," Philadelphia, to observe (two years late because of the war) our 50th anniversary.

The Bellevue-Stratford Hotel has set aside a generous number of twin-bed double rooms for League members, speakers and guests but, in view of the crowded conditions and demand, unspoken for rooms will be available for only a limited time.

In addition to the fact that this will be the first Conference since Pearl Harbor, today's unprecedented volume of civic action and demand for improvement should make this an unusually interesting and well attended meeting.

Local, county and state business has become infinitely more complicated during the 52 years the League has been working to help the citizen understand, improve and control it. There is more need than ever for mastery of public affairs by the citizen. How is he carrying out this responsibility in a self-governing system? What problems lie ahead? How can we face them realistically, effectively?

The three-day program in Philadelphia will attempt to answer these questions. There will be numerous notable speakers and sessions beginning at noon Monday, November 11, and ending with the luncheon of Wednesday, November 13, on current civic battles, the development of a responsible citizenry, the preservation of strong local governments, municipal financial problems, current issues involved in the conduct of the civil service, voting methods, progress in county government, metropolitan areas, teaching self-government in the schools, guiding the civic battle, and progress and needs in state government.

Among the speakers will be League President John G. Winant, U. S. representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council; Ex-Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey; David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration; Shepherd L. Witman, director of the Council on World Affairs; John J. Mahoney of Boston University; Arnold S. Zander, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman*; Charles S. Ascher, president of the American Society for Public Administration; Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun and Bradstreet; H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary of the National Civil Service League; Norman N. Gill, director of the Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau; Harold L. Henderson, executive director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research; Keith L. Seegmiller, Washington representative of the National Association of County Officials;

(Continued on page 452)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Consider the WHOLE City

MOST Americans live in communities where the task of conducting government services is criss-crossed by municipal, county and even state lines which bear little or no relation to the facts of everyday working and living.

Almost half live in 140 metropolitan districts, defined by the Bureau of the Census as all urban areas which include a central city of more than 50,000. It is more unfortunate than most people realize that these 140 natural areas are not single, integrated units of government. Within them are more than 4,000 separate governments, not including almost 12,000 school districts. And many smaller communities with area-wide problems of local government are similarly divided up into a crazy quilt based on meaningless traditions, silly neighborhood jealousies or just plain political selfishness.

If it were not so tragic and illogical it would be funny.

For many years the National Municipal League has been working on the problem of shaping local government to the proportions of the *whole* city. Annexation, city-county consolidation, intermunicipal agreements, functional consolidation, regional districts and authorities — these and other devices have been tried. Here and there they have given some partial or temporary relief, but it must be admitted that the surface has scarcely been scratched since the League brought out its pioneer study, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas,* in 1930.

Why this serious failure? Why do we permit this senseless, costly, dangerous situation to continue while we recognize the necessity for the consolidation of schools, health districts, power districts and numerous other human endeavors?

Unquestionably it is due to the fact that thinking and understanding on the part of the people of these natural cities has lagged far behind expert knowledge. And most political leadership provides little help. Many politicos still are seduced by the notion that they must divide to conquer or preserve the existing division to stay in the saddle.

One of the most hopeful developments in recent years has been the emergence of metropolitan area citizens' planning or development councils: Louisville Area Development Council, Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council, Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh), Lane County (Oregon) Planning Council, and more and more, until now there are well over a score of such agencies promoting citizen thinking and action at the metropolitan level.

This method is so logical that it is strange it failed to come forward earlier. The ground does, after all, have to be plowed and prepared before the seed developed by the experts so long ago can really be planted.

For the most part these new groups adapt the earlier citizens' councils to the metropolitan area. They undertake to obtain representation of a fair cross-section of existing economic and civic interests, including industry, commerce, labor, education, welfare, etc. Committees or panels make studies of major functions, hold hearings, confer with officials, make recommendations. The councils disseminate information through newspapers, radio, special reports, public speeches, and mobilize public opinion and understanding behind projects as they mature. When a building program, a fiscal study, or a land use survey is called for, existing agencies are encouraged to do the jobs. The councils undertake such tasks only as a last resort.

Now, after only three years, an impressive record of achievement has been made: coordinated public improvement programs in Greater Cleveland, Kansas City, Allegheny County, the Dayton area and elsewhere, aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars; substantial progress toward reducing pollution of air and water in a number of areas; easing or elimination of transportation and traffic bottlenecks; action on housing and building codes; coordination of recreation and welfare administration; presentation of area-wide needs to state legislatures.

These are only a few of the real and important accomplishments which followed speedily when men and women finally found an effective means of stimulating their thinking as citizens of the *whole* city. In addition to progress toward the solution of specific problems, these agencies have strengthened the willingness of many responsible public officials of separate governments operating in the same area to work together constantly as a day-to-day matter.

It is an impressive record but it represents only a beginning. Most of the problem remains. There has been this heartening demonstration, however, of an ability to think, plan and act as citizens of a realistic area larger than the little suburban sleeping places. It is more clearly recognized that if the affairs of the *whole* city are badly managed it won't be long before there is little of value left to manage in the suburbs.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 450)

Charlton F. Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis; Robert E. Garrigan, executive director of the South Side Planning Board, Chicago.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries will meet Sunday afternoon and evening and Monday morning before the League's sessions open. The Proportional Representation League meeting will be held the morning of Tuesday, November 12.

Come and let's charge our batteries for the civic fights in progress and ahead!

Indianapolis Goes After Slums

Redevelopment board takes first steps in program to aid private enterprise to restore the city's blighted areas.

By **WILLIAM H. BOOK***

CITIZENS and officials of Indianapolis, like those of every other urban center, have done a lot of talking about slum clearance. Thirteen years ago several young men, with a bent toward statistics and analysis, compiled some rather elaborate figures to prove that slum areas cost urban communities a great deal of money. A typical slum area was studied and what disease and crime control cost the taxpayers was graphically set forth. If any one needed convincing, those figures proved beyond doubt that such areas are a real drain upon the rest of the community, to say nothing of the aesthetic and humanitarian aspects.

What Indianapolis did about the problem at that time was very different from what it is doing today. That was the year 1933, and Uncle Sam was just beginning to open the valves of the pipelines of federal aid. In common with sister cities all over the land, Indianapolis went hat in hand to Washington to beg a benign and philanthropic Uncle to include it in the list of cities to "make work" and prime the economic pump.

So Indianapolis awakened one day to find it was to have a federal low-cost housing project, built in one of its slum areas, for Negroes.

In 1935 the project was completed. Attractive, durable, mainly one and two bedroom apartments in 23 buildings, neatly landscaped, 748 family units were created. For the eleven years since the project was opened there has rarely been a vacant apartment, and these Negro families have enjoyed housing better than most of them had been able to obtain before.

True, they have paid less than the cost to Uncle Sam for their living space. And Uncle Sam has paid less than any other landlord would have paid to the community for the services of the municipality.

That type of slum clearance did not satisfy many people in Indianapolis. They looked with a fishy eye at the contention that this country could engage in "loss leader sales" of housing without destroying the investment of private enterprise in housing, or that even this great country could, *ad infinitum,* continue deficit financing—which has been the only way it yet has tried to finance such projects.

Some who went a little more deeply into the problem came out with the idea that while Uncle Sam might demonstrate the need for slum clearance, he could never accomplish more than a token result.

The more they talked, the more these people believed that total slum clearance is a very big job and that more slums would be cleared, and rehabilitation more soundly planned and executed, if every urban community would undertake to work out its own salvation.

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*Mr. Book is executive vice president and former governmental research director of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. Previously business director of the Indianapolis public schools, Mr. Book became the first state director of unemployment relief in Indiana in 1933, leaving the following year with a record of having established this temporary state function on a non-political basis.

Out of four years of discussion, culminating in the semi-official deliberations of the Mayor's Committee on Postwar Planning, ideas finally crystallized. In a word, these citizens concluded that there is a part for government—local government—to play, but that the main obligation rests upon private enterprise. They said, to keep their thinking clear, it's best to realize that slum clearance is not necessarily the same thing as new low-cost housing. The problem, they said, is primarily what a community should do about its blighted areas, and if that contributed some new low-cost housing, fine, but there still is a lot of vacant land available for home building in and out of our cities. So, the best use of blighted land is the goal to be reached.

It appeared perfectly obvious that private enterprise would not be able either to obtain possession of all the land in such areas without some extraordinary powers that government should probably not confer upon private citizens, or to absorb the excess cost of the "improvements" on these blighted areas, in preparing them for re-use, when so much good vacant land is available.

Finally, it was concluded, American municipal politics being what they are, that the government's part in the enterprise must be safeguarded against any predatory interest.

Out of such thinking came the Indianapolis redevelopment law, enacted by the 1945 session of the Indiana legislature. This law, in brief, creates a redevelopment district, comprised of the present city area, as a separate taxing unit. The district is given taxing powers but no bonding powers on the theory that a pay-as-you-go program is best. It is given the right of eminent domain. It is required to hold public hearings but to give property owners the right of review of the board's intentions to acquire their property. It may, however, assume possession of the property once a court condemnation order has been entered and the court-determined value has been deposited for the owner, enabling the owner to fight out in court the question of price.

Redevelopment Plan

The district must draft a plan for the redevelopment of an area and must obtain the approval of the City Plan Commission before it can proceed in carrying it out. It may clear all areas it has acquired and prepare them for redevelopment. It may transfer parts of such areas to other units of government if the redevelopment plan calls for any public use. All the property it acquires, except that transferred to another governmental unit, stays on the tax rolls.

The district may offer all parts of areas designated for commercial, industrial or residential use—in other words, for any private use—for sale to enterprisers for redevelopment. And it is empowered to establish minimum standards which these redevelopers must follow.

The redevelopment board's resources for land acquisition, clearing and replanning come from a ten-cent tax rate permitted for two years, 1946 and 1947. After that time it may levy half that amount if the appropriating bodies of the city approve.

The district is placed under the management of a board of directors, appointed for one-year terms by a board of trustees which is, in turn, named for four-year terms by the mayor, circuit judge and president of the city council. This follows rather closely a method employed in Indianapolis for management of its one municipal utility which was devised by a noted Indianapolis attorney, familiar with the peculiarities of Indianapolis politics, to prevent that enterprise from becoming political spoils.

Indianapolis Acts

Having talked a long time about slum clearance, having prepared and secured enactment of a law, Indianapolis is now in the action stage. While other cities are still talking about what they hope to do, Indianapolis is already a year and more on the road to full achievement.

The redevelopment board has been in official existence for a little over a year. It has half of its first half-million-dollar tax levy in hand. It soon will have the rest of the first half million. It has officially levied the second half million to be collected in 1947.

It has tentatively selected what is generally regarded to be the largest and worst blighted area—again, it happens, an area almost exclusively populated by Negroes—as the first area for acquisition and redevelopment. This area consists of 177.81 acres within a mile of downtown Indianapolis. Its population numbers about 1,300. A modern high school, a grade school, a church and an apartment building are in the area and will not be included in the acquisition.

Official appraisers have passed judgment on the approximate worth of the land. Lawrence V. Sheridan, an Indianapolis man of national reputation as a city planner, has been retained to replan the area. The city park department and county flood control board have agreed to pay for and take over parts of the area for park, boulevard, playground and levee purposes.

Now, while all these steps have been taken, that doesn't mean that this blighted area will be transformed into a garden spot tomorrow. The existing housing shortage has caused the redevelopment board to assure all persons living in the area that none will be displaced until other places to live have become available to them. So the board is likely to find that it has a blighted area in its possession, with all its plans ready for execution, but delayed for a year or two or even longer, until these families can have reasonable opportunity to move elsewhere.

Already it is evident that part of the area will be zoned for commercial purposes, part for multiple dwellings, part for single dwellings.

An interesting sidelight is that a philanthropic group of Indianapolis citizens, with the American Friends Service Committee and Indianapolis' famous Flanner House, Negro settlement institution, expects to acquire part of the area and use it for an experiment in self-help housing modeled on the Penncraft, Pennsylvania, plan of the Quakers. There low income families have exchanged their own labor in building new modern homes which they can own eventually at not much more than half the money outlay had they undertaken to buy instead of build.

Slums in cities like Indianapolis are different from the slums of older and larger cities. In the area selected by the Indianapolis Redevelopment Board, characterized as the largest and worst in the city, almost all housing is single or double. There are no tenements or row houses. Consequently, density of population is lower than in the areas of new apartment buildings.

Total cost of acquiring and clearing such land will be lower than in some cities where tenements or row houses must be acquired and razed. This will be modified, however, by the fact that relatively larger areas will be acquired in Indianapolis in proportion to the number of people involved.

The plan for redevelopment of the Indianapolis area will permit almost double the present population density and yet will provide a minimum space of about 6,000 square feet for single dwellings. In fact, some city planners who have examined the tentative plan have suggested that the area could readily accommodate twice the number of people with suitable living facilities. That, however, is not the redevelopment board's aim. It points out that there is no shortage of economically useful land for providing housing.

The board is proceeding on a realistic, businesslike basis in developing its plan. It hopes to salvage the maximum amount possible of service installations and even existing structures. A number of the present houses are regarded as suitable for re-use with little remodeling.

Problem of Inflation

Perhaps the most serious problem the board confronts is the effect of present inflation on real estate values and use. Pressure for housing for returned veterans, for example, has resulted in some sales within the area at far above real value. The board is very near the day when it can adopt its declaratory resolution, naming this officially as a blighted area to be acquired and redeveloped, and when it does so, that will serve as official notice to landowners or purchasers that any improvements or exorbitant new investments in the area will be at the owner's own risk.

Safeguards around the purchase and resale of the land are regarded as adequate. Competent appraisals are provided for which the board must follow. Citizens may obtain a review of any project by the judges of the five superior courts of the county sitting as a panel if they wish it. In selling land, however, the board may take into account the manner in which the prospective purchaser will improve the land as a factor in determining the successful bidder.

Of great interest to the board is the fact that local builders and nation-wide investment organizations are showing keen interest in its plans.

It is well to emphasize that the Indianapolis law is a redevelopment, not a housing, law. The citizens

(Continued on page 464)

New Light on Chicago Politics

Civic complacency cited as one factor in sordid story of link between politics and crime in the 'Windy City.'

By **JOHN S. KNIGHT***

THE shocking and sensational disclosures of James M. Ragen, Sr., racing news service proprietor who survived the fire of gangland's guns a mile or two from Chicago's largest police station [he died later], puts the question of good government squarely in every Chicagoans' lap.

Ragen's exposé of the link between Chicago politics and crime was given to State's Attorney Tuohy early in May but, for reasons best known to Mr. Tuohy's office, did not see the light of day until after the unsuccessful attempt on Ragen's life.

It is a sordid story of connivance for profit between the police, the politicians and the gangsters. . . .

The citizens of Chicago have had fair and conclusive warning from the Chicago Crime Commission that continued violations of the liquor laws and ordinances, improper functioning of the police agencies and a weak-kneed policy by the prosecutor and the courts would certainly result in an era of lawlessness unprecedented in the city's history.

This was not mere idle talk by the Crime Commission. Five murders were committed in Chicago on September 2, 1945. Three of the victims were police officers. Police records show that 31 murders were committed in the month of December 1945. Ten of these murders took place within eight days.

The record of unsolved murders is appalling. A study of Chicago crime shows that the fault lies largely with the system and not with individual officers of the Police Department.

The training program is inadequate. As the Crime Commission points out: "The day is past when an officer can be given a uniform, a star and a club and be expected thereafter to perform his duties satisfactorily without further training."

Investigative procedures are hampered because there is apparently no one department, or any individual within any department, charged with the responsibility of directing investigations. In any number of important cases, a supervisory captain, a district captain, a lieutenant of police, the chief of detectives, the homicide squad, the state attorney's office and the coroner's office have all taken turns in attempting to solve the same crime.

Is it any wonder that with such divided responsibility the results are usually negative?

There are cases on the record where individual policemen have been called on the carpet by ward com-

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mitteemen because they have been "too active" in their investigations.

It has been established that ex-convicts are running liquor joints under city license. In most of the cases where these licenses have been revoked as the result of public pressure, the Liquor License Appeal Commission of the city of Chicago has ordered them restored.

It is a sordid, sorry story of maladministration, corrupt political influences and trading favors for campaign funds. It is a story of civic inertia and an easy conscience.

What Others Have Done

The point that should be recognized is that no city is ever any better than the caliber of its local government.

To illustrate: for years the cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati and Philadelphia were in the grip of the bosses. Boss Maschke dominated Cleveland, Boss Hynicka ruled Cincinnati and the Vares called the turn in Philadelphia. They were incredibly corrupt cities in which no civic project had the slightest chance of success until it had been approved by the boss. Candidates for public office who displayed any indication of independence were snowed under at the polls.

In time, the citizens revolted and a new order was established. Cleveland and Cincinnati are now two of the best governed cities in America and even sleepy old Philadelphia is developing a civic conscience.

The situation in Chicago is not too dissimilar. Under the tender ministrations of the Kelly-Nash machine, now controlled solely by Mayor Edward J. Kelly, Chicago has anything but a savory reputation, either here or abroad. Politics has been played for everything there is in it, and the word "everything" needs no qualification.

Ed Kelly has been remarkably shrewd in winning support from both sides of the house. No man, not even our late President, shouted more loudly in the cause of humanity and the common man. By clinging to Roosevelt's coat tails in the early days of his greatest popularity the Kelly machine became so powerful and firmly intrenched that federal funds were always available for Chicago's badly needed improvements. Even a great idealist like Mr. Roosevelt could appreciate the value of votes. And how Ed can deliver!

Surprising as it seems, Boss Kelly has great elements of strength within the business and industrial elements of the city. Although his national politics are anathema to them, they look upon Ed as a "good" mayor.

They know he is a strong man and that his word is good. Under his administration, industrial strife is kept to a minimum because Ed won't stand for illegal mass picketing and doesn't mind trampling upon a few civil liberties when it suits his purpose. "If we must have a boss," the downtown clubmen chant, "why not Kelly?"

Actually, they have given up the fight against bossism because they are (1) too busy, (2) too tired, or (3) never had an opportunity to vote for a first rate opposition candidate.

Chicago is a wonderful city with tremendous possibilities for further growth and development. But these potentialities will never be realized until the citizens of Chicago realize that their city is in a transitional period between the old and the new.

True enough, Chicago makes an impressive appearance on the visitor who rides down Michigan Boulevard or enjoys its beautiful parks and beaches. The facade is imposing but behind that imposing front is a community of shacks, dirty streets, alleys littered with refuse and overrun by rats.

Yet when Louis Ruppel, former executive editor of the *Chicago Herald-American,* launched his "dirty shirt town" campaign, Chicago's business men and Mayor Kelly screamed to high heaven and even to San Simeon about the slurs on the fair name of the city.

That was the end of the *Herald-American's* venture into civic virtue.

City Is Short-Sighted

Chicago is long on big talk about staging another World's Fair, being the transportation center of the United States and the usual Board of Commerce ballyhoo. But it is incredibly short on long-range plans for the future.

It is particularly short-sighted in failing to sense the need for efficient and progressive government.

It has made little effort to discover how a great city can be freed from the grip of a sinister and powerful political gang which exchanges favors for campaign contributions, seems unable to combat vice and crime and has the effrontery to turn the school system into a subservient tool of the Kelly machine.

Chicago is apathetic toward the Crime Commission and fails to appreciate how effectively its managing director, Virgil W. Peterson, has turned the spotlight upon cowardly courts and laxity in law enforcement.

Few protests are raised against the practice of "coalition" candidates who are actually hand-picked by the machine politicians of both parties.

What's the Answer

There seems today little hope that Governor Dwight Green, who claims to control the Republican organization in Cook County, will find a first rate candidate to oppose Mayor Kelly at the next election.

The answer may lie in the city manager system which has transformed Cincinnati from one of the most corrupt cities in America to what is probably the best governed municipality in the United States.

Such a project entails a long hard fight but achievement of the goal would pay huge dividends in civic decency and free Chicago forever from the shackles which now retard further development of a great city.

The program could be advanced many years if Mayor Kelly, who is just past 70, should decline to stand for re-election on the ground that his long years in public life entitle him to spend his summers at Eagle River and the wintry months in Miami following the ponies at Hialeah.

Chicago could then embark upon its greatest "Century of Progress."

Virginia Aid Plan Spreading

Cities and counties voluntarily ask for supervision of state in program to equalize real estate assessments.

By **JOHN H. RUSSELL***

A MOVEMENT to equalize real estate assessments in Virginia has been growing steadily for a number of years[1] until today it is a swelling tide which may shortly engulf the entire state. It may even have significance for other states, holding for them the answer, as it does for Virginia, as to how to achieve state participation in local assessments without offense to local home rule traditions.

The movement has spread to fifteen of Virginia's hundred counties,[2] representing every major geographical division of the state and accounting for 27 per cent of the state's county population and 43 per cent of the total county assessed value of real estate.

It has taken into its sweep eight of the state's 24 independent cities,[3] with 62 per cent of the state's total city population and 70 per cent of the total city assessed value of real estate.

The legislative background of the movement toward equalization of real estate assessment lies in: (1) segregation of real estate to the exclusive use of the localities in 1926, (2) popular approval in 1928 of an amendment to the constitution forbidding the reimposition of a state levy on real estate, and (3) inclusion among the duties of the state tax commissioner, when that office was created in 1926, that of rendering to the localities, but only at their invitation, "advisory aid and assistance in the matter of equalizing the assessments of real estate and tangible personal property as among property owners of the locality."[4]

It is significant that county and city acceptance of the Department of Taxation's offering of system and supervision has been strictly voluntary. Legislation enacted at the 1946 session of the General Assembly only implemented the movement toward state participation by making available, on July 1, an annual appropriation of $20,000 for carrying out the assistance program already begun. The legislation also made mandatory the reassessment of real estate in counties within the next four years. Acceptance of state-locality cooperation was not, however, made mandatory.

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[1] See "The Growing Movement to Equalize Real Estate Assessments in Virginia," by the author, *Virginia Municipal Review,* April 1939.

[2] Alleghany, Augusta, Arlington, Campbell, Elizabeth City, Chesterfield, Fairfax, Henrico, Nansemond, Norfolk, Pittsylvania, Roanoke, Scott, Warwick and Wythe.

[3] Alexandria, Bristol, Buena Vista, Martinsville, Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke and Staunton.

[4] Tax Code of Virginia, Sec. 14, paragraph 6.

While the fifteen counties and eight cities which have already taken action were alike in having been long in the grip of antiquated assessment practices, they differed in choice of a corrective agency. Three differing methods have been adopted: (1) continuing boards of assessment; (2) periodic reassessments based on appraisals made by state-trained, state-recommended appraisers, serving regularly constituted local assessors; and (3) periodic reassessments made by local assessors without trained assistants but in accordance with state-recommended and state-supervised procedures.

1. *Continuing Boards of Real Estate Assessment*

The city of Norfolk pioneered in the continuing type of real estate reassessment, establishing in 1933 a three-man board whose members are appointed by the judge of the circuit court for terms of two years. The board is in continuous existence, but its annual task of review and alteration of assessed values requires less than full-time duty. It is served, however, by a full-time secretary who is also a member of the staff of the commissioner of revenue, in whose office the landbooks are prepared.

The city of Richmond next adopted in 1937 the continuing type of assessment procedure. A board of three assessors, chosen by the city council for terms of four years, is on year-round duty. It maintains extensive files, platbooks and card indexes of real estate ownership, and is continuously engaged in making additions of new and adjustments of old assessed values.

Alexandria next adopted this plan, effective January 1, 1943. One full-time assessor, chosen by the city council for an indefinite tenure, performs all the duties connected with assessing and reassessing real estate.

The city of Roanoke went from the periodic to the continuing board type in 1945. Opposition soon developed, however, and grew to the point where the board's continuation became an issue in the 1946 councilmanic election. This resulted in the choice of a council pledged to return to the periodic method.

This does not necessarily signify any backward step by Roanoke from its advanced position in modernizing real estate reassessment practice, for that position was taken in 1930 when the periodic method prevailed. With its reappraisal of real estate in that year by an outside firm of appraisal engineers and its use of a fixed percentage of the assessor-adjusted, appraised values as a reassessment, Roanoke became the first of the state's political subdivisions to make use of the method which, among the three herein described, holds the greatest promise.

Although the continuing board type has had its greatest usefulness in the larger cities, where it had a spontaneous origin, five counties[5] near large cities have, since 1942, obtained legislative authority to adopt the plan and at least two have done so.

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[5] Chesterfield, Elizabeth City, Fairfax, Henrico and Norfolk Counties.

2. *Periodic Reassessments with the Aid of State-trained, State-recommended Appraisers*

Although introduced by the city of Roanoke in 1930 and used by Elizabeth City County in 1942, the professional type of real estate reassessment for tax purposes first began to attract widespread attention under the sponsorship of the State Department of Taxation in November 1945, when Warwick County began a reassessment with state advice and state-recommended appraisers. There are now 27 professional appraisers, state-trained and state-recommended, engaged as employees of the localities in the appraisal of real estate subject to local assessment. Employing them are the counties of Alleghany (three), Augusta (six), Nansemond (four), Roanoke (six), Warwick (four),[6] Wythe (four), the cities of Bristol (two), Buena Vista (two),[6] Martinsville (two),[6] Staunton (two), and the town of Galax (two).[6]

The appraisers are not assessors; they are assistants of the assessors, the latter being chosen in each county or city as provided by statute from citizen freeholders. Far from replacing assessors, the trained appraisers tend to increase assessor dignity and improve assessor caliber. They are also a safeguard against petty and unworthy discrimination, for they "know" no one and are thus capable of putting the assessor at ease in his delicate task of equalizing the assessments of his acquaintances, be they friends or enemies. With the aid of these professional appraisers, assessors are now achieving an objectivity and impartiality otherwise impossible.

The appraisers are selected men. Nearly all are veterans of World War II, in many instances recruited through the United States Employment Offices. More than 150 applicants have been interviewed in selecting them. Most of them are graduates of Virginia colleges.

Working in teams of two and equipped with the best maps available, which in most rural areas are large-scale aerial photographs supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture, they make a house-to-house and farm-to-farm canvass of all the land within the jurisdiction of the governing agency which they serve. They carry with them printed appraisal field sheets, prepared by clerical assistants, to show for each property the name and address of the owner, the landbook description and amount of land in the tract or lot. Upon these forms they record a breakdown of the property by separate buildings, types of acreage and lot-front footage, assigning to each building, acreage type or lot a separate appraised valuation.

Prejob training of appraisers is the responsibility of the research division of the Department of Taxation. Selectees are given an initial course which normally extends over a period of two weeks. This consists of: (a) lectures on the duties and responsibilities of local officials who have to do with ordering, making or assisting in the making of a general reassessment of real estate, (b) demonstration of the uses of the appraisal sheet, (c) instruction in procedures for obtaining the maximum information from the taxpayer, (d) study of building and land classification for tax appraisal purposes, (e) use of manuals in tax appraisals, and (f) practice in appraising buildings and acreage. Lately trainees have been assigned, without compensation, to experienced teams already at work for several days of practice appraising.

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[6] Localities in which appraisals have been completed.

Upon completion of the prejob training, the trainees are recommended to the governing bodies of counties and cities seeking their services at a stipulated monthly rate of compensation. The rate of pay for appraisers varies from $250 per month for newly inducted trainees on county jobs to $375 for the most experienced in urban and industrial properties.

3. *Periodic Reassessments with State Supervision of Local Personnel*

The type of periodic reassessment described under subtitle 2 may be referred to as the "professional" method. Type 3, which differs in no way from the professional in procedures used, may be called the "systematic" method. Like the professional, the systematic method is done with state advice and supervision. It requires the use of the same type of appraisal field sheet, carried to the properties and completed by subteams of two in the same manner as in the professional appraisal. The one noteworthy difference is that in the professional method the assessors have the services of trained appraisers throughout the travel and inspection stage, whereas in the systematic the assessors act as their own appraisers. The appraisal in either case is on a 100 per cent basis. In either case the responsibility for choosing an assessment ratio and determining the assessed values is upon the assessors.

Scott County, which had not had a reassessment for a generation, used the systematic method in its 1945 reassessment, the process requiring twelve months. The reassessment was made by four assessors named by the circuit judge without regard to district representation.

Arlington and Pittsylvania Counties are making use of the systematic type in their 1946 reassessments, although varying somewhat more than did Scott from the state-recommended system and inviting a little less of state supervision.

The state-recommended system is designed with particular reference to periodic general reassessments. It is based on the premise that every good reassessment must proceed through three stages: (1) preparation, (2) appraisal, and (3) assessment and review. It assumes that the work of organizing the subteams, and the making ready of the forms, loose-leaf binders, expanding alphabetical files, and maps will be done in the first two months of the year of reassessment; that the travel and review for purposes of making the appraisal may occupy the next nine or ten months in the larger counties; and that the last four to six weeks of the year will be available for "hearings" to be conducted by the assessors for dissatisfied taxpayers.

Through newspaper advertisements, made after the appraisal figures have been totaled, the assessment ratio chosen, and tentative assessed values for each property arrived at by application of the assessment ratio to the appraised values, the taxpayers are notified of the near-completion of the reassessment and invited to appear on specified days at the office of the assessors to learn their new tax basis. An appointment will be arranged for any taxpayer who is dissatisfied with his assessment, at which time he will be shown his appraisal sheet or sheets and those of any other taxpayers within his particular interest. The chances are that in this manner the doubting taxpayer will be convinced of the fairness of the system in general and his assessed values in particular or will see them altered to meet his objections.

Today's progress in state-locality cooperation is an impressive vindication of the wisdom of the policy of state aid by invitation adopted in 1926. Previously the local governments, fretting under the threat of compulsory equalization at the 100 per cent level, had made no discernible progress. With the enactment of the 1926-28 program of tax reform, the honor system for localities in respect of the assessment and taxation of real estate was given a trial. For the first time in the state's history, full responsibility for equalization was placed upon the local governments, though at the same time the door to state assistance was opened wide. Now, voluntary cooperation bids fair to accomplish what could never be accomplished by compulsion.

INDIANAPOLIS GOES AFTER SLUMS

(Continued from page 456)

who formulated the plan never contemplated that it is possible to provide all low-income families with new housing. It can be assumed that there will be new housing within this Indianapolis area for low-income families, but there will be housing also for those of higher incomes. The board confidently expects that many such families will find the redevelopment area attractive.

Finally, the redevelopment board expects that the taxpayers of the city will profit not only by the elimination of high-cost slums but by the restored and enhanced values of these rehabilitated areas, which will soon be reflected in higher tax income to the city treasury.

The Indianapolis slum clearance enthusiasts believe they have found the answer. They think they will have sufficient return from private developers who take over their replanned areas, plus continuing smaller public contributions in the form of taxes, to extend their activity until within ten or twenty years Indianapolis will have no major slum areas. They say it's a result that Indianapolis can achieve, and it will have cost, in actual tax outlay, a very few million dollars. They look on such an expenditure as more valuable in the long run to the taxpayers of the city than a similar investment in almost any other type of public improvement. Instead of just restoring a part of the physical body of Indianapolis to good health they hope to cure the whole body.

San Francisco Upholds Mayor

Great popular interest expressed by large vote cast at election defeating attempt to recall chief executive.

By **JOHN M. SELIG***

SAN FRANCISCO retained its mayor after a hard fought recall campaign culminating in the election of July 16. This refusal to remove Mayor Roger D. Lapham provides a strong example of popular reaction against use of the recall for political reprisal. The record of the Lapham administration, headed by a businessman who is neither a reformer nor a politician, is basic to the recall story. Despite certain inconsistencies of logic and principle, recall and retention campaigns are a short critique of municipal democracy.

Although San Francisco pioneered in the adoption and use of the municipal recall it has employed this device rarely. The first judge to be recalled in the United States was removed in San Francisco in 1913. Eight years later two other judges were recalled. There was an unsuccessful attempt to remove the district attorney who prosecuted Mooney and Billings for the Preparedness Day bombing. Technicalities invalidated another recall attempt in 1917. Since then no recall was attempted, nor was any seriously considered until the recent proposal to remove Mayor Lapham.

The city charter prescribes election procedure in detail. All elective and specified appointive officials are subject to recall after completion of six months in office. An adequate recall petition must contain signatures equal to at least 10 per cent of the entire vote cast for mayor at the last general election and must allege grounds for removal. Three-hundred-word statements by the incumbent and by the opposing forces are printed at public expense in the election pamphlet.

If the petition asks for a special election, it shall be held in 30 to 40 days after filing, unless a regular election (with which it is combined) is to be held within 60 days.

The people vote upon the recall of an incumbent but do not choose his successor. Appointment to all posts vacated by recall is vested in the mayor, with provision that the Board of Supervisors shall elect his successor. An official against whom a recall election has proven unsuccessful is reimbursed by the city for campaign expenditures within the statutory limitation. Any person recalled is ineligible to hold local office for two years.

The recent recall was limited to Mayor Lapham who, though New York born and Harvard educated, has spent most of his adult life in San Francisco. Aside from periods of public service, he was associated with the shipping industry—first as a clerk and finally as chairman of the board of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company. His 27 months as an industry member of the National Defense Mediation Board and the War Labor Board gained President Franklin Roosevelt's commendation. This was stressed in the mayoralty campaign of 1943 where Lapham defeated three relatively strong opponents. His non-political approach aided Lapham, who promised "a businesslike administration devoid of politics." During the single term to which he pledged himself, he promised to study and report upon transportation and other major municipal problems.

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*Mr. Selig, who holds degrees from the University of San Francisco and the University of California, has been instructor in political science at San Francisco Junior College since 1936.

Pledges Non-Interference

The new executive decided to delegate full authority for policy determination to each commission and to hold it responsible for achieving results. He pledged non-interference in the formulation of commission decisions, as well as full support of them. Although he retained many commissioners who had served under his predecessor, several, including Park Commissioner Henry F. Budde, were replaced. The selection of two commissioners from racial minority groups for the first time in the city's history, and the creation of a Civic Unity Committee to study minority problems, were executive departures.

When the post of controller became vacant, the supervisors refused to confirm the mayor's nominee and forced him to nominate the official whom they desired. Otherwise the mayor had generally favorable relations with the supervisors, though he vetoed certain resolutions and salary ordinances.

The mayor has taken a liberal view of civic expenditure and progress. In his desire to get things done he has shown a willingness to spend tax money and to support bond issues for long deferred necessary improvements, irrespective of their voter appeal. Annual budget increases have reflected higher unit costs of public administration and represent additional services for an expanded population. To meet civic needs the mayor has suggested obtaining additional revenues from sales, occupational and other nonproperty taxes. He has stressed long-range planning of public improvements and has appointed a charter revision committee. Higher salaries for city executives gained his approval. Stricter budgetary procedure has been enforced.

The mayor, like his predecessors, has tried to solve the problem of selling the city's hydro-electric power to private or district utilities as the city does not have a distribution system. The Secretary of the Interior finally approved a plan which produces less revenue than did previous contracts.

Lapham has promoted better relations with nearby counties through visits and through a policy of cooperation in solving common problems. He acted as civic host to the International Conference which wrote the United Nations' Charter, and later flew to London in an unsuccessful attempt to have the United Nations' capital located in San Francisco or its environs.

Lapham and his commissions have occasionally made businesslike decisions on policy without waiting for prior favorable crystallization of public opinion. This independence has not always met with the voter approval gained by stalling until public opinion has made a decision, which the politician can then adopt as his own. The increase in carfare for transit rehabilitation purposes was legislated while voter skepticism was still high.

Transit System Problem

The immediate controversy which precipitated the recall arises out of the city's transit problem. Employees in the war industries and military establishments of the Bay Area placed additional strain upon the already inadequate and uncoordinated street railway systems of San Francisco. A special federal census shows that the city's population increased over 30 per cent from 1940 to 1945. The Office of Defense Transportation investigated the transit situation and in 1942 threatened federal operation of all street railway facilities unless unified control and certain reforms were effected.

Charter amendments for the purchase of operative properties of the Market Street Railway Company failed in 1942 and 1943, as in three previous elections, but an amendment for public ownership through a down payment combined with revenue loan passed in May 1944. This action was mainly an expression of faith in Mayor Lapham, who led a vigorous campaign for the measure. The amendment provided that the revenue loan should be paid out of profits of the unified system, which should charge an increased fare. Unification brought some improvement, but the basic problems of personnel and equipment remained. After the suggestions of the Office of Defense Transportation were adopted, the transit system got a few Navy buses and some purchase priorities. The system remained undermanned, however, and car service continued inadequate in the busy hours.

After public hearings, the Public Utilities Commission adopted a five-year $23,000,000 transit rehabilitation plan and decided to finance the improvements through a carfare increase. The mayor vigorously supported the commission's improvement financing plan and the Board of Supervisors upheld it. Among others, those who later headed the recall opposed it. The Office of Price Administration, on the technical claim that it had inadequate notice of the hearing, got a federal injunction prohibiting the fare rise until a further hearing was held. The mayor and public utility commissioners continued to "educate" the public to the need for higher fares in order to pay for transit improvements without increasing taxes. At the second public hearing the supervisors again upheld the increase and it became effective.

After the supervisors upheld the fare increase the first time, the recall campaign began. Although the recall committee originally filed to recall the mayor, the public utility commissioners and the supervisors who supported the fare increase, the petition against the mayor was the only one pushed. The nine charges against him included his alleged violation of a popular mandate by supporting the carfare increase, his failure to obtain the United Nations' capital for San Francisco, and a series of unsupported assertions of dictatorship, favoritism, unbusinesslike administration, etc.

The *San Francisco Progress,* a city-wide advertising weekly claiming over 100,000 unpaid circulation, has Henry F. Budde as its editor and publisher. Mr. Budde, who had served ten years on the Park Commission, was not reappointed by Mayor Lapham. Many impartial observers consider this a basic cause of the recall movement, which was led by Mr. Budde and spearheaded by his paper. The *Progress* claimed that 1,100 people wrote in endorsing its editorial suggesting that a recall be waged and that this popular movement launched the recall. The recall movement received little organizational endorsement and very few well known citizens publicly supported it.

The *Progress* employed familiar election techniques including class warfare. It asserted that the mayor represented non-street-car riders and the privileged. It appealed to and attempted to identify the recall movement with the prejudices, desires and antipathies of those groups which it did not list in Lapham's camp. The paper disapproved of the mayor's sponsorship of the carfare increase and simultaneously accused him of doing nothing while in office. It claimed that, freed from the mismanagement of Lapham's Public Utility Commission, street railway revenues from low fares would be adequate to meet all costs and indebtedness and provide better service and rehabilitation as well. It attacked the mayor because of rising municipal expenses and criticized his suggestion of ways to raise additional revenue. It blamed him for conditions over which his jurisdiction did not extend and viciously ridiculed him personally.

Recall Limited to Mayor

When the official check showed that the original recall petition had an inadequate number of valid signatures, the recallers began circulating additional petitions. Mayor Lapham publicly asked his friends to sign and did so himself in order to have the issue settled at the coming regular election. But then, the recall forces declined to submit the additional names in time for the June 4 primary. It had a legal right to do this, although the *Progress* had repeatedly asserted that the recall would appear on the June 4 ballot and that a special election was unnecessary. The people approved Lapham's sportsmanship and the cost of the special election became a campaign issue.

The movement against the recall became vigorous after the petitions had been filed. Then the daily newspapers, which had maintained a virtual blackout of news about the recall during the circulation of petitions, whole-heartedly supported the mayor and favored his retention. An anti-recall committee was formed, a professional campaign manager employed and the retention campaign was begun in earnest.

The retention campaign stressed the position that the recall was contrary to the principles of American democracy. The Lapham recall was unjust and disgraceful because it was based only upon differences of opinion and not upon criminality. The recall of Mayor Lapham before the completion of his term would be against the city's tradition of fair play. A successful recall would discourage office-seeking by men of high caliber and would disgrace the city before the American people. The mayor's removal would permit a minority to install a boss in San Francisco. The recall would exchange a good mayor for an unknown quantity—"the faceless man" chosen by the "sinister interests" backing the recall. He would be the puppet of the Board of Supervisors which elected him, and this method of election is undemocratic.

A national touch was added when *Time's* cover carried the mayor's picture and included a story on San Francisco in its June 15 issue.

Lapham Widely Supported

When the *Progress* nominated fourteen men as possible successors to Lapham and called upon its readers to choose among them in an advisory vote, all of the nominees denounced the unauthorized use of their names and most of them made strong anti-recall statements.

The Board of Supervisors unanimously condemned the election as improper in the light of recall history. Lapham was widely endorsed by organizations, and prominent political and community leaders from all important groups spoke or issued statements in his behalf.

As the election approached Mayor Lapham made three appeals for voter support. In these he defended his record and answered the charges made against him. He said that the recall was instigated by persons who wanted patronage and political influence. He asserted that San Francisco could achieve its destiny only if businesslike government was continued. In a speech directed at labor he called upon the voters to support the proposed charter amendment which formed the basis for settlement of the recently ended carmen's strike.

The exceptionally high vote at the July 16 special election was an index of popular interest. With a greater support than when he was elected mayor in 1943, Roger Lapham defeated the recall 109,526 to 73,946. Many votes in favor of the recall were actually cries of protest against the transit situation, the solution of which is still in the blueprint and order stages. The chairman of the recall forces congratulated the mayor and pledged the support of his paper behind the people's choice. The mayor stated his pleasure both at the endorsement of his stewardship and at the citizens' sense of fair play. He termed the vote a mandate and a challenge to continue his efforts in the interest of San Francisco.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Charters Sought in Many Cities

Hartford and Baltimore Will Vote in November

WIDESPREAD interest and activity in city charter revision or the preparation of complete new charters is being demonstrated. Many instances involving introduction of the council-manager form of government are noted under "Council-Manager Plan Developments" below, and last month a notable example was featured in this department—the proposed manager charter for **Hartford, Connecticut,** to be voted on in November. Several important charter proposals do not include a city manager, but embody other changes, some of them distinct improvements over present provisions.

The people of **Baltimore, Maryland,** will vote on a new charter in November. A charter revision commission submitted its draft to the city council last year[1] which accepted it after adopting several amendments. The new charter is of the strong-mayor type, in contrast to the present charter dating from 1898; it also provides for the consolidation or elimination of several existing boards and commissions.

As the result of a petition signed by nearly 5000 voters, **Richmond, Virginia,** on November 5, will pass on a proposal to elect a charter commission whose members will be chosen at the same time. If the proposal is approved, the commission will draft a charter for submission to the voters for ratification; it must then be approved by the legislature. A unicameral council and possibly also the manager plan are among improvements which supporters of the movement hope to secure.

In **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** where a council-manager charter is to be voted on as noted elsewhere, it is also proposed that the city and county governments be consolidated.

Charter changes proposed for **Omaha, Nebraska,** represent a shift away from the general trend toward centralization of responsibility in city government. Five charter amendments have been proposed which would create five citizens' commissions to take over many powers of the present city council. The amendments are subject to popular vote in November.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Abilene, Texas, on August 27 adopted by substantial majorities 49 charter amendments to create a commission-manager form of government. The existing charter is one of the few special-act charters still in effect in Texas; it was enacted by the legislature in 1911 and provided for a mayor, commission, elected chief of police and elected school district trustees. The amendments represent a compromise with determined opposition, including a former mayor. The manager is to be a business administrator rather than a law-enforcer. He recommends candidates for positions under him, but they are subject to approval by the commission. The latter has complete financial control. It appoints the chief of police and also the policemen; merit examinations for the latter are provided for. There is also a Park and

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1945, page 406.

Public Recreation Board, created in 1940. The *Abilene Reporter-News* campaigned for the charter changes, and petitions for an election were circulated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Lebanon, Missouri, recently adopted council-manager government, according to the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, which hails Lebanon as the seventh council-manager city in the state and the third in less than a year, with movements for charter reform in seventeen other Missouri municipalities.

Pelly, Texas, is reported by the International City Managers' Association as having recently adopted the council-manager plan.

Clinton, Maine, has adopted the provisions of the state optional council-manager law.

The borough of **Hamburg, Pennsylvania,** adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance on August 5.

Cap de la Madeleine and **Louiseville, Quebec,** have adopted the provisions of the provincial council-manager act.

The city of **Gaffney, South Carolina,** has a city administrator or general manager under an ordinance adopted by the present administration which is in favor of a new council-manager charter, with a council or commission of four elected at large instead of the present aldermanic form, and the abolition of the Board of Public Works, bringing water, sewers, lighting and power under a city manager.

At a town meeting held in **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** a committee appointed in March 1945 to investigate the possibility of appointing a town manager, whose duties would be combined with those of a town purchasing agent, reviewed the progress it had made. The committee plans to visit other communities where the town manager plan is already in effect.

In **Charleston, West Virginia,** at an election on August 27, a proposal for a council-manager charter was defeated by a comparatively small margin, adverse votes being concentrated in certain districts.

Vigorous support for the council-manager charter for **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** to be voted on at the November 5 election, is being given by the Good Government League, the GI Citizens Non-Partisan League and the League of Women Voters.[1]

A proposal (the "Guitteau" plan) to abandon the manager plan, with return to a mayor and a 21-ward council instead of the present P. R. council will be voted on in **Toledo, Ohio,** on November 5, petitions bearing more than the necessary 13,291 valid signatures having been filed. Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet also advocates a charter change calling for an executive mayor, abolition of P. R. and the creation of a nine-member council elected at large.

In **Ironwood, Michigan,** which has had a manager charter since 1925, a charter revision commission is at work as the result of voters' action at a recent special election.

The *Iron Mountain, Michigan, News* calls attention to the success of the manager plan in Escanaba and the recent selection of a manager in Marquette, and states that **Iron Mountain** could do as well if the five ward aldermen would delegate their administrative authority to an engineer or manager who would act for the interests of the city as a whole.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Owosso, Michigan,** with press support, is undertaking an intensive campaign for the manager plan, to be voted on at the November 5 election.

It is expected that a council-manager charter will be submitted to popular vote in **Montevideo, Minnesota,** at a special election some time after the general election in November.

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[1] See also page 482 this issue.

In **Madison, Wisconsin,** petitions for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan were filed with the city clerk on September 5. They contained 5,143 names, as compared to the minimum of 4,791 valid signatures required (15 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote). The petitions propose the manager plan with a council of seven elected at large. Unless the city council adopts the proposed charter ordinance within 30 days, the question goes to popular vote in November.

The charter commission of **University City, Missouri,** which is drafting a new charter for popular vote next spring, has approved the council-manager plan with a council of five, two to be elected at large and three by wards. It also adopted a provision that only the finance department be set up by charter, other departments or commissions to be established by ordinance as found necessary.

A change in form of city government from mayor-council to council-manager has been under study by the United Labor Council of **St. Charles, Missouri,** and was recommended by Clem Buerges, the council's president, at a general meeting of 60 citizens on August 14 at which he presided. A committee of five was appointed at the meeting to continue studies of city management and to map a plan of education for the public.

According to the Chamber of Commerce of Texarkana, Arkansas and Texas, plans are under way for an election in **Texarkana, Texas,** on a revision of the city charter to provide for a manager, and it is hoped to arrange for the same official to manage the affairs of **Texarkana, Arkansas,** under existing Arkansas state law.

The city council of **Enid, Oklahoma,** has set October 15 as the date for a popular election on adoption of a council-manager ordinance providing for a council consisting of one member from each of the city's six wards and a mayor elected at large. If the ordinance is approved, the election of the council will be in April 1947, to take office May 1 when the terms of the present officials expire.

The **Santa Ana, California,** city council and a citizens charter committee met the first week in August to analyze proposals for a new city charter, which it is expected will be placed on the November general election ballot. Public hearings are also scheduled. Preliminary proposals are for a city manager, appointment instead of election of the city clerk, treasurer and chief of police, and enlargement of the city council to seven members, three at large and four representing wards.

Santa Monica, California, votes in November on a manager charter drafted by a board of freeholders.

The city council of **Springfield, Oregon,** has decided to submit a manager plan to popular vote in November. Councilmen state that the rapid growth of the city has made a full-time administrator necessary.

The city council of **Roseburg, Oregon,** has announced plans to have a charter providing for a city manager ready for vote at the general election of November 5.

Other cities where interest in the manager plan is manifested include **New Castle, Delaware**; **Clinton, North Carolina**; **Warren, Ohio**; **Allegan** and **Sturgis, Michigan**; **Fox Point** and **New Richmond, Wisconsin**; **Mexico** and **Slater, Missouri**; **Garden City, Kansas**; **Helena** and **Kalispell, Montana**; **Farmington, Maine**; **Brandon, Vermont**; and **Ellensburg, Washington.**

Urban Redevelopment Law for Washington, D. C.

An act to further urban redevelopment in the national capital has been adopted by Congress and signed by President Truman. It established a Redevelopment Land Agency and utilizes certain other public bodies.

The land agency, two members of which are appointed by the President and three by the Commissions of the District of Columbia, has the power of eminent domain and holds title to all land acquired. It may also rent, maintain, operate and sell property acquired, but may not construct new buildings or enlarge or make major structural changes in old ones.

The National Capital Park and Planning Commission is charged with developing a comprehensive plan for the district and its environs to serve as a guide for redevelopment projects and establishment of project areas. After acquisition of the property within a project area the land agency must convey to the federal or district governments at an agreed price any land designated for public use, and sell or lease the remainder, after public hearing, to redevelopment companies for redevelopment. The National Capital Housing Authority may bid for land for public housing, but must offer greater compensation to the land agency than any offer submitted by an eligible private redevelopment company.

Minneapolis to Vote on Redistricting City

By action of the Minneapolis Charter Commission, mandatory on the city council, a referendum on redistricting the city will be held at the November election. If the people approve the present city council will be required to revamp the city wards on a basis of equal representation; and if the council fails to act within three months a committee of three city officials, headed by the mayor, is to do the job. Some wards now have two or three times the population of others.

Toledo to Scrap 800 Old Ordinances

Preparation of a streamlined one-volume city code by action of the city council of Toledo, Ohio, will involve scrapping 800 obsolete ordinances.

The new code will contain five title divisions and 33 chapters, each divided into subsections, and will be a striking contrast to the confusing systems of indexing accumulated local laws still used in many cities. The code will be bound in a single looseleaf volume keyed so that all future ordinances or amendments can be inserted in numerical order.

Merit System Sought for New Jersey Cities

Petitions have been circulated in twelve New Jersey municipalities for a referendum on adoption of civil service merit systems at the general election in November, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The cities are Englewood, Hackensack, Hoboken, Montclair, Moorestown, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, Phillipsburg, Riverside, South Amboy, Vineland and Washington.

Oklahoma Aids in Small-Town Development

The Institute of Community Development, created in Oklahoma as a state university function last year, is helping small towns build a new economy to fit the changing times. The traditional pattern of the small communities is affected by shifts in rural population aggravated by the war, a growing man power surplus, soil erosion, etc.

The question raised by all such communities seeking planning aid is, "What can we do to bring new industries to our town?" The institute helps answer this question by analyzing the economic and social resources of the community or county to determine what new industries could be best adapted to the area.

Localities apply to the institute for planning aid rather than the institute arbitrarily selecting areas for redevelopment research. The institute helps citizen groups and agencies arrange a development priority schedule based on scientific analysis of the resources available.

Inter-county planning also is being aided by the institute. Six counties in southeastern Oklahoma asked for planning research assistance to help formulate a network of regional redevelopment projects. The institute, in cooperation with other agencies, has completed a comprehensive social and economic survey of the region and work is beginning on a regional master plan.

Small Cities Expand Recreation Programs

Small cities and towns in increasing numbers are reported as initiating or increasing municipal recreation facilities for all age groups.

In Jefferson City, Missouri, eight recreation centers are now operated with receipts from a 2 per cent utilities tax. A professional recreation director devotes full time to administration of the program and is assisted by as many as fifteen part-time directors of sports, music, drama and crafts. School facilities are used for sports and manual training, and two new parks were purchased for $30,000. New fireplaces, playground equipment and other recreation equipment have been installed in both the older and the new parks. Organized play groups for youngsters have been augmented steadily by dramatics, music, reading and crafts activities including weaving, woodwork, leather work, modeling, painting and sketching.

Recreation by districts, or groups of adjacent towns, is being organized in California under provisions of the state public resources code. An example is the town of Hayward which with its outlying unincorporated communities has mobilized and expanded school recreational facilities to provide play and hobby programs for the district on a budget of some $50,000 a year. Palo Alto is another small California city with imposing recreation facilities, including a $250,000 community center. The city recreation budget is $40,000 per annum with funds derived from profits of the city-owned utilities.

In many small cities, parks and recreational facilities that began as private philanthropies have since been given support by public funds. Upper Sandusky, Ohio, for example, now finances by a one-mill tax levy a recreation park originally donated by a private citizen. Bonds sold to build a swimming pool are being retired with receipts from the pool's operation.

Fees and charges for use of recreational facilities are helping finance their maintenance and expansion in many small cities including Mesa, Arizona; Alhambra, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Griffin, Georgia.

School Teachers Strike in Norwalk, Connecticut

The city of Norwalk, Connecticut, was the scene of a strike of organized teachers in the first two weeks of September, keeping 6,200 pupils from attending the public schools. Members of the Norwalk Teachers Association to the number of 225 refused to sign contracts for the 1946-47 school year and sought an increase of $90,112 (reduced from an original demand of about twice as great) over the appropriation of $813,000 that had been voted by the Board of Estimate and Taxation, instead of the higher budget asked by the Board of Education. Only nine teachers signed contracts.

Governor Raymond Baldwin and Dr. Alonzo G. Grace, state commissioner of education, intervened in the emergency. Dr. Grace declared that the teachers were substantially underpaid and urged the local officials to negotiate with the teachers' association, although he disapproved the organization of teachers into unions by outside groups.

On September 12 Governor Baldwin announced a settlement under which the city recognized the association, gave a $65,000 increase, and established a committee of three to study the salary situation. The lost two weeks of school are to be made up in June 1947.

It was reported that the general situation would be considered by the state legislature next year, to obtain a statutory definition of the jurisdiction of boards of education and appropriating bodies in matters such as teachers' salaries.

Florida Bar Association Studies Constitutional Revision

A committee appointed by the president of the Florida State Bar Association is making a study of state constitutions with the object of drafting a proposed new constitution for that state. It is headed by D. H. Redfearn of Miami. It also plans to conduct educational publicity so that the people of Florida will understand the need for a new constitution. Whenever a state constitutional convention is called it is expected that the groundwork performed by the committee will be of great benefit.

N. Y. Port Authority Studies Regional Airport

Coordination or integration of airport facilities in the greater New York and northern New Jersey area appears likely as a result of projects undertaken by the bi-state Port of New York Authority.

The Port Authority has recently completed a survey of the Newark Airport and has proposed a $76,000,000 expansion of field facilities on a self-supporting basis. Following the publication of the Newark survey, the Port Authority was requested by Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City to survey possible means of developing and operating the La Guardia and Idlewild airports. Officials of the authority estimate that the number of air passengers entering or departing from New York will grow from its present figure of 4,000,000 annually to 17,000,000 by 1950. By 1960, it is estimated that 32,000,000 air travelers will be using terminal facilities in the New York area.

Planners working on the basis of these estimates will be faced with the problem of expanding facilities that now handle 53 passenger planes per daylight hour in the New York area to the point where they can accommodate 169 planes per daylight hour in 1950. By 1960 it is estimated that 300 planes will be either taking off or landing in the New York area each daylight hour.

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in October

The 1946 meeting of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will be held at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City, October 21 to 24, and will mark the 40th anniversary of the assembly. The assembly will feature major problems confronting public personnel agencies during the postwar transition period and new developments in public personnel administration. Arrangements will also be made so that those attending the meeting can discuss administrative and technical problems with specialists, in personal conferences.

Conference on Governmental Information Services

The third semi-annual Kansas Conference on Government Information and Instruction Services will be held October 5 in Topeka. In preparation for the meeting the executive committee appointed three standing committees in June—one on governmental laboratory techniques, one on governmental research and one to select prospective conference members.

The purpose of the laboratory techniques committee, headed by W. T. Ward, research assistant in the office of Wichita's city manager, is to study the techniques and procedures of governmental laboratories for teachers and students, including apprentice training for state and local government positions.

The research committee, headed by Dr. Robert Walker, director of the Institute of Citizenship, Kansas State College, was created to assist in the study and recommendation of policies, methods, financing and procedures by which the conference would undertake research through the cooperative efforts of its members.

Yonkers, New York Employees Adopt No-Strike Policy

The Yonkers, New York, Civil Service Employees Association, representing several hundred city employees, on September 17 adopted a labor relations policy that renounces "the strike, sole collective bargaining, the union contract and the closed shop." This is similar to the policy adopted in June by the New York State Forum of Civil Service Employees' Association.

Florida Joins States with Training Institutes

An Institute of Government has been set up in Florida to promote in-service training of city officials and establish accurate performance standards. An advisory council composed of experienced public administrators was appointed recently to aid in the formulation of policy for the institute. The unit will be financed initially by a $15,000-a-year state appropriation.

In addition to providing extensive on-the-job training for local assessors, tax collectors, auditors, clerks and others, the institute is being designed to function as a central laboratory where the administrative techniques of efficient government can be studied and passed on to public officials and citizens.

The institute will further assist local officials by preparing manuals of procedure for carrying out the duties of their special offices. To promote fuller reciprocal understanding between the public and municipal administrators, the institute will sponsor joint sessions of citizens and officials.

The University of Washington offered its eleventh Annual Institute of Government to public officials this summer, including discussions, lectures and short courses in specialized administrative fields, and the University of Southern California is planning its fourteenth Institute of Government for next year.

AMA to Meet in November

The annual conference of the American Municipal Association is scheduled for Chicago, November 17 to 20. Pressing problems of city government which have been intensified, becoming more complicated in the postwar period, will be on the agenda.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

GRA Holds Annual Conference

Research Award Won by Chicago Civic Federation

ABOUT 250 governmental researchers and friends attended the 1946 annual conference of the **Governmental Research Association** at Ocean Side Hotel, Magnolia, Massachusetts, September 10-13.

The conference sessions covered a wide range of subjects including New Tax Sources for Cities, Public Responsibility for the Veteran, Current Problems of Metropolitan Government, Organized Labor and Public Employment, State Support of Local Services, The Role of the State in Federal-Local Relationships, and What Should We Get for our School Dollar?

Breakfast sessions were devoted to financial problems of citizen research agencies and the discussion of a health and retirement plan for agency employees. Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration, and John F. Sly, director of the Princeton Survey, took a look into the future, speaking respectively on Governmental Research in World Affairs and Citizen Research—Its Role in Future America.

Norman MacDonald, executive director of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, was chairman of the program committee and presided over a New England clambake. Richard A. Atkins, director of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, was chairman of the committee on arrangements.

The GRA certificate of distinction for 1946 was presented by Dr. Gulick to the Chicago Civic Federation for its report on the *Regulatory Inspectional Services of the City of Chicago.* The report was prepared under the general direction of Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, and Harland C. Stockwell, associate executive secretary, of the Chicago Civic Federation, and under the immediate direction of Walter S. Haldeman, engineer analyst in charge. The study was sponsored jointly by the Chicago Civic Federation and the Chicago Association of Commerce. It was the unanimous choice of the four judges from the nineteen reports entered in the competition. In addition to Dr. Gulick, judges were William C. Beyer, director, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research; Robert E. Pickup, executive director, Providence Municipal Research Bureau, and Craig M. Smith, Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, alternate for W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester bureau.

In making the presentation Dr. Gulick declared that more than 300 major research reports had been turned out by the bureaus in the last year and a half. Among the nineteen entered in the competition, a large number dealt with local taxation and finance, three dealt with county government, and the rest with state finance, education and other matters. The criteria considered by the judges in picking out the "most noteworthy piece of reasearch" included originality of subject matter, techniques and procedures, with special attention to the usefulness of the contribution not only to the city concerned but to other research bureaus and communities.

A more detailed report on the conference will appear in an early number of *GRA Notes and References,* published by the association, G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary.

Grist from Legislative Councils

The **Legislative Reference Service** of Alabama has published four new studies requested by the **Alabama Legislative Council**: (1) *Compulsory Support for the Illegitimate Child,* 25 pages, concludes that existing legislation is inadequate and makes suggestions for revision. (2) *Alabama State Printing,* 39 pages, recommends changes to correct certain practices which it finds are conducive to inefficient, inflexible and uneconomical purchasing of printing. (3) *Suggested Post-War Legislation,* 9 pages, summarizes six recommendations made by the Council of State Governments to the 1946-1947 sessions of various state legislatures, and finds Alabama defective on only two counts. (4) *A study of the Quasi-Legislative and Quasi-Judicial Functions of Alabama State Administrative Agencies,* 34 pages, finds that Alabama has "veered sharply from the separation of powers philosophy" with the result that "64 of the 110 state administrative agencies have express power to make rules, hardly distinguishable from regular law, . . . and 44 may make binding orders or decisions relative to rights or liabilities of individuals in specific cases at issue." In making these wide grants of powers, the legislature has failed to prescribe proper procedures for rule enactment and recording. Enactment of the Model State Administrative Practices Act is recommended to remedy the "confused and chaotic condition" of administrative law.

The **Committee on Legislative Research,** a permanent standing committee of the Missouri General Assembly, has published its first biennial report together with the first five of its research reports.[1] These reports do not prescribe remedies but seek to clarify the problem under consideration and suggest alternative solutions. They are: *Physical Condition and Future Use of the Confederate Home at Higginsville, Missouri,* 18 pages; *Factual Data Concerning Social Security, County Poor Houses and Eleemosynary Institutions,* 34 pages; *A Factual Report on the Question "Should the State Take over the St. Louis City Sanitarium,"* 15 pages; *State Certificates of Indebtedness of Missouri,* 14 pages; and *The Constitution of the State of Missouri with Annotations and Index,* 1945, 247 pages, which presents the new constitution along with such aids as the source of each provision with reference to the prior Missouri constitution, a table of contents, a table comparing the constitutions of 1875 and 1945, and an index.

Bureaus Survey Many Services

Public Welfare, a fourteen-page *Civic Guide to Economy in Municipal Government,* seventh in a series published by the **Tax Foundation,** New York, Charles C. Bauer, executive director, reminds us that, although welfare expenses are now low in our cities, this is the time to develop a sound welfare program for efficiency and economy in future years. The reader is given 24 questions with which to appraise welfare operations in his own city.

"Let's Understand the Problem," says the **Ohio Welfare Council,** Columbus, A. David Bouterse, executive director, in its July 26 bulletin. Ohio has three possibilities in dealing with its welfare building program—revision of the program to build less during the inflationary period, indefinite postponement, or additional money to meet increased building costs. The council thinks the 1947 General Assembly will see the "necessity of appropriating additional money . . . to make possible the welfare facilities *it recognized a year ago as being essential.*"

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[1] See the REVIEW, February, 1944, page 90; September, 1946, page 393.

Alternate methods of "Providing Tuberculosis Sanatoriums in Southeastern Ohio" are discussed in *Research Brevities* of the **Research Department of the Zanesville, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce.** "The need for action is urgent" because tuberculosis hospital facilities do not meet the "accepted standard of three beds per hospital death."

A survey of the Phoenix, Arizona, police department by the **Public Administration Service,** Chicago, H. G. Pope, executive director, is reported in a September 4 *News Bulletin* of the Public Administration Clearing House. The Phoenix department is being revamped as a result of the survey conducted for the city manager and council. The survey covers the usual matters and includes recommendation of one-man patrol cars responsible for both crime suppression and the regulation of traffic.

"Seattle's High 1945 Crime Record" is examined in a report to the Law Enforcement Committee of the **Municipal League of Seattle** by John C. Bollens, research director.

The operation and cost of the Erie County penitentiary gets the "once over" in the August 29 *Just A Moment* of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.,** Sidney Detmers, managing director.

A two-day week for firemen would force the city to levy higher taxes or reduce other city services says the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau,** Harry R. Reed, executive secretary, in its June 24 news letter. A 48-hour week instead of the 72-hour week now in effect would necessitate increasing the number of firemen by 50 per cent with an increase in cost of $180,000 per year.

"County-Wide Refuse Disposal," by the county commissioners is recommended by the **Allegheny Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, and the **Pennsylvania Economy League** in a survey published by the P.E.L., Western Division, Pittsburgh, Leslie J. Reese, director. The report in the P.E.L. *Newsletter* finds that "some communities are in the 'pigsty' stage, while others have progressed to the modern incinerator." Voluntary cooperation is considered inadequate as a solution because "it is difficult to imagine 125 governments joining in such a program."

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** Henry W. Connor, director, discusses in a three-page bulletin the financial aspects of two alternatives to the purchase and development of Newark Airport and Port Newark by the New York Port Authority: (1) continued city operation and (2) use of the land for industrial development rather than for an airport.

The **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** Lennox L. Moak, executive director, has summarized the findings and recommendations of the recent surveys on New Orleans government in a pamphlet of 100 pages entitled *The Bureau's Recommendations for Improving Government in New Orleans,* and concludes that "the final test of the validity of the changes being made is whether or not they result in improved governmental services at a cost which is commensurate with the services rendered and the ability of the community to support its local government."

The Units of Government in Alabama is a 27-page pamphlet issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** Roscoe C. Martin, director. Joseph W. Reid, Jr., the author, finds that Alabama has a smaller number of governments exercising functions in a given area than do most other states. But he believes Alabama would be better off if it could attain "the minimum of governmental machinery required for the satisfactory discharge of the duties of government."

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, in its August *Bulletin* presents "Facts About Charter Revision." In defense of the present charter, the bureau points out: "the governmental organization provided by the charter follows closely the strong-mayor or mayor-council form of government, and is basically sound." An analysis of proposed amendments shows that none involve major governmental changes. The great mass of restrictive legislation in the charter is designed to protect the public and the employees, and the length of the charter is due to San Francisco's consolidated city-county government which is complex but eliminates duplication.

For a review of a study of county infirmaries by the **Indiana Taxpayers' Association,** Indianapolis, Walter T. Horn, executive secretary, see page 493 of this issue.

The Manual for County Auditors, issued by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of Indiana University,** P. S. Sikes, director, is discussed on page 492.

Planning—City, County, Metropolitan

"We must quit sitting on our hands," concludes the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director, in *It Is Your Business.* Taxpayers are asked to review the following possible solutions of the "perplexing problems of metropolitan growth and urban taxes": annexation of unincorporated areas around Indianapolis, metropolitan health and sanitary districts, city-county consolidation, rearrangement of boundary lines so that Indianapolis would coincide with one rather than the present five townships, and the consolidation of school districts.

"Automobile Parking in Central Business Districts," states the **Urban Land Institute,** Washington, D. C., Seward H. Mott, director, in *Technical Bulletin* No. 6, July 1946, is one of the most "important single problems facing large cities today." The institute's Central Business District Council reviews progress and plans in a number of cities and discusses zoning as a method of providing parking areas, downtown parking terminals as a public utility, and state legislation authorizing municipal parking lots.

Seattle's Off-Street Parking Problem Can Be Remedied, says a subcommittee of the City-County Planning Committee in a report to the **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. Suggestions and remedies resulting from a survey in cooperation with the Citizens' Traffic Committee of the **Seattle Safety Council** include an educational campaign for motorists, construction of open-side parking garages of two or three levels, a rise in OPA ceilings on parking fees, establishment of parking lots by business interests, and amendments and changes in the city building code, state law and zoning ordinance to lessen parking garage construction costs, facilitate procurement of real estate and require that new buildings furnish off-street parking facilities. The report, carrying the league recommendations, is summarized in the July 20 issue of the *Seattle Municipal News.*

Unification, a digest of the Dayton (Ohio) City Planning Board's *Report on Annexation,* 1946, can be obtained without charge from the **Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager. An eighteen-page summary of the 94-page report, it gives in brief the advantages and disadvantages of annexation, cost of annexation, and an analysis of nine "annexation study areas."

The City-County Planning Committee of the **Municipal League of Seattle,** has presented a report on thirteen city and county planning practices (with comparative tables) as a basis for evaluating practices of the King County Planning Commission deviating from those of comparable agencies.

The **Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau,** Norman Gill, director, in recent issues of its *Bulletin Series,* discusses respectively "Pending Reorganization of the City Planning Body," "Redistricting—Maps and Charter Changes," and "Public Land Acquisition Policy Desired."

Importance of water in city planning and development is graphically demonstrated in *Waterlines—Key to Development of Metropolitan Los Angeles,* (39 pages, 50 cents), prepared by Charles W. Eliot, assisted by Donald F. Griffin, and designed by Carl C. McElvy. The study was published by the **Haynes Foundation,** Los Angeles, Miss Anne M. Mumford, executive director. Photographs, maps and panoramas, with a minimum of text, show the effects both of "too little" and of "too much" water; methods of correction; and possibilities in "multiple purpose projects" which combine the control or use of water with recreational and transportation objectives.

"Water From Distant Upland Sources" is the subject of the June 18 *Citizen's Business,* **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director. The report questions the value of three proposed sources for Philadelphia in the light of the greater cost of such water than of water taken from the nearer Delaware.

Citizen's Business for June 25 urges "An Origin and Destination Survey for Philadelphia" as necessary for sound highway planning.

Personnel Administration, Pensions and Payrolls

"There is no single economy which will net such savings or promote such efficiency as may be realized through the feasible improvement of the quality of the public personnel."—Mosher and Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration.*

Personnel is the subject of *Civic Guide to Economy in Municipal Government,* No. 6, issued by the **Tax Foundation.** The *Guide* quotes the statement above and outlines elements of a modern personnel administration through a director responsible to the chief executive and a board limited to matters of policy. Twenty questions are posed to aid the citizen in the appraisal of his local personnel program.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** in *It Is Your Business,* warns its readers to "be realistic about the city budget." Noting that two-thirds of the city budget is appropriated for personal services, the report holds that instead of arguing that those services should be decreased, a comprehensive personnel program should be instituted to insure "more value received for dollars rendered."

The **New York Citizens' Budget Commission,** John A. Bryson, acting executive director, in *For Better Personnel Administration in the City of New York,* 48 pages, prepared by Louis E. Yavner and Edith Baikie, recommends "an integrated program to cut waste, unproductive overhead and lost motion from the city's personnel administration." The basic proposals for "promoting still higher standards in the civil service" are: preparation of a sound position-classification, standardization of salaries, appointment of competent personnel officers, establishment of a municipal council of personnel administration, development of an effec-

(Continued on page 504)

Citizen Groups Organize for Manager Campaigns

Chattanooga and Hartford to Vote on New Charters

MANAGER charters to be submitted to the voters of Chattanooga and Hartford at the November 5 election will both have the support of strong citizen groups.

The campaign to secure the manager plan for Chattanooga is spear-headed by the newly formed **Chattanooga Good Government League,** launched under the sponsorship of 172 of the city's leading citizens and welcomed by newspapers, GI's, women's groups and other civic-minded organizations.

The public relations committee of the **GI-Citizens Nonpartisan League,** already working for the proposed manager charter, announced that "The league heartily endorses the good government movement just launched by Chattanooga's leading businessmen and it deeply appreciates their enthusiasm for effecting an improvement of the local political situation."

The *Chattanooga News-Free Press* welcomed the new organization editorially: "A tide of public sentiment for good government is sweeping this section today," it commented. "The sponsoring committee of the new Good Government League includes business and professional men, leaders of thought among women, representatives of union labor and all other classes . . . a cross section of the very finest citizenship of Chattanooga. . . . We hope to see the new league go into the various suburbs and interest the people in the vision of a great city that can be built here. Now is the time when the foundation can be laid for making this dream come true."

In accepting the chairmanship of the new league, D. H. Overmyer, civic leader and manufacturer, asserted: "The league plans to function as a continuing organization devoted to the maintenance of the best possible government and the highest type of public service in and for our city. The league believes the first step in having good government lies in the adoption of the city manager plan. A referendum vote will be held November 5 for a determination of this issue. A vigorous campaign will be conducted to acquaint the people with this up-to-date system of local government and all features of the city manager plan will be explained in detail.[1]

"The Good Government League invites every citizen who is genuinely interested in good government for Chattanooga to ally himself or herself with our organization."

As a prelude to the election a campaign was conducted to induce citizens to pay their poll taxes before the September 6 deadline so that those interested in adoption of the manager plan might be eligible to vote. Payment of the tax was facilitated by the use of authorization cards provided by the Good Government League with which prospective voters too busy to go to the courthouse could give power of attorney to the league for payment of their poll taxes. The **League of Women Voters, Junior Chamber of Commerce,** veterans, and other civic groups cooperated in distribution of the cards. Veterans and non-veterans staged a "poll tax march" on the courthouse to secure poll tax receipts and arouse civic interest.

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[1] The council manager provisions to be voted on at the November election were enacted by the 1945 state legislature.

Hartford Manager Campaign

The **Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford,** organized to support the proposed council-manager plan charter to be submitted to the voters in November, has announced that Former Mayor William H. Mortensen, who appointed the commission, has been made honorary chairman of the committee. Mrs. Thomas J. Spellacy and Charter Commissioner John H. Hurley have been named as co-chairmen of the committee in active charge of the campaign for the charter's adoption.

Mr. Mortensen described the new charter as "the most important proposal of its kind to come before the people of Hartford in this century. . . . I urge every intelligent citizen to inform himself on the essentials of the charter and to help pass this information on to his family and friends and neighbors. For if our people understand what the charter means to the city, how can they fail to endorse it overwhelmingly in the election this fall? . . . Hartford can no longer afford to muddle along with a system of municipal government that is entirely out of character with the city's reputation as a center of commerce, industry and culture."

New Civic Groups in Action

In a full page advertisement in the *Knoxville (Tennessee) News-Sentinel,* the **Good Government Group** of that city[1] asks readers to express their opinion for or against its "Proposed Statement of Objectives." Listed are six proposals:

(1) Improvement of the quality of service and the financial situation of local governments by elimination of waste and loss through inefficiency; elimination of duplicating facilities furnished by the county and city; and consolidation of functions by contract or statute wherever practicable.

(2) A planned program for permanent improvements by the county and city properly related to each other, timed according to relative need and importance and the financial ability of the citizenship to pay the cost.

(3) A redistricting of the county to provide for a court of seven justices elected from districts proportioned according to population and not appointed by legislative act; and the appointment of a county manager as chief executive officer of the county.

(4) A reduction of the number of city councilmen from eleven to seven; all councilmen to be elected from the city at large; councilmen to serve for four years, be ineligible for re-election and terms to be staggered.

(5) A uniform system of civil service selection, tenure, retirement and pensions for all future employees of local governments.

(6) The application of each of the foregoing principles to the existing situation requires further investigation, public hearings and the preparation of contracts and legislation. It is therefore recommended that five committees of five members each be appointed to recommend action to be taken on each principle; that a member of the Bar of Knox County be requested to serve as counsel to each committee; that the Good Government Group pay such incidental expense as may be necessary for the proper functioning of each committee.

Early 1946 saw the founding of the **Bridgeton (New Jersey) Citizens League** by a group of merchants, professional men, housewives, homeowners and others interested in securing better government services. The purposes of the league are: (1) To promote efficiency and economy in government; (2) to represent the interests of the general body of citizenry in opposition to governmental extravagance and mismanagement; (3) to foster public interest in better government; (4) to conduct research into governmental problems. Under the direction of Hugh R. Catherwood, until recently executive director, the league has secured nearly 600 members and has published the results of several administrative surveys.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1946, page 199.

Chicago Groups Ask Vote Fraud Investigation

According to a bulletin of the **Chicago Civic Federation,** County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki has ordered a complete investigation of irregularities and fraud in connection with the vote cast on city bond issues at the June 3 election. Action was taken on receipt of a letter and statement addressed to Judge Jarecki by the Civic Federation and the **Joint Civic Committee on Elections,** represented on which are the **Chicago Association of Commerce, Chicago Crime Commission, Citizens Association, City Club, Woman's City Club,** and **League of Women Voters.** "Careful scrutiny of the canvassed returns on the bond issues," say these organizations in their communication, "raises grave doubt as to the legitimacy of the casting and counting of the votes in several hundred precincts. . . . The public is entitled to just as much assurance as to the honest casting and counting of votes on public measures as it is to the proper casting and recording of votes for the selection of public officials."

The Executive Committee of the Chicago Civic Federation has also protested the use of public funds to influence referenda votes. Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary of the organization, in a letter to the Cook County Board of Commissioners, opposes the use of $10,000 by the County Judiciary Advisory Council for the purpose of "stimulating affirmative votes on the so-called 'Gateway' amendment to the amendment article of the state constitution which will be voted on in November." This amount had been budgeted to the Council for necessary expenses. Two reasons are advanced by the federation for its protest: (1) the reported contemplated use of the fund for the purpose of propagandizing on matters to be submitted to public vote "does not constitute a lawful corporate purpose of the county and such use is contrary to sound public policy"; (2) it is no part of the work of formulating a legislative program for statutory or constitutional change to prepare and distribute literature or other propagandistic matter in any form, or to prepare and publicize statements through any medium for the information and influencing of the voters.

Qualifications for Student Government Leadership

The **National Self-Government Committee** (Richard Welling, chairman) has issued a four-page leaflet by Edgar G. Johnston, of the School of Education, University of Michigan, on "Preparation for Student Government Leadership Through the Training of Sponsors." In his article Professor Johnston comments that "effective sponsorship, like intelligent parenthood, isn't something that 'just happens.' To make a vital contribution to the work of a student council the prospective sponsor needs to display a combination of personal qualities, practical experience and preparation for the responsibilities to be assumed." He lists five "definite phases or characteristics" which should be included in preparation for such sponsorship:

"1. *Development of a sound phil-*

osophy of education grounded in sympathy for democratic processes and institutions. A good many teachers are afraid of democracy. They lack abiding faith in the judgment and responsibility of young people. Others have never thought through the implications of democracy for school practice and procedures. By many, democracy is thought of as a precarious balance between regimentation and anarchy.

"2. *Thorough acquaintance with the development of student participation and of the activity movement in general.* Recent books and pamphlets dealing with the organization and activities of a student council and magazine articles in professional journals will give the new sponsor many suggestions on council responsibility and concrete projects undertaken by councils in other schools.

"3. *A practical understanding of adolescent boys and girls.* What makes them tick? What driving forces move them? What are their likes and dislikes? Fears and ambitions? Why does a group accept one leader and reject another?

"4. *Actual experiences in working with young people in voluntary activities.* Most of our teacher-training institutions provide ample opportunity for practice teaching. Few of them give similar guided experience in working with young people in the more informal associations of club and council and homeroom. It is the testimony of many teachers that they needed this kind of preparation for future responsibilities even more than the directed classroom instruction, since the situations they meet in sponsorships are so much more varied and techniques have been less fully developed.

"5. *Progressive appraisal of those qualities which make for success in work with young people.* Young people are usually frank—sometimes brutally frank—in telling what they like and dislike about teachers. The virtues they list may not always coincide with the teacher-trainer's decalogue, but they're likely to furnish a pretty effective criterion of success in sponsorship. . . . The sponsor needs to learn to 'control that impulse' to manage things himself rather than to let young people grow by planning and working together and even by making mistakes."

Toronto Holds Electoral Improvement Conference

A conference on the date of holding municipal elections and improvement of municipal election procedure, appointed by the Toronto City Council, has been meeting to discuss election problems and their solution. Represented are the **Board of Trade, Canadian Manufacturers Association, Canadian Corps Association, Provincial Command of the Canadian Legion, Women Electors' Association, Municipal Chapter, IODE, Women's Get Out the Vote Committee** and municipal officials.

F. D. Tolchard, general manager of the Toronto Board of Trade, reported on the efforts of his organization to discover why so large a percentage of eligible voters fail to vote. During the past ten years, he said, the highest vote was recorded on New Year's Day 1939 when 44.04 per cent of the eligible votes were cast. The lowest was on the same day in 1942 when only 19.4 per cent of the voters came to the polls. Mr. Tolchard reported that representatives of the Board of Trade interviewed some 748 voters as to whether New Year's Day or some other holiday or a working day was a satisfactory time for voting, what were considered satisfactory hours of voting, the voter's interest—or non-interest—in civic affairs and, if they did not vote, their reasons. A report on the interviews is contained in the minutes of the electoral conference meeting of June 3. Toronto's Controller McKellar is chairman of the conference.

Self-examination

"How Effective Are You Politically?" questions the **National League of Women Voters,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, in its monthly publication *Action.*

> You cook, you wash, you sew a
> fine seam—
> A model housewife, you're on the
> beam!
> But what's your voice in how government goes?
> Test yourself here, with your
> "yeses" and "noes."

Following the jingle are a series of 26 questions for the woman voter to answer—Do you like to vote? Would you skip voting if it were raining? Would you consider becoming a member of the school board or a city council? The last time you voted—wait a minute—did you vote at the last election? etc., etc. "Total your 'yeses' and 'noes'," continues the test, and "see how you rate." Perhaps a few members of the male persuasion might try the test to their civic betterment.

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Suggested Constitution

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association** at Nashville, William R. Pouder, executive secretary, has issued a "Suggested Form of Constitution for County Taxpayers' Associations," revised as of August 16, this year. The suggestion should be of help to voters everywhere who are interested in citizen organization.

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Get-out-the-vote by Radio

Because only a third of the registered voters cast their ballots in the local primaries of 1944, the **Citizens' Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri,** decided something must be done about the situation. Beginning a week previous to primary day, it conducted a series of broadcasts designed to stir up interest among the voters. The first program explained the necessity for citizen participation in local government through the ballot. Subsequent broadcasts gave a brief history of the offices to be filled with a description of their duties and functions and qualifications of candidates.

* * *

"Pattern of Progress"

"An experience-sharing report" is what the **Chamber of Commerce of the United States** terms its new service to member organizations. Believing that when a local chamber has made some substantial contribution to community life the word should get around so that others may "go and do likewise," the organization is publishing *Pattern of Progress,* each issue telling of some community project. A single sheet which can be folded to fit a No. 10 envelope describes such activities as the radio program which the **Beaumont, Texas, Chamber of Commerce** sponsored to inform the public of the work of the chamber and other civic groups; the living war memorial—a coliseum—for which **Winston-Salem, North Carolina,** citizens raised approximately a million dollars; a community "face-lifting" project initiated by the **Corning, New York, chamber**; a rural fire prevention program in the area about **Shawnee, Oklahoma.**

* * *

Urge Registration

The **Municipal League of Toledo** has joined with other local groups in an all-out effort to secure a 100 per cent registration among their memberships before October 7, the last day for registering in Ohio. Ronald E. Gregg is executive secretary.

The league reports that it prepared three radio talks based on the "History of Nonpartisan Government in Toledo," which were broadcast over WTOL by the **Toledo League of Women Vot-**

ers. Mrs. Henry Miller, president of the latter organization, has announced that another series is planned for early fall.

* * *

Build for Tomorrow

"It is a healthy sign," says the *City Manager's News Bulletin* of Kansas City, Missouri, "when people begin to realize that they are a part of their government—when they exchange the question, 'What's the city going to do about it?' to 'What can we do about it?'" "Build for Tomorrow" radio programs, presented on Saturday mornings over a local station, are using this for their theme. At each broadcast one of the coordinators of the city's Community Service Staff presents members of the community councils within her area to discuss council activities. Through participation and knowledge of the purpose of the neighborhood community council programs, it is hoped that citizen interest in local problems will be stimulated.

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Organization for Recreation

A newly formed group is the **Citizens Recreation Council,** organized by Cincinnati individuals and civic bodies. Believing that Cincinnati, which prides itself on its civic conscience, does not have a recreation program up to the best American standards, the council has already taken action to improve the situation. It has requested the Recreation Commission to open and advertise to nation-wide competition all civil service examinations in the Recreation Department; it has requested that a temporary director of recreation be supplied or lent by the National Recreation Association until a permanent director is appointed and that an open, competitive examination be held at once to fill the position.

The **Hamilton County Good Government League** (Mrs. Mark G. Feder, secretary), which aided in the organization of the Citizens Recreation Council, reports that the city council has before it a proposed change to the city charter calling for abolition of the independent Recreation Commission and creation of the office of recreation director under the city manager. If adopted by the council, the amendment will be submitted to the voters of the city for adoption.

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Recent Publications

Edward W. Carter, of the University of Pennsylvania, and W. Brooke Graves, of Bryn Mawr College, are authors of *The Science of Citizenship,* published by the **American Citizenship Foundation** of Newark, New Jersey, of which Charles O. Frye is organization director. The publication of some 50 mimeographed pages is "A course outline for use in colleges and universities." It covers citizen study groups, rights and responsibilities of citizens, areas of citizen activity, specific fields of citizen study, citizen public opinion agencies influencing government, and citizenship and its values under other forms of government. An appendix by Mr. Frye deals with "organizational structures and technical processes for each level of government" and "program and charts for conducting citizen surveys of local and general units of government."

The **Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship,** at Ottawa, is publisher of *Community Centres,* by John P. Kidd (116 pages, 50 cents). The book discusses the need for community centers, how to plan for them, where and what to build and how to furnish, operation and financing, the possibility of government grants, use of schools, and—last but not least—the program for community centers. Suggested activities cover social, cultural, educational and recreational projects. It is an excellent guide, but there is little said on "education for citizenship."

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Congressional Elections Appraised

Country-wide Analysis Shows Many Inequities

WILL the forthcoming congressional elections give accurate representation to the nation at this time of world crisis? Perhaps. But the following analysis of the last congressional elections indicates that under our present system of plurality choice in single-member districts the chances are slight.

In order to determine the effectiveness of representation it is necessary to collect separately the votes cast for successful and defeated candidates, respectively, of each party. Persons who voted for defeated candidates, although they had a limited opportunity to secure representation, did not actually obtain representatives, since the election system operates to represent only the most numerous group in each district. In the 1944 election some 37 per cent of the voters failed to obtain representation.

The prevalence of a virtual one-party system in nine southern states instead of the more usual two-party system requires separation of the results in those states in order that the special conditions resulting from the one-party system should not obscure the data relating to the operation of the two-party system elsewhere. Practically all the votes cast in the nine southern states in question were in favor of the candidates elected, but because of the light total vote in these sections, compared to total population (on which apportionment rests), these three million voters elected a much greater proportion of the House of Representatives than any other three million.[1] Outside the south a considerable portion of the vote went for unsuccessful candidates, 44.7 per cent of the Democratic vote and 33.6 per cent of the total Republican vote being cast in favor of defeated candidates.

In the preparation of totals such as these, local inequalities (disproportionate population of districts and the effects of gerrymandered boundaries) tend to even out. The distribution of votes in individual states must be examined to obtain the full picture. Thus the vote for Democratic candidates was 43 per cent of the total in Iowa and 36 per cent in Kansas, but these votes failed to elect any of the fourteen representatives from those two states. On the other hand, although 30 per cent of the vote in North Carolina was for Republican candidates, every one of the twelve representatives elected was a candidate of the Democratic party. In New Jersey Democratic voters cast 46 per cent of the vote, but succeeded in electing only two out of fourteen representatives (14 per cent), whereas in Kentucky it was the Republicans who cast 46 per cent of the vote and succeeded in electing only one out of nine representatives (11 per cent).

In the table no account has been taken of changes resulting from recent by-elections in a few particular districts to fill vacancies, by which the Republican strength in the House was slightly increased. It may also be mentioned that the 79th Congress was not noted for party regularity in its voting. The *New York Times* observed recently that on most of the important legislation 36 Democratic members voted consistently with the Republicans and ten Republican members voted consistently with the bulk of the Democrats.

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[1] Although the light vote may have been due partly to lack of close contests, it also reflects other factors such as limitations on the right to vote.

The subject of representation in Congress cannot properly be closed without mentioning that the District of Columbia, containing more adult citizens than any of a dozen states (1940 census), is without any representation in Congress, as are also the considerable number of citizens who are residents of Hawaii and other territories. The colonial political status of the national capital is a remarkable phenomenon, but it is not entirely unique since the commonwealth of Australia has likewise failed to enfranchise the residents of Canberra, its capital. These two capitals, to which the Atlantic Charter is not yet fully applied, are also without municipal self-government.

H. G. Wells
1866-1946

H. G. Wells, who died in August, was an outspoken champion of proportional representation, which he regarded as an obvious common-sense improvement in democratic governmental institutions and one already long overdue when he published his brilliant remarks on the subject in 1918.[1] He insisted particularly on the superiority of the single transferable vote method of P. R. as against other systems which do not give the voter so complete a choice among candidates.

Wells' impatience with the slow pace of the evolution of civilization gave his writing a rare forcefulness in those instances in which his competent mind had not been derailed by the emotions generated by that very impatience. His characteristic fretfulness eventually overcame his interest in improving the forms of democracy. When

House of Representatives, 1944 Election

	Total Votes in Millions	*Percentage of Votes*	*Total Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Democratic party, except south				
(1) Successful candidates	11.15	24.7	153	35.2
(2) Defeated candidates	9.18	20.2	0	0
Democratic party, south[a]				
(1) Successful candidates	3.01	6.7	91	20.9
(2) Defeated candidates	0.04	0.1	0	0
Republican party				
(1) Successful candidates	13.76	30.5	189	43.5
(2) Defeated candidates	7.47	16.6	0	0
Minor parties and independents				
(1) Successful candidates	0.13	0.3	2	0.5
(2) Defeated candidates	0.36	0.8	0	0
	45.10		435	

[a] The following states only: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Except for several districts in Virginia there were few Republican votes cast in those states. Oklahoma, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Maryland are not included because they have a closer approach to the two-party system.

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[1] See especially the passages of *In the Fourth Year,* quoted in Hoag and Hallett, *Proportional Representation* (1926), pages 17, 21. In 1924 he published *The P. R. Parliament,* a pamphlet.

he found that his championship of P. R. did not bring about its immediate adoption in spite of the obvious merits he had pointed out, he began to doubt if public opinion was worth being faithfully represented, just as he lost interest in politics and the Labour party after a few unsuccessful ventures as a candidate[2] and just as he resigned from the Fabian Society when he found he could not make it over in six years.[3]

Long before these disillusions he had toyed with the notion of the salvation of the public through a political elite group.[4] About 1925 he ceased his agitation for improvements in the effectiveness of popular control of government and reverted to the philosophy that favors control of public policy by a self-appointed collection of persons professing a deeper-than-average interest in the public welfare.[5] He was strangely unable to grasp the full significance of unhappy contemporary experience with government by elite groups, although he understood something of the nature of that experience, as is apparent from his novel *The Holy Terror* (1939). The happy ending in that book is deceptive: the police state once it is established is not so easily upset—the major examples in recent times have been upset only by the military victory of foreign nations.

While H. G. Wells was exploring the dubious short cuts to political salvation rather than following the more pedestrian reforms he had once found so promising, more patient souls made the Labour party the country's dominant political organization. Others, including members of all parties, have quietly carried on the work of the British Proportional Representation Society: doubtless it too will in time bear full fruit. W. R.W.

Another Referendum on Toledo Charter

The necessary signatures having been filed, a proposal will appear on the ballot in Toledo this November to replace the P. R.-council-manager government of that city with a mayor-council government similar to that superseded by the present charter in 1934.

This is the fourth attempt to repeal either the P. R. provisions or the entire charter, the third having been made only last year.[1] The previous referenda showed an increasing majority of the vote for the charter, the vote last time having been 64 per cent in favor.

The present proposal would provide a directly-elected mayor and would substitute a council made up of one member from each of the 21 wards of the city for the present council of nine members chosen by proportional representation at large.

P. R. League to Hold Annual Meeting

The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting on Wednesday, November 13, at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia. As has been its custom for many years, the league will hold its meeting in conjunction with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, with which it is now affiliated. This is the first meeting of the League since that held in St. Louis in November 1941, just previous to Pearl Harbor.

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[2] See the biography by Geoffrey West (1930), pages 217-218.

[3] West, *op. cit.* 145-154. See also the illuminating version in Wells' *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934).

[4] *Anticipations* (1901).

[5] *Democracy Under Revision* (1927); *The Open Conspiracy* (1928).

[1] See the account in this department for December 1945.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Baton Rouge to Vote on City-County Proposal

Local Consolidation Path Paved by New Legislation

TWO proposed constitutional amendments and three new statutes, applicable to the city of Baton Rouge, the parish (county) of East Baton Rouge within which the city lies, and the other municipalities in the parish, were passed by the 1946 Louisiana legislature. They are designed to bring about more unified or better correlated government, governmental services and planning in the parish and its municipalities.

The chief constitutional amendment, which will be submitted to popular vote in the state on November 5, provides for the creation of a city-parish charter commission to prepare a plan of government for the parish and all municipalities within it. Such plan may involve the consolidation or reorganization of all or parts of the local governmental units within the parish. It shall establish separate urban areas, rural areas and an industrial area or areas. The provisions of the state constitution relating to taxation by municipalities would apply in the urban areas and the limitations relating to parish taxation would apply in the industrial and rural areas.

Any proposed plan of government is to be submitted to the voters of the parish at a special election.

Three of the nine members of the city-parish charter commission are to be appointed by the police jury (equivalent to county commissioners) of the parish; only one of these shall be from the city of Baton Rouge. Two members are to be appointed by the Baton Rouge Commission Council. One member is to be appointed by each of the following: East Baton Rouge School Board, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce, the director of the State Department of Public Works, and the president of Louisiana State University.

The other proposed constitutional amendment would create a comprehensive recreation and park commission for the entire parish, subject to such plan of government as may result from activities of the city-parish charter commission. It is also to be voted on in November.

The chief statute of the three referred to provides for a parish planning commission of five members appointed by the police jury; one member is to come up for appointment each year. It is to prepare and adopt a master plan for the unincorporated area of the parish, covering streets, railroads and other transportation routes, public buildings, schools, zoning, etc. Its determinations as to streets and other facilities may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the police jury.

A similar bill provides for a city planning commission of from five to nine members.

The third bill establishes an East Baton Rouge school board of seven members, to be elected in 1950 for six-year terms to supersede the present board; four members are to be elected at large from a portion of the parish and three from the remainder.

The legislative program was based largely on the work and recommendations of the City-Parish Planning Committee of Baton Rouge and—as to planning—of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, who have been employed by the public authorities. Dr. Thomas H. Reed was engaged by the committee in connection with the governmental aspects of the program.

H. M. O.

Other City-County Consolidations Proposed

Citizens of Missoula and Missoula County, Montana, acting under provisions of state law, are circulating petitions asking that the question of consolidation of the county and "all cities and towns therein into one municipal corporation, . . . to be known and designated as 'City and County of Missoula,'" be submitted to the voters at a special election to be called by the Board of County Commissioners.

The mayor of Chattanooga, Tennessee, recently has proposed that the government of that city be consolidated with Hamilton County.

Petitions for County Charters Circulated

Reports indicate that petitions for adoption of county charters are being actively circulated in St. Louis County, Missouri, and Siskiyou County, California.

Michigan Again Considers County Reform

The Michigan Institute of Local Government, an organization of county officials, has, after more than a year of study, announced its sponsorship of a proposed constitutional amendment to modernize county government in the state. It marks the latest attempt in a series of similar efforts extending over the past quarter century. From 1922 to 1934 proposed constitutional amendments and statutes died in the state legislature. In 1934 and 1936 proposed constitutional amendments were defeated in popular referenda. In 1942 and 1944 amendments affecting Wayne County only were defeated in referenda.

The institute's plan would give the counties home rule powers roughly comparable to those exercised by cities and villages in the state. An election could be called on an initiative petition or on a two-thirds vote of the county board. If a favorable simple majority vote is received, the election of a charter commission of nine, fifteen, or twenty-one members, depending upon the size of the county, must take place within a year. The charter it prepares must then receive a favorable vote (1) in the largest city, (2) in all territory outside the largest city, and (3) in a majority of the cities.

All counties would retain their large boards of supervisors, but the charter could provide for a county council of nine, fifteen, or twenty-one members, depending upon the size of the county, which would exercise many powers delegated by the board of supervisors. The council would be selected by the board and could include board members.

A county chief executive would be optional under the charter plan. A controller or board of auditors and a public works commission, however, would be required of any county adopting a charter.

A retirement system would be required of any county adopting a charter, but the merit system would be required only if there was one already operating. The elective county officials of sheriff, treasurer, clerk, register of deeds and prosecuting attorney would have their terms of office extended from two to four years.

Manual Prepared for Indiana County Auditors

The Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University has issued a 208-page *Manual for County Auditors* *of Indiana.* It was prepared by careful examination of statutes, opinions of the attorney general, court decisions and other official material. Close cooperation with the Auditors Association was maintained at all times.

The duties and functions of auditors are listed first chronologically and subsequently discussed in greater detail under a topical arrangement. Subjects include the duties of the auditor in relation to various phases of county financial administration, such as accounting, assessment, collection of taxes, budgeting, borrowing and purchasing. Other topics include the duties of the auditor in relation to highways, school administration, county welfare, bridges and ferries, and ditches, drains, levees, water-courses and floodgates.

Rural Roads Analyzed in U. S. Report

A recent report of the U. S. Public Roads Administration reveals that of the nation's three million miles of rural roads 2,400,000 miles are under local government control. In regard to construction of the roads, 48 per cent of the nation's rural mileage is surfaced. Of the unsurfaced mileage, 90 per cent is under county or other local jurisdiction. Of total mileage under local jurisdiction, 59 per cent is unsurfaced.

Rural Roads Planned in Sussex County, New Jersey

In conformity with a resolution passed by the 1945 General Assembly of New Jersey, the State Highway Department has chosen Sussex County, New Jersey, as a typical county in which to experiment with a dirt road improvement program. A survey revealed that all of the 80 miles of state highways and the 281 miles of county highways were improved, but that only 60 per cent of the 763 miles of municipal roads, under the jurisdiction of fifteen townships, eight boroughs, and one town, was improved. The highway department is planning a systematic attack designed to improve most of the remaining unimproved mileage and thus establish a model for other counties to emulate.

County Infirmaries Close Slowly in Indiana

A study made by the Indiana Taxpayers Association shows that only four of Indiana's 92 county homes have been discontinued in recent years despite increased home aid through public assistance. The four which were closed include the Clark County Infirmary, which was taken over by the federal government for war purposes after arrangement was made with Washington County for the care of inmates; Harrison County, which arranged with Floyd County for the care of its inmates; Martin County, which made a similar arrangement with Dubois; and Ohio County, which discontinued operation of its infirmary several years ago.

The investigation revealed that in 35 Indiana counties there were less than twenty inmates in each county infirmary on January 1, 1946. Six counties had less than ten inmates and one had but three. The total disbursement for the 88 infirmaries in 1944 was $1,388,099 and $1,505,362 in 1945. The average age of the inmates was about 55 years. They could not qualify for old-age assistance until they reached the age of 65.

The Indiana state laws governing infirmaries have been revised in recent years to enable the boards of county commissioners with the consent of the county councils to discontinue the institution in whole or in part. Consequently, the Taxpayers Association recommended that most of the counties should give the problem of the county infirmary careful thought not only in the interest of the inmates, but also in the interest of the taxpayers.

The report revealed that some counties with comparatively few inmates were considering extensive new buildings or repairs. It recommended thorough investigation of the possibility of two or more counties cooperating, and suggested that an infirmary in each congressional district might be adequate.

New York Justices Consider Reform

In a recent issue of *Justice Court Topics,* published by the New York Association of Towns, major attention was given to the problem of reform of the justice courts. The association has resumed the schools for justices which had been discontinued because of the war. The solution advanced by many lawyers, as well as laymen, merely to abolish justice courts was rejected because it ignores the question of what is to replace them. The association advocated public education to arouse sentiment for better courts, raising the qualifications of justices, standardizing fees, costs and procedures, and other similar measures. It deplored the attitude of many lawyers who consider the position of justice of peace as beneath their dignity.

Zoning Problems Multiply in Seattle Area

The Planning Commission of King County (Seattle), Washington, is requesting that its budget be increased from $16,000 to $23,000 annually and that it be divorced from the county engineer's office. It proposes that the increase in its budget be financed by a $25 fee for each re-zoning case it considers. Its members foresee greatly increased activity resulting from a major building boom in King County.

New York Delegates Power to County Boards

Under provisions of a statute enacted by the 1946 New York legislature, county boards of supervisors now may fix the pay of their members. After January 1, 1948, however, such pay must be a straight salary for all board meetings and committee work unless a different method of compensation is approved by popular referendum.

Texas County Has Lumber Trouble

Bexar County, Texas, has encountered the housing crisis in a novel form. The road commissioner reports that people are taking two-by-four boards off highway signs, as well as everything else that might be used in house construction. He declares that replacements are disappearing as rapidly as they are installed, and he suggests that plastics be used exclusively or that the signs be nailed to trees.

Wisconsin Sheriffs Adopt Resolutions

At its 1946 convention the Wisconsin Sheriffs Association adopted the following resolutions:

1. Improvement of jail standards with special facilities for youths under sixteen years of age.

2. Invitation to the F. B. I. to conduct schools for sheriffs and other law enforcement agencies.

3. Abolition of the fee system of compensation for sheriffs.

4. Request that the state automobile license bureau remain open at all times to provide immediate information when needed.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Hospital Aid Bill Approved

State and Local Building Programs Will Benefit

ONE of the last acts of the 79th Congress, providing for federal aid for hospital construction and planning, was signed by President Truman on August 15. It authorized grants of $3,000,000 to the states for hospital surveys and plans and $75,000,000 annually for three years to meet one-third of the construction costs of hospitals sponsored by state and local governments and non-profit hospital groups. As in the case of other Public Health Service measures, state health agencies will be the clearing organizations in administering the program.

For state surveys and plans Congress appropriated $2,000,000 of the $3,000,000 authorized, leaving $1,000,000 to be appropriated in the future. Federal funds must be matched by the states dollar for dollar, and will be apportioned among the several states on the basis of population.

Congress appropriated none of the $225,000,000 authorized for construction grants, leaving the initial appropriations to the 80th Congress. The construction money must be matched by the state and local agencies two dollars for one. Apportionment will be by a complicated formula using population and a weighted percentage based on income payments in each state designed to provide relatively larger allocations to the poorer states than would be received on a straight per capita allocation.

The 48 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico will be eligible to participate, and the fund may be expended for public health centers, general and special hospitals, laboratories, clinics, nurses training facilities and related projects. The allocations for surveys and plans range from a low of $10,000 in a score of less populous states and territories to a top of $150,000 for New York State. Allocations of construction funds would yield New York State only $2,945,000 annually compared with $4,842,000 for Texas, $4,552,000 for Pennsylvania, and $3,433,000 for North Carolina.

Earlier the 79th Congress had provided for federal aid for airport construction and for highways. At present these, with hospitals, are the only postwar construction programs in which the federal government is making grants which cities and counties are eligible to share.

Sales Tax Urged for Washington, D. C.

A survey committee of officials and citizens of Washington, D. C., appointed by the district commissioners to report on the revision of the district's tax structure, recommended seven new or increased revenues estimated to yield the district $17,750,000 annually.

Chief among the recommendations was a 2 per cent general sales and use tax, estimated to produce at least $9,000,000. Increased taxes on spirits, wine and beer were estimated to add $2,800,000; a tax on the earnings of non-residents, $2,250,000; a 2 per cent tax on gas, electric and telephone bills, $1,000,000; a 10 per cent amusement tax, $1,000,000; a tax on unincorporated business, $900,000; and a one cent per pack cigarette tax, $800,000.

State Aid for Cities Increased

New legislation to help cities weather financial demands of postwar public works and services by granting local governments a larger share of state taxes has been enacted in Ohio and Louisiana, while in Michigan and Arizona the fate of proposed tax-sharing plans will be put up to voters this fall.

In Louisiana, New Orleans will receive an estimated $400,000 additional income per annum through the recently enacted redistribution of state pari-mutuel tax revenues. The act allots the first $250,000 from this source to the state university and earmarks three-fourths of the remainder for New Orleans. The state retains the balance.

Ohio cities' share of state sales tax revenues was increased in July by a special legislative session from $16,000,000 to $21,000,000 for 1946 with provision that the additional $5,000,000 shall be paid between October 15 and December 31. Cincinnati expects to gain nearly $400,000 from the new tax-sharing schedule before the end of the year. Big cities profit most from the recent enactment since the added $5,000,000 is allocated 75 per cent on the basis of property tax levies and 25 per cent on basis of population.

In Michigan nearly 300,000 voters of different municipalities signed petitions placing on the November ballot a proposed constitutional amendment which would return one-third of state sales tax revenues to local governments. More than half the signatures reportedly came from Detroit and Wayne County.

Similar action by Arizona voters has assured a place on the fall ballot for an initiative calling for return to the state's 35 incorporated municipalities of 10 per cent of state gasoline tax revenues. The proposed legislation provides that the cities' share be spent for street and highway costs and maintenance.

Tax-sharing legislation also has been proposed recently by groups of municipalities in Indiana, Colorado, Florida, Tennessee and California. Typical is the Indiana proposal calling for refund to cities and towns of one-third of state gasoline tax and license revenues.

State Programs for Veterans' Aid

A number of states already have in operation veterans' aid programs providing loans, educational assistance, hospitalization, housing, financial relief and other subsidies supplementing or increasing aids provided by federal agencies. The following paragraphs note some of the developments, as reported by the Public Administration Clearing House *News Bulletin.*

In Wisconsin benefits are paid for out of an $8,000,000 postwar rehabilitation trust fund created by Wisconsin legislators last year for the exclusive purpose of helping veterans through the Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs.

Wisconsin is one of the few states providing medical care, including prolonged hospitalization not only for veterans but also for their dependents. More than 1200 ex-servicemen and their dependents have had medical bills paid out of state funds since last fall.

This service augments Veterans Administration care providing treatment for veterans only. The state action was based on the belief that big hospital bills incurred by a sick wife, child or dependent parent would slow a veteran's readjustment nearly as much as if he himself were physically incapacitated.

Outright educational grants have been made to more than 1,000 Wisconsin veterans, dependency grants to more than 700, while other direct financial benefits have been paid for business and agricultural purposes.

The educational grants are made when it is deemed necessary to supplement benefits of the G. I. Bill of Rights. A single veteran is eligible for state educational grants of $20 per month, a married veteran $30 per month, and a veteran with a wife and two children may have $50 added to his G. I. Bill educational allotment.

Five-Year Loans

Veterans' loans are being given out in Wisconsin at the rate of $30,000 a month. The maximum loan is $750 which must be secured by real or personal property or co-signed by qualified endorsers. Loans are made for periods not to exceed five years and for purposes "deemed absolutely necessary to the veteran's successful rehabilitation." Such purposes may include purchase of farm machinery, livestock, merchandise to stock small businesses or to consolidate debts contracted while the veteran was in service.

Thus far only about half of Wisconsin's more than 310,000 servicemen have been discharged, so greatly increased use of state financial aid to veterans is expected during the next few years.

Veterans' welfare received another substantial boost in California when a special session of the legislature increased to $10,000,000 funds earmarked for veterans' emergency housing.

The recent California action added $2,500,000 to the $7,500,000 appropriated earlier this year for veterans' housing. The increase is expected to furnish 7,500 more housing units and will be allocated to cities converting federal temporary war housing to veterans' use. Cities put up 10 per cent of costs; the state furnishes the other 90 per cent.

Increasing numbers of California veterans are taking advantage also of cash educational benefits provided by the state to supplement GI Bill of Rights provisions. The state will spend up to $1000 on any resident veteran for educational needs.

Though both state and federal cash benefits may not be drawn by any veteran simultaneously, state assistance is being given vets who have exhausted federal aid due them. This provision is proving most valuable to ex-GI's completing lengthy professional courses. Others wishing only short refresher courses are using the state program first as a ready means of financial aid.

Alabama Program

More than 95 per cent of the 226,000 discharged veterans in Alabama have received "some reportable service" from the State Department of Veterans' Affairs during the past ten months. Alabama veteran aid is financed by an initial appropriation of $350,000 from the state legislature. Through its state headquarters and 67 county service commissioners the department has concentrated on solving veterans' housing and employment problems.

Nebraska's State Service Office provides veterans' services from the earnings of a trust fund which will eventually amount to $8,000,000. Emergency relief is provided needy ex-servicemen and their families when other relief facilities are found inadequate. Administration of veterans' benefits on the local level is handled by county service officers now operating in 75 of the state's 93 counties.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Local Councils Appointed in Germany's British Zone

Military Government Seeks to Establish Democracy

THE aim of the military government in the British Zone in Germany is to establish a new conception of democracy, one which will be strong enough to withstand the challenge of any authoritarian regime that may attempt to emerge in the future.

As a first measure of democracy, instructions were issued in September for establishment at the lowest level of government—the parish, the town and the rural district—of councils nominated by the local military government commander, to be as representative as possible of all sections of the community. They are not merely advisory councils to approve actions of the *Buergermeister,* but are designed as executive councils. It is emphasized throughout that, subject to the authority of military government, each is responsible for the local government of its own particular area.

There are about 8,000 parishes in the British Zone, nearly 140 large rural districts and about 60 county boroughs. In all these, except in the smallest parishes, councils have already been, or are being, established.

There have been inevitable difficulties, most of them foreseen. The political apathy of the German people, the shortage of trained administrators, the concentration of energy upon the pressing economic problems of the day, have all had to be taken into account. On the whole, however, the results achieved have been satisfactory.

The next step will be establishment of similar councils at higher levels of government. The English have no parallel to the complicated system of regional government that exists in Germany. Between the *Stadtkreis* (county borough) or the *Landkreis* (large rural district almost equivalent in status to an English county) and the state come at least one, and in most cases two, intermediate layers of government. Nominated regional councils are to be set up at these levels also.

The final stage of development will be the replacement of these nominated councils by elected councils. Meanwhile, the Germans are getting valuable practice through the nominated councils in the give-and-take of popular discussion that is the foundation of true democracy.

"The establishment of councils, even of elected councils," states *Local Government Service,* "is not in itself enough to insure that German democracy is firmly rooted. In the belief that local government is the basis of democracy, we shall aim to decentralize power as far as possible to the lowest units of government. We shall seek to dissolve the unholy alliance that has hitherto existed in Germany between politics and the civil service by separating the policy-making functions of the representatives of the people from the executive functions of the professional civil servants, and we shall seek to recognize the German civil service in such a way that its members regard themselves no longer as a privileged caste but rather as the servants of the community."

Centralization vs. Decentralization

Professor F. A. Bland, of the University of Sydney, in a recent article in the *Shire and Municipal Record,* comments upon the relationship between democracy and decentralization:

"Until there is a clear conception of the need for local government, it profits little to discuss our wants. Is there any appreciation of the need for local government in Australia? While there is lacking an understanding of its purpose, the wants of local government will always be weighed in the scales of party expediency.

"Contrast our fortuitous floundering with the clarity and precision of the purposes of the Potsdam Agreement for the initial occupation of Germany. Article 3 declares that the objective is the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis. Article 9 expands this: The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end, local government should be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and, for the time being, no central government shall be established.

"Here is an unequivocal declaration of the reasons for local government. It is useless, say the 'Big Three,' to think of erecting a central structure of government until the Germans have learned to manage their local affairs upon democratic lines. The substance of democracy is found only in a decentralized administrative system where people acquire a sense of individual responsibility for the proper and efficient conduct of public affairs.

"One hundred years ago Sir George Gipps was expounding the same principles to the people of New South Wales. Before you assume the task of responsible government, he said, show that you can work the system of district councils of local government. Impatiently, and with overconfidence, his views were brushed aside and few people realized that this action presaged the knell of popular government in New South Wales.

"In place of a decentralized system administered by popularly elected representatives of the local community, we have been satisfied with government by central officials distributed throughout the country, owning a primary loyalty to 'the city.' Whatever may be said for the efficiency of this type of administration it is condemned by the Potsdam Agreement. It must be condemned because it is irrefutable that it restricts the growth of local government institutions, and the cultivation of a sense of local responsibility. The tragic effects of our centralized organization are everywhere apparent.

"Surely it is ironical that we dismiss with contumely the very remedies that we deem essential for the reconstruction of Germany!"

Are Efficiency and Democracy Compatible?

According to the *Municipal Journal* (London) a problem lies in the question as to whether efficiency and democracy are compatible. One factor in democracy seems to be maximum participation of the citizen in self-government. This leads to hosts of committees and frequent checks on the action of the executive. In the complexity of modern society, and the pace at which things move, can efficiency be achieved through the welter of committees and despite the checks? The answer is not that democracy can afford to be inefficient. The will to social reform may become impatient of the means. People want houses and want them quickly, and if the housing committee cannot produce houses within a reasonable time there might well be a demand for a more authoritarian type of government which could produce the houses and damn the consequences.

That mass participation can be efficient is a view widely held, and one recent event—the voluntary Civil Defense Services—has gone some way to confirm this view. The appeal for service and the delegation of responsibility did evoke powers of leadership, stores of cooperative good will, and reserves of energy and enthusiasm which turned a service notable for the active participation of almost every citizen into an efficient war-winning instrument. This was not quite a unique event, but it was a wartime event, and the question of evoking the same response in peacetime remains unanswered.

International Union of Local Authorities Meets

Delegates from twelve countries attended the first conference since the war of the International Union of Local Authorities in Brussels last summer.[1]

The delegates utilized the occasion for getting better acquainted, and many messages of good will were presented. Several speakers expressed their belief in the essentiality of local government to democracy, especially in view of recent trends toward centralization.

The conference was called to discuss renewal of activities of the union in the changed conditions resulting from the war and to study the urgent problems of: (1) reconstruction rendered necessary by the ravages of war; (2) education of the citizen as to his civic responsibilities and the benefits to be derived from their exercise; (3) advantages to be obtained from the operation of responsible and independent local authorities working to provide for the people all those useful local services which conduce to the well-being of the citizen, or, in other words, the value and limitations of local autonomy.

Professor Roland Egger represented the American committee of the union.

Suggestions on Relieving Congestion in Cities

In England a Royal Commission on the distribution of the industrial population suggested that where decentralization or dispersal from congested urban areas is found desirable the following methods should be considered: (1) garden cities or garden suburbs, (2) satellite towns, (3) trading estates, (4) further development of existing small towns or urban centers, (5) other appropriate methods.

The Royal Commission suggested that when development in the form of a garden city or satellite town has been decided upon, certain broad conditions should be observed:

1. The communities should be complete units so far as possible and placed well outside the existing town so as to enjoy advantages of air and space not possible at the center or in the immediate suburbs, and they should be protected by a belt of open country so as to avoid eventual coalescence with the existing town.

2. They should be off the main arterial roads of traffic, but have good access to them, and should be near enough to the big center to enjoy its advantageous marketing facilities.

3. They should provide industrial and other occupational opportunities, preferably with reasonable diversification, for a large proportion of the inhabitants.

4. While sited far enough away from the center to secure satisfactory conditions for space and recreation,

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[1] Reported in *Municipal Journal,* London, July 19, 1946, page 1304.

they should be near enough to permit the residents to enjoy, when desired, the medical, educational and recreational facilities which the big center can supply.

The suburb ought to be a secondary center of social and civic activity and to develop a community feeling of its own.

County Planning Urged for New Zealand

There is no reason why a New Zealand county council should not concern itself with the planning of villages and towns of the future, according to a recent article by a county clerk in *Board and Council* (Auckland).[1] The county council can and should be the controlling authority and have wide powers. It already has, suggests the article, but how many county councils actually concern themselves with all the items the law allows?

An extra-urban planning scheme provides for the arrangement, location and well-being of the inhabitants of the county who are congregated together in groups. It provides for the orderly development of areas that are not town and not country. It provides that such development shall be carried out to give the greatest good for the greatest number with the least possible expenditure of public and private funds. It should provide that future towns which are now in their embryo stage will be clean and healthy, that it will secure systematic and orderly growth by harmonizing the various interests, the safeguarding of the amenities of residential districts, stabilizing of property values, prevention of traffic congestion and, generally, the promotion and safeguarding of health, safety and economy in the building and administration of our communities.

An extra-urban planning scheme promotes the advancement of counties. If the county councils take a keen interest in the planning of an extra-urban area, the farm or rural lands surrounding are bound to become more valuable.

New Zealand can best grow as a country of small holdings, with innumerable extra-urban areas or villages which will be able to supply all the modern amenities of an up-to-date town or city, and it is up to the county councils to prepare for this time.

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations

The Victorian, Australia, Municipal Association has set up a committee to investigate the matter of supplementing municipal finances and it has recommended that a commission should be established to define the spheres of federal, state and local governments and to make a reasonable allocation of public revenue in accordance with the duties of each level of government. Although the federal and state governments have devised a number of new forms of taxation, local governing bodies were restricted to that authorized in 1864, although a great number of additional duties including social services have been delegated to them.

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Public Relations in South Africa

The appointment of competent public relations officers, whose duty it would be to create public interest in local government affairs, has been urged by the *South African Municipal Magazine* for all local councils. The apathy of citizens in local matters has been marked, it reports.

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Health Service Bill

The Health Service Bill (England and Wales) has been passed by the standing committee of Parliament.

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[1] May 1946, page 9.

Books in Review

Cities Are Abnormal. By Elmer T. Peterson, Louis Bromfield, Jonathan Forman, Ladd Haystead, Henry L. Kamphoefner, S. C. McConahey, H. C. Nixon, J. J. Rhyne, Paul B. Sears, Roy L. Smith, Warren S. Thompson and Paul L. Vogt. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. 263 pp. $3.

We think a better title for this book would have been "American Civilization, Its Cause and Cure." For truth to tell, some of the most striking evidences of "abnormality" that this book exposes are found in the country, not in the city. A few examples: erosion and depletion of the soil and other natural resources, the high rate of rejections for the army in regions where the soil has been drained of nutrient mineral content, Huey Long, the farming corporation, displacement of farm workers by new machines, etc.

The title of the book and occasional non-essential remarks suggest that some of the authors have a bit of the traditional countryman's dislike or distrust of the city and the city guy. Discounting this bias, the essays generally and gracefully support the growing belief that the trend to the big city has about worn itself out, and that the new direction should be toward a settlement in smaller, more open clusters which will bring agriculture and industrial production closer together and permit the average family to live closer to the soil and the open air and nearer both to its work and to the material comforts and joys offered by modern civilization.

A book arriving at these conclusions could equally well have been written by inveterate city men who weren't quite sure how they felt about the joys of that strictly "natural or rural life" which is held up as the "inescapable norm."

And if they had shown doubt of the attachment of all members of America's farm bloc to "economic verities" or their prudent avoidance of debt or their sturdy refusal ever to look to government for financial help it would have had little bearing on the essential thesis of the book.

Just how far the process of beneficent decentralization is likely to go without a good deal more authoritative planning and coercion than is desired, is a question that only time can answer. One may also wonder just how many families, in the ideal society, would have "one foot" so deep in the soil as to produce in spare time on a family plot a substantial part of their basic economic security. However, all will join in wishing for more and more families the opportunity to grow "weeds even," so long as they are in gardens of their own.

As always, Paul Sears' contribution, "The Ecology of City and Country," is an intellectual and literary treat. H. C. Nixon's chapter, "Government of the People," finds in the county, at least in his own South, "a bedrock institution for registering the consent of the governed." He notes signs of improvement in county government which make it time "to discard the generalization that the county is 'the dark continent of American politics.' "

J. E. B.

You and Your City. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1946. 40 pp. Illus. $1.

And here is the complaint of the cities against abnormal and unjust restraints upon their freedom to work out their own destinies. This is a vigorous plea for a better deal for those "municipal institutions" which "constitute the strength of free nations." The official organization of American mayors calls for an end to "short-changing the city," in both legal and fiscal home rule. Blame is put squarely on rural dominated legislatures for "holding in shackles the man whose callings and inclinations cause him to live in town and city rather than on the soil." The pamphlet is effectively illustrated with photographs, tables, and modern pictographs.

J. E. B.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. Proceedings of the 1945 Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. Edited by Charles A. Rhine. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1946. 565 pp. $10.

This is the ninth volume in the series, *Municipalities and the Law in Action,* prepared by city attorneys representing 416 municipalities making up the membership of the National Institute of Law Officers. Reports in the volume are the result primarily of information submitted by members in response to questionnaires asking for a complete report of the experience of each member city during the previous year.

The legal aspects of practically all the problems facing municipalities in the postwar period are discussed. Federal-city and city-state relations are set forth as are the relations of metropolitan cities with adjoining municipalities; finance and taxation, municipal ownership, municipal labor union contracts, law enforcement and strikes, civil liberties, housing, sewage disposal, blight and slum areas—all are covered by comprehensive reports.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building Codes

Building Codes under Fire. Reprinted from *Business Week.* New York, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1946. 6 pp.

Economics

Profits and the Ability to Pay Wages. By Fred Rogers Fairchild. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 1946. 64 pp. Fifty cents.

Fire Departments

Number of Pieces of Fire Apparatus in Villages; Personnel of Village Fire Departments; Salaries of Village Firemen; Vacations and Sick Leave Allowed Village Firemen. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1946. 3, 7, 6, and 1 pp. respectively.

International Trade

International Trade Barriers. Edited by E. R. Latty. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Summer-Autumn, 1946. 220 pp. $1.

Leadership

Human Spark Plugs Wanted. A Guide to Self-Training in Leadership. By Daymond J. Aiken. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945. 31 pp. Seventy-five cents (discount on quantity orders).

Mayors

Annual Message to the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco. By Mayor Roger D. Lapham. San Francisco, Mayor's Office, 1946. viii, 203 pp.

Parking

City Parking Lots—Acquisition and Operation; Regulation of Off-Street Parking and Private Parking Lots. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1946. 3 and 5 pp. respectively.

Planning

The Master Plan. Report on Program and Progress. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1946. 40 pp.

The People of Detroit. Master Plan Reports. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 52 pp.

Eleventh Annual Report of the State Planning Board for the Year 1945. Providence, Rhode Island, 1946. 56 pp.

Police

Police Manual. Greenwich, Connecticut, Police Commission, 1946. 40 pp.

Salaries

Increasing Compensation During 1946 Fiscal Year; Salaries of Village Clerks and Deputies. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1946. 1 and 3 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

The New Plan for the Stabilization of Local Finances. By Frank C. Moore. Address at 1946 Conference of Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Albany, New York State Department of Audit and Control, 1946. 11 pp.

1946 Conference Issue, *Municipal Finance.* By Rollin F. Agard, *et al.* Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. 32 pp. Fifty cents.

A Preview of Local Government—1945-1955. Addresses delivered before the New York State Conference on Local Government Services, Albany, New York. Albany, New York State Department of Audit and Control, 1946. 116 pp.

Public Finance and Full Employment. By Richard A. Musgrave, et al. Washington, D. C., Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 1945. 157 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Traffic

Use of School Boy Patrols for Traffic Duty. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1946. 2 pp.

Veterans

Employment, Rehabilitation, and Veteran Adjustment. A Bibliography, 1940-1945. By Paul S. Burnham. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 27 pp. $1.

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from page 481)

tive in-service training program, and revitalization of the city's service rating system.

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts, 1945, annual publication of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations,** Boston, Norman MacDonald, executive director, lists salaries paid by Massachusetts cities and towns for generally comparable positions as reported to December 31, 1945. A similar publication of the **University of Washington's Bureau of Public Administration,** Donald H. Webster, director, and the **Association of Washington Cities,** Joshua H. Vogel, acting executive secretary, compiled by Donald C. Sampson, research associate, lists the *1946 Salary Rates for Municipal Positions in the State of Washington.*

A preliminary twenty-page survey of the Newark pension system, published by the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** looks toward an "actuarially sound system" to replace the "hodge-podge of expensive pension plans which give neither rights nor adequate security to employees." A number of matters are noted for further consideration, and a need for remedial legislation is indicated.

The spectacular increase in social science personnel in the federal service since 1931 accounts for a timely study of *Personnel Problems Affecting Social Scientists in the National Civil Service,* by Lloyd M. Short, of the University of Minnesota. The study is published as **Social Science Research Council** Pamphlet No. 1, New York, 1946, 35 pages. The principal findings and recommendations are summarized in a concluding chapter.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Back to the Cradle

THE idea of career service in government has grown mightily in the last half-century. It was, indeed, little more than an idealistic dream and a cry of protest against the "to the victor belong the spoils" philosophy when, in 1894, civic leaders from many cities met in Philadelphia to diagnose governmental ills, seek remedies and establish the National Municipal League as a clearing house of reliable information and source of inspiration for good citizens on the local firing line.

Today there is general recognition that the services which make up government must be run by technically proficient people. It is a hopelessly indifferent community which will stand for an untrained water superintendent, health commissioner, fire or police chief or, above all, an incompetent school superintendent.

There are plenty of indifferent and malmanaged communities, however. This is due partly to just plain politics and partly to the fact that so many cities which demand competent department heads require no experience at all of the man chosen as chief administrator of the entire operation. Just any good guy who can win a popularity contest will do for the top job.

Happily this condition is changing rapidly and, long before the League completes its next half-century, the council-manager plan or its equivalent is bound to have become standard for American communities of all sizes. It is being adopted this year by more communities than ever before.

* * *

Improvement in municipal, county and state affairs has been impressive during the 52 years the League has been at work. But this progress does not mean that what is called good government is a generally accomplished fact. Not by a ballot-boxful!

Even though the great majority of men and women in public service are decent, honest and well intentioned, it is not without reason that "politician" remains pretty much a word of opprobrium.

Boston seems content with a mayor convicted of fraud. Chicago is calm despite the obvious inability or unwillingness of the police to protect a citizen who warned them he was marked for underworld assassination. Jersey City is proud of its leader who scuttled a desperately needed modern state constitution because he feared it would curb his tyrannical exercise of power. Men who obviously qualify as important citizens of Memphis haven't the slightest idea, after years under an anti-democratic dictatorship, what self-government means; they simply would not believe that the G. I. revolution in Athens, Tennessee, was due directly to the boss's influence over a state administration which failed to heed the appeal of citizens for protection of the sanctity of the ballot box from a corrupt political machine allied with that boss. Philadelphia slumbers smugly on, proud of its Liberty Bell and undisturbed by the most blatant nepotism and the open passing out of jobs as political rewards to incompetents.

These few notorious high spots are merely indicative. There are many other places where respected, honored leaders in public positions or behind the scenes have learned the ways of "honest graft" to a degree that makes the early Tammany plunderers look like pikers. Practices of some state legislators, which in private life under the laws they themselves have enacted would be considered stealing, have been exposed recently—and virtually ignored by public and press. Considering the great growth of our communities and of government spending, there probably are as many bipartisan "understandings" (conspiracies) today to bilk the public as there ever were. And there seems little indignation over the common double standard which permits businessmen and lawyers, scrupulously honest in private affairs, to take the anything goes attitude in politics.

* * *

In the face of this well known villainy in office—and much, much more that never comes to light—it might seem surprising that we have no real muckrakers and that, when a leading magazine sends a writer out to do a series of pieces on our major cities, it apparently equips him with rose-colored glasses.

* * *

But there still are people today who have the clarity of thought to know what is wrong with our cities, states and counties and the courage to speak up.

Many of them will be in Philadelphia to do their speaking at the National Conference on Government November 11, 12 and 13. Notable figures in civic affairs and experts too numerous to mention here will gather there as their predecessors did 52 years ago to discuss the most serious problems of citizenship and government and, as has been the case in the long series of such conferences over the years, to seek solutions of these problems which will help to make our self-governing system real, alive and effective.

Some of the most significant addresses will appear in later issues of the Review but many of the best ideas developed there will be carried away only in the minds of those who hear the lively discussions.

How a State Can Be Managed

Minnesota's seven-year experience with governor-manager plan, pioneered by Stassen, brings substantial progress.

By **HAROLD L. HENDERSON***

THE Minnesota Reorganization Act of 1939 involving the governor-manager plan was influenced in no small way by the *Model State Constitution* published by the National Municipal League some years ago. The League has had greater influence than any other citizen group in promoting adoption of the manager plan as a device to improve the administration of the various units of government in this country. While its use in counties and state governments has not spread to the same extent as in the cities, efforts by the League in this field have been fruitful.

The Minnesota plan was adopted under the leadership of Governor Harold Stassen. It resulted in national recognition of the Governor as a student of governmental administration. The success of the plan has added no little prestige to his status as a national political leader.

The Minnesota plan follows the principles of the council-manager plan of government in so far as is possible without a change in the state constitution. It provides for a single official charged with the responsibility of planning and managing the business and financial activities of the state government. This official is known as the commissioner of administration though he is usually labelled state business manager.

The commissioner of administration is appointed by the governor for a two-year term—same as the governor's. He in turn does not appoint the various department heads as is done under the city manager form of government.[1] Other than this, the commissioner of administration does have powers equal to or greater than those of most city managers. Certainly no other state has granted a single official the scope of powers assigned to this officer in Minnesota.

Most of the state reorganization plans of the past two decades failed to relieve the governor of any sizable portion of his back-breaking duties. Since in this respect these plans failed to reach their major objective dividends in efficiency and economy have been disappointing. This indictment cannot be made of the Minnesota reorganization plan. Today only major policies in respect to finance and business operation of the state are now taken to the governor's office for decision. Department heads rare-

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*Mr. Henderson is executive director of the Minnesota Institute of Government Research, from which vantage point he has had ample opportunity to observe the operation of Minnesota's state manager plan. Formerly he held the position of director of the Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee, research adviser to the governor of Wisconsin, as well as other research appointments. He is author of *Sales and Gross Income Taxes, Arguments For and Against; Population Trends in Minnesota; A Factual Analysis of Money and Credits Tax Problems;* and other studies.

[1] Consideration was given at the time to the constitutional question as to whether the appointing power could be shifted from the governor to the commissioner.

ly appeal to the governor over the head of the commissioner of administration. In fact, a governor may be absent himself from his office, even from the state, for weeks without causing the administrative machinery to miss a stroke.

The governor is now free to emphasize the more important executive and legislative activities of his office—being the political leader of his party, serving as the ceremonial head of the state, taking active part in placing his own as well as the party's platform on the statute books during the legislative session. During election time he is relatively free to present his accomplishments as well as proposed programs for approval or disapproval of the voters.

Budget Control Is Key

The key to the commissioner of administration's powers arises out of his authority to prepare the biennial budget for the governor and to approve quarterly allotments of funds to the various departments. This latter duty definitely fixes on the commissioner the responsibility of executing the budget and planning the finances and business activities.

Legislative appropriations are not legally effective until the commissioner has approved or modified the quarterly allotments requested by the various departments. Further, the law includes an unusual provision which requires the commissioner to reduce allotments so as to keep expenditures within revenue receipts. This budget-balancing provision is rather drastic but is the major link in the commissioner's chain of powers as state business manager. The allotment control system covers all proposed expenditures even though no appropriation is made by the legislature. This includes dedicated funds such as those for highways, debt redemption, interest payments and trust funds operations. Expenditures of the courts and the University are exempt by the state constitution.

The commissioner has many powers other than allotment and budgeting that enable him to keep expenditures under control, coordinate the various state activities, and encourage departmental planning. They include the fixing of limitations as to the number of merit salary raises during the year, approval of all new positions, approval of all contracts including those for highway construction, authorization of uniform regulations with respect to travel, hotel and meal allowances, approval of all departmental plans for reorganization, and approval or rejection of compensation schedules as submitted by the Civil Service Department.

In addition he is assigned such staff or overhead activities as the purchasing of all printing supplies and equipment; the unusual job of renting and leasing all land, property and equipment; adopting standard specifications for all equipment and supplies; operating a central store room, central mimeograph and duplicating service, central mailing service and central equipment repair shop; and custody and maintenance of public buildings with authority to assign office space.

He supervises the construction, maintenance and operation of all state power, lighting and heating plants in the various institutions and teacher colleges and also keeps a perpetual inventory of all state property and equipment and has the right to transfer or sell all surplus equipment.

An architectural engineering division in the commissioner's office prepares plans for and supervises the building of state buildings as well as all major repair jobs. The division prepares the estimates for all repairs, construction and improvements included in the budget.

It is rather obvious from this list of powers that the commissioner has sufficient authority to do a real job of managing the state government.

No More Red Ink

Major accomplishments of the new organization plan are many. In the first place the state treasury has ended each year on the black side of the ledger. This has been a new experience for Minnesota and was not an easy task at the outset. The 1939 legislature, operating under the old system, again granted appropriations in excess of estimated receipts. It was necessary for the newly appointed commissioner to go into action immediately and reduce allotments for the two-year period. This reduction was not done on an arbitrary or percentage basis, but after careful analysis of all the facts. It was a lucky break for the new plan since it quickly demonstrated to the public the value of the new system of financial control.

Another instance of sound fiscal practice occurred during the closing days of the 1945 legislative session. The legislature had gone on a spending spree. During the closing days of the session the commissioner's office pointed out that revenue receipts would be five million dollars short of proposed appropriations. The legislature met this challenge and the highly unpopular state mill levy on property was increased for the first time in many years so that the budget would be in balance.

In respect to purchasing supplies and equipment, letting of highway contracts, and sale of surplus equipment, the state's business now goes to the lowest bidder, after legal advertisement. An additional safeguard is provided in that payments of any type cannot be made unless the obligation was previously encumbered on the auditor's books. Public confidence in the method of purchasing and contracting has been restored.

Through the perpetual inventory system idle equipment valued at thousands of dollars has been uncovered, repaired for the use of various departments, or sold under sealed bids. Last year such sales brought in $71,584; $50,000 of surplus equipment was made available for department use.

Supervision of all power plants by a specialist in this field has resulted in a 50 percent reduction in use of fuel and oil. Plant operating costs are charted and observed each month. Installation of mechanical equipment has extended the use of inmate labor and also reduced costs to a material degree. A central repair shop has also contributed to economical operation.

The architectural and engineering division has standardized all electrical and plumbing works throughout all state-owned buildings, thus eliminating need for a larger number of repair parts. By preparing plans and specifications for repair jobs and minor improvements competitive bidding has been increased. Inspection of all projects has been carefully carried out by this division.

The complete centralization of all purchasing resulted in a 10 percent saving the first year, thus the accumulated saving to date reaches a large figure. Specifications have been standardized. The state now has a purchasing system equal to the best standards of both private industry and government.

Shady Deals Eliminated

Previous to 1939 there were a number of shady deals in respect to highway contracts for which state officials were later imprisoned. Under the new law the commissioner of administration must give final approval to the awarding of all highway contracts. There has been no criticism of highway contracting recently.

The commissioner has made a special point of eliminating dedicated or revolving funds. The practice of dedicating receipts to some special purpose is, of course, a great handicap to sound financial procedure. While there are still far too many, over 50 dedicated accounts have been eliminated during the past six years. Of the remaining dedicated funds, a 5 percent charge is made for overhead services such as purchasing, accounting, legal work, personnel selection, etc. These charges are placed in the general revenue fund and tend to discourage any further dedication. The Supreme Court sustained this action in respect to highway dedicated funds.

Departmental officials are constantly seeking better methods and practices, introducing better equipment and machinery, modifying organization and shifting employees to decrease their costs and improve their effectiveness. This attitude is largely the result of the leadership of the commissioner, arising from the work of his research staff. This attitude has continued for seven years and is a decided change.

Results have been so well recognized by all citizen groups that the reorganization act has not been an issue in any political campaign and no bills have been offered in the legislature to repeal or modify it.

It should be stated that the enactment of a sound civil service act was a definite part of the reorganization program in 1939. It is doubtful if the legislature in Minnesota would have extended the powers of the governor's office without the restrictions involved in a comprehensive civil service system. The merit system in Minnesota extends up to and includes the deputy or assistant commissioner in most departments. Even the assistant business manager is protected by civil service regulations. Commissioners or department heads may come and go but the technical administration of a department rests on individuals selected through a merit system.

A great part of the improvement in state administration is a result of the new civil service system. The Civil Service Department is closely connected to the office of the commissioner of administration since he is required to approve all basic salary schedules, the number of merit raises and all new positions. The Minnesota merit system now ranks with all the best in the country. It is constantly guarded by a citizens' State Civil Service Council composed of representatives of the major civic groups of the state.

Audit Confusion Ended

The first draft of the reorganization bill provided that the elected state auditor should become the post-auditor and that pre-auditing and all accounting work now in the auditor's office be assigned to the Department of Administration. The act as passed failed to follow this procedure but the usual mistake of confusing pre-auditing and post-auditing was not made. A new official called the public examiner (appointed by the governor for six years—three times longer than the chief executive) was created to handle the post-auditing of various state departments as well as the local units of government. He files his post-audit reports with the legislative body, thus following the fundamental principle of forcing the executive branch to account to the legislature as to whether the funds have been spent in accordance with legislative directions.

The reorganization bill provided for the appointment of a public examiner by the joint legislative bodies until it was apparent that the legislature would have adjourned before the law became effective. There is still a feeling in Minnesota that this original provision should be enacted into law since the legislative body still feels that the public examiner is a part of the executive branch of government.

The 1939 reorganization act accepted the principle of replacing administrative boards with a single appointed official. It solved the problem of semi-legislative and judicial powers in the field of taxation by creating a part-time Board of Tax Appeals in addition to the office of commissioner of taxation. One early draft of the bill provided for an administrative court which would handle tax appeals as well as appeals from all other departmental actions. Such a court would provide for a simple and quick review of all rules and regulations and would check the abuse of excessive or unfair rule-making power by departments.

Many students of state administration have been disappointed at the failure of Minnesota to experiment with this type of administrative law. The problem is especially acute on the federal level but it would be far better for some state to undertake the original experimentation with an administrative court.

An unfortunate compromise was made in the 1939 reorganization act by placing the accounting system in the elected state auditor's office. The accounting system is the main instrument by which a business manager can funtion effectively in any organization, public or private. It is obvious to anyone watching the budget and allotment system in operation that the budget officials must have immediate and free access to accounting records. During recent years the state auditor has belonged to the same political party as the governor and there has been no major friction between the two departments. A state auditor of a different political group, however, could easily hamper the operation of the present plan. The defect must be eliminated if the state manager plan is to be on a sound permanent basis.

Reorganization Resisted

Minnesota has not completely streamlined its organizational setup though the 1939 reorganization act made considerable progress in this field. The original draft of the reorganization bill provided for the abolition of practically all boards and the consolidation of state activities into thirteen major departments. Many legislative leaders felt that the reorganization bill was too broad in scope and that consolidation of departments could be better handled in 1941. Nothing was done in 1941 or since, however, though consolidation bills have been presented at every session of the legislature. Lack of action is due largely to entrenched officials.

It is quite clear from the Minnesota experience that consolidation of departments is more likely to take place before an incoming governor has made his cabinet appointments. Failure to streamline the organization plan is not so serious now as the commissioner of administration has full financial control over all departments including the major independent boards and commissions.

One important activity assigned to the commissioner's office has never been fully exploited. This involves the field of public relations and, particularly, the important duty of informing the citizenship about the activities of their state government. State governments throughout the country have been woefully lax in this field. One need only glance at the mass of uninteresting state department biennial reports. Cities are twenty years ahead of the states in the type and quality of their annual reports.

The reorganization act gives the commissioner of administration the right to revise departmental reports for the purpose of making them more useful and informative to the public. This type of work would require a specialist in the field of public relations but the legislature has not been asked for funds to create such a division.

It is true that a governor out of sympathy with the present plan of administration could make it largely ineffective, but the public would quickly react unfavorably to any such move. Minnesota's next step in the field of state administration might well include a constitutional change embodying the basic features of the present plan. It would also be of interest to experiment with a legislative-appointed manager.

There are a number of questions on some phases of the plan that need additional evidence or even new legislation. The legislature itself might well finish the job of departmental consolidation into not more than thirteen or fourteen departments, provide for co-terminous or even indefinite terms of office for all department heads, abolish many

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Germany Faces Democracy

Self-government gradually returning as free elections are held in U. S. zone and military relaxes control of officials.

By LIEUTENANT COLONEL HOWARD P. JONES
and ROGER H. WELLS*

IT MIGHT not be inappropriate to term what is happening here as the American revolution in Germany—at least in so far as the three *Laender* (states) of Bavaria, Greater Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden, comprising the U. S. Zone, are concerned. Whatever may be the verdict of history on the development of German institutions and the success or failure of the democratic way of life in a country so long wedded to authoritarianism, it can never be said that it failed for lack of the machinery and tools of democracy. These, at least, we have supplied.

Representative government in Germany has been built from the bottom up during the past months through an election schedule that would seem heavy even in America. In January the *Gemeinde* (municipalities) council elections were held; in April, the *Landkreis* (rural county) elections were held. Both of these involved voters of the rural areas and smaller communities. On May 26 came city elections in which city councils were elected in 40 cities in the three *Laender,* U. S. Zone.

Finally, in the elections of June 30, 5,554,407 registered German citizens voted in the first election to be held at *Land* (state) level—and the first which called the entire electorate to the polls—to choose delegates to *Land* constitutional conventions. With this election the task of drafting basic documents to preserve individual freedoms and establish the framework of representative government was begun.

This program has been based on the fundamental idea that successful democratic government can be established only when the Germans are made responsible for their own affairs by: (1) setting up machinery which will enable them to govern themselves; (2) withdrawing Military Government from a participating to a supervisory role.

The Germans took to this heavy election diet surprisingly well. Table I shows a voter participation in all four elections that might well be envied in most sections of the United States. The slight falling-off in percentages for the more recent elections may be due to a number of causes but probably results from a greater interest in local affairs.

Elections of *Land* constitutional conventions on June 30 were conducted according to proportional

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representation—as were the earlier local elections—whereby each party received a number of seats proportionate to the votes cast for that party.

To discourage splinter parties, the law for these elections provided in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse that parties which failed to poll 5 per cent of the votes cast received no seats in the constitutional assembly. Only one "splinter" case developed: a local party in Offenbach, Greater Hesse, polled some 8,000 votes out of a total of more than a million and a half and thus failed to qualify under the 5 per cent rule.

In Bavaria the 180 members of the constitutional convention were apportioned among the five *Regierungsbezirke* (government districts). For these positions 333 candidates from the five main parties competed. Each district was divided into *Stimmkreise* (election administrative areas) corresponding to the number of seats to be filled. Each party was allowed to nominate only one candidate for each *Stimmkreis,* but a vote for that candidate was also a vote for his party.

The quota of votes needed for election was determined as follows: The total number of valid ballots in the *Regierungsbezirk* was divided by the number of seats plus one. This quota was then divided into the number of votes which each party got throughout the *Regierungsbezirk,* thus giving the number of seats which the party won. If the party won more seats in a *Regierungsbezirk* than it had put up candidates, these unfilled seats went to candidates of the same party in other *Regierungsbezirke* who were not elected by the vote in their own.

In Bavaria the Christian Social Union (called the Christian Democratic Union in the other two states) cast 1,554,000 (55.7 per cent) out of 2,690,000 votes cast, and elected 109 (60.6 per cent) of the 180 seats in the constitutional convention. With this clear majority that party will have the principal responsibility for framing the state's new constitution.

The P. R. method of election in Greater Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden was different from that of Bavaria in some details. Greater Hesse provided for 64 delegates elected from 64 districts—apportioned among the three *Regierungsbezirke* of Darmstadt (27 seats), Kassell (eighteen seats) and Wiesbaden (nineteen seats)—in accordance with the total vote cast in each. Twenty-six delegates were elected from the *Land* at large and allotted

TABLE I: PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS VOTING

	Gemeinde Elections Jan. 1946	*Landkreis Elections Apr. 1946*	*Stadtkreis Elections May 1946*	*Combined Stadt- und Landkreis*	*Constitutional Assembly Elections June 1946*
Bavaria	87.0	72.4	87.7	77.4	71.8
Greater Hesse	85.3	75.7	79.0	76.6	71.1
Wuerttemberg-Baden	85.0	61.5	79.1	67.5	68.2
Total U. S. Zone	86.0	71.6	83.0	74.9	70.9

to each party in accordance with its total vote throughout the *Land*. Wuerttemberg-Baden chose 85 members from 26 constituencies plus fifteen elected at large.

Table II shows the popular vote polled by parties in the three states for the April, May and June elections. One of the observations bound to occur to anyone who analyzes these votes is the apparent extent to which the German voters simply relapsed into pre-1933 patterns. New leaders have not yet developed and the lack of public discussions through the Nazi years has led to a kind of political vacuum.

Final draft of the constitution of each *Land* must be submitted to the Office of Military Government for Germany (US) for approval. Military Government reserves the right to disapprove a *Land* constitution in whole or in part because of provisions which are undemocratic, contrary to American or Allied policies, or prejudicial to the future of the Reich.

After approval the *Land* constitution will be submitted to popular vote some time this fall. On the same date, the *Landtag* will be elected and all other *Land* officials whose election may be provided for by the constitution.

A movement for a constitution for the city of Berlin is also under way. Early last December a legal Committee of the Berlin *Magistrat*, to which were added representatives of four political parties, proposed a provisional constitutional statute which is now in the final stages of revision.

Turning to the earlier elections, it may be of interest to analyze them

TABLE II: POPULAR VOTE BY PARTIES

	Social Democratic Union[a] *(Christian Social Union)*	*Social Democratic Party*	*Communist Party*	*Others*[b]
Bavaria				
LK & SK Elections	1,679,629	780,676	135,266	43,556
Land Constitutional Assembly Elections	1,554,183	785,706	145,216	205,700[c]
Greater Hesse				
LK & SK Elections	553,338	647,226	140,438	109,699
Land Constitutional Assembly Elections	550,342	655,090	144,272	128,669
Wuerttemberg-Baden				
LK & SK Elections	459,240	326,810	93,608	141,661
Land Constitutional Assembly Elections	474,878	374,739	116,521	195,440
Total U. S. Zone				
LK & SK Elections	2,692,207	1,754,712	369,312	294,916
Land Constitutional Assembly Elections	2,579,403	1,815,535	406,009	386,358

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[a] Social Democratic Union in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse, Christian Social Union in Bavaria.

[b] Liberal Democratic party in Greater Hesse, Free Democratic party in Bavaria, *Deutsch Volks-Partei* (German People's party) in Wuerttemberg-Baden.

[c] In the *Land* Constitutional Assembly election in Bavaria, the Economic Reconstruction Party polled 135,128 votes.

in some detail. On January 20 and 27, 10,429 German communities elected local mayor-appointing councils of from four to twenty members and 5,628 Bavarian towns of 3000 or less elected mayors by popular vote.

Over 85 Per Cent Vote

Bettering figures for many local elections during the Weimar Republic, and exceeding all expectations of Military Government officials, more than 85 per cent of the eligible voters in communities with less than 20,000 population went to the polls in the first free elections in fourteen years. The January 20 elections were held in seventeen sparsely settled *Landkreise* in Greater Hesse as a special experiment to test election and reporting machinery before the big election day of January 27.

It is not possible to determine exactly how many persons who were eligible to register failed to do so, but the slight difference between estimates of population of voting age meeting residential and citizenship requirements and the number of persons registered indicates our efforts to awaken a sense of local responsibility among the Germans have met with considerable success. The difference between potential and actual eligible voters becomes even less when it is remembered that eligibility, under directives, is a *selective* process, and there has been a deliberate disenfranchisement of a portion of the population on grounds of previous political activity and affiliation.[1]

The total number of councilors elected in the three *Laender* was 70,689. Since the number of candidates was much larger than the number of seats filled, the magnitude of the job thrown upon Military Government to determine whether they were politically acceptable was tremendous.

On the whole, the administration of these elections and the operation of the election machinery was successful. Irregularities in the electoral process were reported in only fourteen of the 10,429 *Gemeinden*, (municipalities) and most of these were corrected by Military Government before election day. The proportion of spoiled ballots was larger, however, than in elections prior to 1933. Under the Weimar Republic, spoiled ballots did not usually exceed one per cent of the total. In the January 1946 elections, from 3 to 5 per cent were invalid. Ignorance of instructions and carelessness accounted for most of them. The number of votes deliberately invalidated as a means of registering a protest was so small as to be negligible.

The *Gemeinde* council elections were conducted according to the list system of proportional representation with local variations from *Land* to *Land*. In Baden, Bavaria and Hesse the voter was allowed to vote only for one list of candidates. In Wuerttemberg he could vote for candidates whose names were on different party lists—the so-called "free" list as contrasted to the "bound" list system. The laws of both Bavaria and Wuerttemberg, however, provide that, where only one valid list of candidates is filed or there is no list at all, election takes place by majority vote and each voter may write in the names of any candidates he chooses. As a result, many councilors were elected without party label. Moreover, any group was permitted to put forth a list of candidates provided it met the requirements laid down for the regular political parties. Such a provision enabled nonpartisan lists, known simply as *Liste Schmidt* or *Liste Wolff*, to compete with the regular party nominees.

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[1] The chief qualifications for voting in the January elections were laid down in a November 23 directive. The number of Germans disfranchised by the residence qualifications (six months in Greater Hesse; one year elsewhere) has not yet been determined but it was undoubtedly considerable. As to the number disqualified for Nazi activity, a preliminary estimate shows a total of 326,354 or between 6 and 7 per cent of the electorate.

No Real Party Battle

Since the elections were confined to communities of 20,000 population or less, the chief task of the voter was to choose competent officials to administer local affairs—there were no out and out party battles. There are two reasons for this: (1) elections came too soon after political activity was permitted on a *Land* basis to allow any really potent crystallization of other than purely local party activity, and (2) within the subjects allowed for discussion there was no room for any very important differences of opinion which might have fostered party alignments. What voting was done on a purely party label basis was due more to the memory of what the party stood for in the past and what it and its adherents are likely to stand for in the future than to any choice between party platforms or programs as presented at the elections.

The Christian Democratic Union, called the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CDU-CSU), emerged as the dominant party in rural areas of the U. S. Zone with an over-all total of 37 per cent of the votes cast and 33 per cent of seats won. CDU-CSU strength, polling heaviest in Catholic areas, is concentrated in Bavaria where it obtained 43 per cent of the votes and 37 per cent of seats, and in Baden where it received 54 per cent of the votes and 73 per cent of the seats.

Independent and nonpartisan votes, together with miscellaneous smaller parties, account for a zonal total of 30 per cent of the votes cast and 49 per cent of the seats won. The greatest concentration of independent votes occurred in Wuerttemberg and can be accounted for by the write-in policy prevailing there. The Social Democratic party (SPD) was the second strongest specifically labeled party in the rural areas. Its zonal total, 24 per cent of the votes cast, gave it an over-all 15 per cent of the seats. The strongest SPD *Land* was Greater Hesse where the party polled 42 per cent of the vote, 40 per cent of the seats and victory over the CDU.

Although the Liberal Democratic party (LDP) received only 2.4 per cent of the votes as against 3 per cent for the Communist party (K PD), the Liberal party won 1.4 per cent of the seats, beating the Communists by a small margin of one-half of one per cent. This was due apparently to the greater concentration of LDP votes and a scattering of KPD votes.

The weakness of the parties of the left was not unexpected. Marxism has traditionally had a greater following in cities than in rural communities. The unknown factor in the elections is that almost half the councilors were elected as nonpartisans, write-ins or on miscellaneous small party tickets. Until the composition of this group is known more fully, the true alignment of political forces can only be surmised. It seems likely that these councilors represent the center and right; in other words, there are probably few Socialists and Communists among them. It remains to be seen whether this large mass of voters will crystallize into one or more large parties, join the Christian Democratic Union or continue as splinter groups. In any event, what is clear is that the Christian Democrats plus nonpartisans, write-ins and miscellaneous hold almost 83 per cent of all the seats. Thus the center and the right have demonstrated that they are political factors to be reckoned with in the American Zone.

The distribution of seats in this first election is shown in Table III.

Women were a considerable majority of the qualified electors, ranging as high as 65 per cent in some areas. The number of women candidates in the elections, however, did not reach one per cent.

In those Bavarian towns where mayors were directly elected, 86 per cent of the successful candidates were incumbents appointed by local Military Government.

Merit System Bolstered

Democratization of the civil service is the next important step taken by American Military Government on the way to genuine democracy in Germany. The German civil service, acknowledgedly efficient but equally bureaucratic, has remained little affected by four political revolutions. Under the Nazis only approximately 20 per cent of the people who worked for the government were civil servants and even within this select group, arbitrary ceilings prevented the rise of an able civil servant from the bottom to the top of the ladder, always excepting those with party influence.

TABLE III: DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS, GEMEINDE ELECTIONS

	Seats	*Percentage of Total seats*
Christian Democratic Union (In Bavaria, Christian Social Union)	23,894	33.8
Social Democratic party	10,635	15.0
Liberal Democratic party	893	1.2
Communist party	668	.9
Other parties, nonpartisans, and write-ins	34,599	49.0

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS BY LAENDER

	Bavaria	*Baden*	*Wuerttemberg*	*Hesse*
C. D. U.	16,889	1,827	1,173	4,005
S. P. D.	3,727	445	779	5,684
L. D. P.	146	93	379	275
C. P.	287	31	95	255
Others	24,218	106	6,204	4,071

Axioms of popular government that would be regarded as trite sayings in America are unknown to Germans. In its program of revamping the German civil service, American Military Government is stressing the following principles:

1. The state exists to serve the people, not the people to serve the state. The civil servant thus is literally the servant of the people, not their master. (The Germans as a group simply don't comprehend this.)

2. It is essential in a democracy for civil servants to serve the public as a whole, and not the interests of a particular group or party; therefore, civil servants shall be free from political interference and shall restrict their political activity to casting votes and inactive membership in political parties.

3. A democratic government serving the people is entitled to the most highly qualified personnel available to meet its requirements. All appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, its political subdivisions and public corporations should be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by competitive examination.

4. Every official and employee occupying a permanent, classified position in a German government agency shall be a member of the civil service.

5. It is basic to a democratic administration that the public be fully informed at all times of the activities of official agencies and of civil servants. Matters on which information cannot be given should be specifically determined by law and restricted to a minimum; all other matters should be open to public inspection. This does not mean that any civil servant may make statements to the press at any time he wishes, but rather that arrangements should be made by every official agency, no matter how small, to make sure that the press and other agencies of public information are afforded the opportunity to inform themselves and have adequate access to policy-making officials.

6. The power of the state Civil Service Department over the appointees of local government shall be clearly defined to make certain that none of the prerogatives of local self-government is curtailed thereby.

7. Some administrative procedure shall be established to provide for the hearing of grievances of employees by others than their direct superior.

Some of these sound trite indeed to American ears but the average German citizen has no real understanding of what we mean by democracy—he has literally no comprehension of his own relation to the government as something which is within his own power to control. He still thinks of The Government as an organized authority which tells him what to do. The civil servant, for his part, remains unchanged in his attitude toward the public. He still regards himself as the representative of the state whose job it is to tell the people what to do. He is crisp, efficient, intelligent, bureaucratic—oh, so bureaucratic. He has more of the military in him than the civilian. With the rest of the German public he has much to learn.

First Break in New Hampshire

Conway adopts council-manager plan, two other places go half way in modifying state's traditional town meeting.

By **LASHLEY G. HARVEY***

IT IS news when New Hampshire breaks with tradition. At its annual town meeting in March, Conway voted to adopt the town manager system. It tossed into discard the traditional town government form which has served New Hampshire towns since colonial days and which, since 1791, has remained practically the same. Changes in government come slowly in New Hampshire and only after a great deal of deliberation. It is said, however, that although reforms may be slow, once the people agree to a change they are inclined to give it a fair trial and rarely do they return to the old. For this reason Conway's action is especially significant.

Town democracy was developed in New Hampshire when the state was entirely rural—when there was a fear of giving too much administrative authority to any one person and when it was thought that by a division of administrative functions into the simplest tasks any voting citizen would be capable of performing them.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries urban settlements within the towns grew rapidly and presented all the technical problems connected with a demand for better streets, water and sewer lines, fire protection, generation of electrical power, police protection, libraries and parks. In the nineteenth century urban settlements tried to solve these problems through the incorporation of cities (1846) and the creation of "precincts" for utilities (1849), later called village districts. This helped to eliminate rural opposition to urban improvements but did not improve the service much when the town administrative pattern was carried over into the urban governmental structure.

Two movements developed simultaneously in the twentieth century: (1) toward consolidation of administrative offices in the hands of a few administrators who were held responsible at the annual town meetings, and (2) the manager movement for both cities and towns.

The consolidation movement is less obvious. A recent examination of town officers reveals that in the 224 towns and ten cities within the state, in four instances one officeholder is performing the duties of three officers and in 86 instances one officeholder is exercising the duties of two offices. In practically all cases these individuals were elected to more than one office. Actually, in many small towns all the administrative offices are held by from three to five persons—frequently several being from the same family. In Epsom, Bennington, Groton and Lempster three persons hold six offices.

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*Shortly after his return from the armed services, where he became a lieutenant commander with the Navy's Military Government Unit on Saipan, Dr. Harvey accepted an appointment as assistant professor of government at Boston University. From 1938 to 1942 he taught political science at the University of New Hampshire where he aided in establishing the Bureau of Government Research, acting as its first executive secretary.

When one reads the statutes and discovers that towns, irrespective of size, must elect three selectmen, a clerk, a treasurer, a tax collector, three supervisors of the check list, auditors, and assessors, and may elect a dozen other officials, including boards and commissions, the natural conclusion is that such a division of administrative authority must be unworkable. In many towns it has proved unsatisfactory but in others the consolidation of offices has partially solved the problem.

Early Interest Shown

The manager movement in the United States did not go unobserved by New Hampshire although adoption came slowly. In 1925 a number of interested citizens in Lebanon, dissatisfied with their town government, made a study of the town manager system in operation in Springfield, Vermont. They were so pleased with the Vermont manager experience that they asked the state legislature to authorize adoption of the town manager system for Lebanon. A proposed bill, consisting of large segments of the Vermont enabling act, changed slightly to fit New Hampshire conditions, was presented. The legislature complied with the request, but the Lebanon group failed to obtain sufficient support for adoption.

Four years later Wolfeboro and Plymouth asked for similar legislation and the legislature took the 1925 statute, stripped it of the measures which dealt specifically with Lebanon, and provided an enabling statute for any town that might want to adopt the plan. Adoption was made simple. Upon request of ten or more qualified voters the selectmen are required to include the question of adoption of the manager plan in the warrant at the annual town meeting. A majority vote at the meeting is all that is required. When it is realized that not half the eligible voters usually attend the annual town meeting it is apparent that adoption was made easy from the start.

A similar statute, permitting cities to adopt the manager plan, was passed by the same session of the legislature. It provided for adoption by the voters of any city at the annual or biennial election upon petition of 3 per cent of the eligible voters.

From 1929 to 1946 not a city or town voted for a manager. It should not be assumed, however, that there was a lack of interest in the plan. It was discussed and deliberated actively in ten towns and three cities.

In 1939, with the leadership of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, the movement became more militant. In that year a taxpayers' association was formed in Concord in opposition to the existing city government. The taxpayers brought pressure for a survey of the city's administration by Public Administration Service and caused the mayor to establish a committee for study of the possibilities of a revised charter. Rather than revise, the committee proposed a new charter which provided for a mayor with managerial powers to be elected by the board of aldermen. The proposal tried to accomplish a number of other changes and aroused a great deal of opposition, resulting in the failure of the legislature to approve the committee's recommendations.

The taxpayers' associations, under the leadership of John D. Langmuir, were undaunted by the Concord failure to obtain a charter with the features of the manager plan. In Lebanon the manager plan was continually kept before the public, while Portsmouth, Wolfeboro, Claremont, Derry, Gorham, Candia and Conway debated it intermittantly.

Despite pressure of the State Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Conway failed to adopt the plan in 1944 by only a few votes. Conway's taxes for a decade had shown a rapid increase, until in 1945 it had the fifth highest tax rate within the state (48.20). A group of 40 citizens, determined to bring about efficiency and economy, proposed adoption of the 1929 town manager statute. Opposition was strong, principally from officeholders, but after a vigorous campaign the proponents edged over a victory at the town meeting by 211 votes for, 202 votes against.

Sponsors Are Determined

Ordinarily a victory by such a small margin would doom the experiment to failure, but the committee which sponsored the plan is determined to make it work. Nat Stevens, a resident state highway engineer, was elected as the first town manager. While this is his first experience as a manager he has had extensive engineering and public works experience both with private construction companies and public works. He has already established himself as a capable administrator in Conway. It is predicted that he may save up to $10,000 of this year's appropriations entirely by more efficient methods.

The year 1946 may well be termed a "red letter" year in town government reform in New Hampshire. Not only did Conway vote for a manager, but Milford and Hanover have taken steps in this direction. Milford voted to consolidate all utilities within a public works department, and has appointed a sanitary engineer as public works superintendent. Hanover voted to allow the selectmen to choose a "town assistant", and they have employed a Dartmouth College graduate to act in this capacity. These two communities seem to prefer to "back into" the manager plan.

Town meetings in Claremont and Bristol have set up committees, to consider the manager plan and report back to their 1947 town meetings. In Manchester—largest city in the state—the Taxpayers Association is actively supporting the manager idea.

The New Hampshire town manager statute provides for the retention of the town meeting. It also continues the practice of electing the selectmen, clerk and tax collector. By authorizing the selectmen to choose a manager it permits a consolidation of all other administrative departments, makes the manager responsible for drafting the budget, making or approving all purchases, establishing an accounting system and selecting all administrative personnel of the departments under his jurisdiction. He is specifically charged with the operation and maintenance of all roads, streets and utilities. The city manager statute provides for similar responsibilities with the mayor and aldermen designated as the authority to select the manager.

As discontent with municipal services, inefficiency and high governmental costs increases New Hampshire towns and cities are watching the Conway experiment closely. The success of the manager plan in Maine's 71 and Vermont's 27 municipalities has given New Hampshire enthusiasts a great deal of ammunition in their campaigns for the plan. The next few years may witness a great extension of the plan in this state.

HOW A STATE CAN BE MANAGED

(Continued from page 513)

more dedicated funds, eliminate all boards and commissions except in an advisory capacity, place licensing boards under the Department of Education, raise salaries of commissioner of administration and department heads to a level comparable to private enterprises, provide for legislative appointment of post-auditor (public examiner), transfer accounting activities to commissioner of administration, experiment with an administrative court, give commissioner of administration authority to discharge department heads as well as authority to appoint them with governor's approval.

In spite of defects and the need of some new legislation, Minnesota has made substantial progress during the last seven years in keeping its fiscal picture in balance, in improving its business methods, and in managing the various activities of the state government. The legislature is far better informed as to the financial problems of the state and, therefore, is in a position to do a far better job of appropriating funds and raising revenues. The business of the state is now done in the open and the public and press are fairly well aware of what is taking place at the Capitol.

The governor, through the office of the commissioner of administration, is now responsible for the entire administration of the state government even though many boards, commissions and other elected state officials were not abolished in the reorganization act. Citizens are now in a position to hold the governor responsible if anything goes amiss.

It is obvious from the record that Minnesota has contributed materially to the science of administrative management in the field of government. There is ample reason to believe that Minnesota will continue to contribute to this movement at the 1947 legislative session.

City Study of Utilities Urged

Progress imperiled by local authorities' neglect of long range plans for power, water, gas and transportation.

By **JOHN BAUER***

IN THE extensive discussions of postwar municipal planning that have taken place during the past two years, emphasis has centered on the fundamental necessity for every city to assume responsibility for long-range industrial and commercial development, as well as for progressive living conditions, within its community or metropolitan area.

The city is the only agency that can legally or practically exercise over-all powers in the interest of the locality as a whole. It should strive for conditions under which advancing standards of living can be attained and local industry can expand and compete effectively in national and world markets.

The city should be concerned particularly with providing directly or indirectly the variety of services that are essential to modern economic and social life. Its community function requires open-minded municipal surveys, development of policies, and adoption of definite programs to promote general welfare and progress.

Among the services to be considered are the so-called public utilities—electric power, gas, water and transportation. These are public services which are essential to all industry and business and to homes. They must be adequately supplied at minimum available cost. To that end each city should assume responsibility for plant adequacy and efficiency along with proper organization, control and management. If this responsibility is ignored, if utilities are not kept up-to-date, and if rates are higher than need be under modern technology, the locality will suffer the consequences. The city must provide the best possible conditions for the locality to compete effectively with other regions in the struggle for progress.

To provide such favorable conditions, every city should make a thorough survey of its utilities and consider objectively what improvements are needed to assure adequate service at minimum cost. Through such a survey, it should develop and adopt a positive utility program.

General considerations are:

1. *Regional Scope.* The survey would be made by the principal city in the area, but its scope should not be limited to the city itself, it should include the entire locality which, as a whole, constitutes the industrial unit which must meet the competition of other localities in producing for the general market. Adequate and minimum cost utility services should be provided for the entire region, including satellite communities or unincorporated sections that

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*Dr. Bauer, director of the American Public Utilities Bureau, has long been known as a public utility expert. He has been consultant to many state and local governments on their utility problems and is author, or co-author, of a number of volumes including *Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control; The Electric Power Industry—Development, Organization and Public Policies;* and *National Welfare and Business Stability.*

are embraced in the single industrial area. While the central city should take basic responsibility and leadership, and should primarily determine the program, it should seek the active cooperation of adjacent municipal units and territory.

2. *Public and Private Ownership.* Responsibility applies equally whether utility properties are privately or publicly owned and operated. Whatever the form of ownership, utility functions are public and are vital to all community activities. Where properties are municipally owned, the responsibility of the city is direct and positive and cannot be evaded. Where they are privately owned, the duty is not immediate and explicit and can be by-passed more readily; but the needs are equally positive and important.

In electric power, ownership and organization are predominantly private. The same is true of gas and urban transportation. In the case of water supply the situation is reversed—the systems are mostly public. But, whether public or private ownership prevails, municipal responsibility is identical. Municipal inquiry and development of a positive program are essential.

3. *Municipal Ownership.* Where the utility is municipally owned, the survey should be concerned with: (a) adequacy and suitability of facilities, (b) appropriateness of organization and control, (c) adoption of sound financial policies, and (d) assurance of efficient and economical operation. In most instances existing facilities are largely obsolete. Often the utility organization has never been subjected to rigorous scrutiny. Appropriate over-all city control may not have been provided and proper coordination with the general policy-making and administrative structure of the city may be lacking. Frequently definite policies to assure financial integrity of the system and reasonable rates for consumers have not been adopted. The management is commonly subjected to political dictation, and seldom is there adequate provision for assurance of efficient and economical operation.

4. *Private Ownership.* Where a utility is privately owned, the survey should still be concerned with the fundamental objective of getting adequate and proper service at minimum cost. The same considerations of organization, control, finance and management are involved as in outright municipal ownership. Improvements and expansion of existing facilities need particular inquiry. There are also two transcending points of inquiry and formulation of policy: transforming regulation and consideration of public organization.

5. *Transforming Regulation.* In principle, privately owned utilities have been subjected to public regulation, chiefly under state utility commissions. The main purpose of regulation has been to assure proper service to the public at reasonable rates. To a large extent, however, rate regulation has been ineffective, chiefly because standards and methods have been too indefinite and variable for exact and systematic administration. The main difficulty has been in the general legal requirements imposed by the Supreme Court

of the United States, that a company is entitled to such rates as will bring a fair return on the "fair value" of its properties devoted to public service. In a long list of decisions "fair value" was held to consist primarily of the reproduction cost of the properties less their depreciation.

Every rate inquiry, therefore, has required a physical appraisal of the properties, involved widely conflicting claims as between the public and private interest, and has resulted in protracted hearings, excessive costs, and inconclusive decisions. Because of procedural difficulties, official regulation has gone largely by default. The commissions generally have obtained such rate reductions as they could informally, through negotiations with the companies, without official findings and orders. The result in many instances has been that excessive rates have been perpetuated for lack of means through which they could be reduced as basically warranted.

Fortunately for the future, the long fixed "fair value" requirements have been set aside by the Supreme Court. Following the now famous *Hope Natural Gas Company* case, decided January 3, 1944, commissions have been released from consideration of reproduction costs or other technical requirements imposed in earlier cases. As the situation now stands, they are free to adopt the so-called "prudent investment" as rate base. This consists, as presented in the Hope case, of the original cost of the properties less their depreciation due to both physical and functional causes. It can be established and maintained through the accounts of the companies under continuous commission supervision. Regulation can now be transformed into a precise and administrable system; rates can be periodically reviewed and revised upon the exact facts, with full protection of public and private rights.

The point here is that the cities should lead in bringing pressure upon state commissions to adopt the prudent investment rate base and establish systematic control of rates. Such pressure can best be exerted through the cooperation of cities served by the same company, or by all the cities of a state acting together. While the needed regulation can now be secured, its actual attainment will depend largely upon vigorous municipal leadership.

6. *Considering Public Ownership.* In dealing with privately owned utilities, each city should balance the advantages that may be secured from outright municipalization as against efforts to bring about effective regulation. Even with transformed regulation there would still be a question as to whether outright public organization would not be more efficient and economical than leaving utilities in private hands with provision for public control. There are also problems of absentee ownership, over-capitalization and the break-up of the holding company empires under the Federal Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, whose constitutional validity was affirmed recently by the Supreme Court in *North American Company* vs. *Securities and Exchange Commission.*

In the case of most cities, there

has been holding company control of the local electric operating company, which must be divested under the SEC requirements. The common stock of the company may be sold to another holding company, or to independent investors, or some other disposition may be made. The necessity of divestment furnishes the occasion for consideration of municipal ownership. The question arises as to whether municipalization would not be better for the locality than passing control to other private interests. For answer the city needs to know the facts involved, the purchase price to be paid, the financing, the form of organization, and the management that should be provided.

7. *Legal Rights.* Naturally, the city should have appropriate legal powers to establish and carry out its utility program. Where it does not have adequate powers, it should see that the law is properly amended. To that end it should induce other cities in the state to join in asking the legislature to grant to all cities the legal rights necessary for proper development and adoption of utility policies and programs of action. This is a matter of profound importance for every city and its surrounding locality.

Specific utility needs are:

1. *Electric Power.* Whether the electric system is publicly or privately organized, the survey should determine the extent to which old plant units should be replaced and modern plant capacity expanded. This applies particularly to the generation of electricity but also to transmission and distribution. In regard to generation there has been tremendous technological advancement in the basic plant units. Roughly, the best 1920 large modern plant required about two pounds of coal per kilowatt hour generated. The best large plant of today uses only 0.7 pounds per kilowatt hour, and much less labor for operation and maintenance. In most instances, however, existing generating plants do not have this modern efficiency, but consist largely of wholly or partially obsolete units.

Plant modernization and enlargement are needed badly both in public and private systems. The extent can be determined only through special investigation and competent findings. In the case of many municipally owned systems, there is also the question as to whether it is better economy to provide independent generation or to purchase wholesale from a large private electric company. The decision should depend wholly upon relative cost. For a small city, say under 25,000 population, purchase would probably be more economical, provided proper wholesale rates can be obtained. For the larger city, independent generation might have its advantages. For wholesale purchase, the municipal systems in the state might band together in joint action before the state commission so as to get the rates down to the actual cost of service, including a fair return to the private company.

2. *Gas Utilities.* There are two kinds of gas utilities—manufactured gas and natural gas. The first has not had the benefit of such technological advancement as has characterized electricity. In fact, for many

years it has remained essentially a static or recessive utility. In basic service functions it has gradually been displaced by electricity. In the main it retains only domestic cooking, although in this, too, it has been losing to electric competition. While it has striven to enter the house-heating and industrial fields, it has been limited by high costs and by the availability of cheaper fuels.

As to natural gas, the situation is quite different, provided the gas can be transmitted economically to the particular service territory. Its heat content is usually about double that of manufactured gas and generally its gateway price has been considerably less than the cost of manufactured gas. Where it is already supplied, the municipal inquiry should determine whether the rates are sufficiently low and the supply adequately protected. Where it is not already supplied, the question is whether it can be transmitted at a low enough cost to revitalize the local gas service. There have been significant advances in transmission pipe-line construction and, for the future, economical transmission can be provided where before the war it was not available. Even in the northeast seaboard territory, government oil pipe-lines, constructed to meet war needs, might be converted to transmission of natural gas to serve heavily industrialized regions, or a large new line might be constructed economically from the southwestern natural gas fields. At any rate here is a matter of great importance in which joint intermunicipal action might prove efficacious.

3. *Water Supply*. The problems of water supply center in increasing industrial utilization, expansion of municipal-regional areas, the necessity of reaching into outlying territories, and coordination in the joint interest of a district, the state, or several states under comprehensive river development projects. For the most part, individual municipalities can no longer go their own way; they will be forced by inescapable circumstances to join in broad programs of water resources development and utilization. The desirable scope and form of organization will depend upon the particular circumstances of a locality, but should be largely regional. This applies especially to the main source of supply and transmission, which would be provided on a wide area basis, with financing and joint cost-sharing by the several municipalities and territories included in the project. Local distribution systems, however, can well be left to individual municipalities. These important readjustments will necessitate the establishment of public organization, but present city water systems are already about 85 per cent under public ownership.

4. *Urban Transportation*. Here the most significant fact is the extensive obsolescence of the street railways as a mode of transportation. While their developing obsolescence has been widely observed during the past 25 years, the present reality can no longer be obscured by the special interests in the industry. Where street railways still exist the urgent problems will be how and to what extent they should be replaced with modern buses, and whether this can be accomplished better through

private or public organization. In either case, the capital structure should be cleared of the abandoned street railways so as to leave no hangover of street railway costs and charges upon future bus riders.

In the readjustment of transportation, reliable factual findings are needed to determine the extent to which street railway conversion either to modern gas buses or to trolley buses, operated through overhead electric feeders, would be advantageous. Unfortunately, there has never been a conclusive investigation showing the relatively justified place of each mode of transportation in a modern city system. Naturally, managements contend that street railways are best suited to the main and heavy traffic routes. There is doubt as to the justification of this claim, but it cannot be brushed aside without thorough operating tests and conclusive findings. Since all large cities are confronted with the problem of street railway conversion to gas or trolley buses, an unbiased and competent intermunicipal investigation to determine the facts would be valuable. This would enable every city, at negligible expense, to establish its own program as the facts warrant.

With a modern bus system, a city can readily adjust its transportation according to needs and convenience. Routing would be flexible and could be changed to conform with shifting conditions. Express lines could be established for the convenience of suburban and distance traffic. Where subways or other rapid transit lines exist, bus feeders and distributors could be provided, thus avoiding costly rapid transit additions and extensions. And, what is particularly important, general traffic conditions in the streets would be materially improved. There would be an end to the prevalent interference of street cars with vehicular traffic, and of vehicular traffic with the mass passenger movement—but all this raises a question of fact and should be determined through the proposed intercity investigation and findings.

In conclusion, it would seem that a comprehensive utility inquiry and adoption of a modern program, based on community advantage, would be a first rank municipal project, and would pay huge dividends in future economic and social progress. Its importance is accentuated by the fact that utility matters have generally not been part of regular official concern. They have received only casual or spasmodic consideration under more or less emergency circumstances. They have practically never received proper attention on their own merits in relation to community needs and advantages.

Utilities should be brought to the front line of municipal consideration and responsibility, for they are basic to the future welfare of every urban community. Every city should institute a thoroughgoing investigation and adopt a program that is predicated on demonstrated advantages to the locality.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Committee Will Study Public Employee Strikes

Appointed at Meeting of Civil Service Assembly

THE problems inherent in strikes by governmental employees, and consequent "dangers to orderly government," will be explored by a committee authorized on October 23 by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The assembly held its annual conference in New York, October 21 to 24, celebrating its 40th anniversary. It was attended by some 600 personnel executives in federal, state and local civil service and representatives of allied organizations.

The resolution to appoint the committee on strikes followed discussion of an amendment to the by-laws to provide means for meeting disruption of the civil service. The committee is to report at the next annual meeting, and is expected to suggest laws and policies to deal with the strike problem.

Another topic at the meeting was return of the United States Employment Service to the states, which becomes effective November 16, and the administrative problems caused by the change. The legislation affecting the transfer provides that all employees covered by the federal organization be appointed to comparable positions. It was pointed out that the problems of classification and compensation would be more complicated than when the employment services were taken over by the federal government in January 1942.

Arthur S. Flemming, United States civil service commissioner, discussed the role of the personnel office in management and announced that by January the commission expects to have 750 boards of examiners established in various governmental departments and agencies and that over 300,000 placements will be made through these boards in the fiscal year of 1947.

At the concluding session Mayor Edward J. Jeffries of Detroit urged better labor relations between cities and their employees. Referring to the threat of strikes as "a new conception of employee power in relation to government, which can become so potent as to paralyze government and can actually nullify it," he advocated establishment of a liaison agent with knowledge of governmental affairs and of the needs of the employees to avoid conflicts arising through the intervention of labor organizations.

At a discussion on building an international civil service Harry W. Marsh, director of personnel for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, announced that the United Nations Assembly has resolved to create an International Civil Service Commission to handle personnel activities on a global basis.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The city of **Enid, Oklahoma**, adopted the council-manager form of government by a vote of nearly three to one, at a special election on October 15. In April Enid will elect a new council, consisting of six members chosen from wards and a mayor elected at large; they will take office on the first Monday in May and will appoint a manager some time thereafter. The vote on October 15 was 3,811 for the manager plan and 1,383 against it. Only one of the six wards returned an adverse majority, by a small margin.

Glenwood Springs is the first city in **Colorado** to adopt the optional manager charter for cities of the second class (2,000 to 25,000) passed at the last session of the legislature. The plan was adopted by a three-to-one vote on September 3.

The borough council of **Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania,** on August 16 adopted an ordinance establishing the office of borough manager, to be filled by an engineer who shall act as borough engineer, surveyor and street commissioner, shall purchase minor supplies and equipment, prepare the budget, execute ordinances and perform such other duties as may be given him by ordinance.

At the annual town meeting on October 7 in **Windsor**, **Connecticut**, a town-manager charter, prepared by the charter study committee, was unanimously approved by approximately 300 persons present, and the committee was empowered to submit it to the state legislature when it convenes in January. At the meeting various changes from the committee's original draft were approved, the most important being the elimination of the board of finance and the transfer of its powers to the town council. A proposal to submit the charter to the electorate at the November 5 general election was defeated. The legislature, if it approves the charter, may require it to be submitted to a referendum before it becomes operative.

In **Darien, Connecticut,** the committee of fifteen for the study of town government, elected at a special town meeting on March 7, 1945, has submitted a printed report, dated October 1, 1946, to the board of selectmen. It recommends centralization of authority in the board of selectmen, whereas now it is largely diffused among various boards and commissions; that the selectmen appoint all administrative officials, including an executive agent to supervise all departments except police, to act as a coordinating officer for the board, and as purchasing agent, but to have no appointive power. Establishment of a department of public works, headed by a town engineer appointed by the board, is also recommended.

The city council of **Hartford, Connecticut,** has refused to place the proposed council-manager charter on the ballot at the November general election, as had been taken for granted after the city charter commission reported in favor of a council-manager charter.[1] The council took this action on September 30 and then set a special election for December 3 for a popular vote on such charter amendments as the council sees fit to recommend. A committee of the council undertook to hold hearings on the charter. The charter commission's draft may be submitted to a vote, but this is not certain.

Charter revision committees are at work in **Farmington** and **Manchester, Connecticut.**

The City Manager League of **Springfield, Massachusetts,** expects to seek the necessary signatures on a referendum petition to place the question of the manager plan on the ballot.

A report on improving the government of **Hagerstown, Maryland,** prepared by Dr. Joseph M. Ray, recommends the council-manager plan, with a council to be elected at large. Dr. Ray, who is head of the Department of Government and Politics in the College of Business and Public Administration, University of Maryland, conducted a survey of the city government and rendered his report to the city council September 1.

Grundy, Virginia, now under a strong-mayor form of government, is contemplating a change to the council-manager form.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 355, and October 1946, page 470.

A committee of the **Raleigh, North Carolina,** Junior Chamber of Commerce is advocating a change to the manager plan in that city.

In **Orangeburg, South Carolina,** a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan was defeated at an election on September 24.

An advisory vote in **Americus, Georgia,** on October 22 resulted favorably to the council-manager idea. The city council is expected to take action soon.

A new charter for **Dalton, Georgia,** including the council-manager plan, is expected to be prepared by Dalton's representative in the state legislature, Stafford Brooke.

The city council of **DeFuniak Springs, Florida,** is interested in the establishment of the council-manager form of government and is planning to submit the question to the voters.

The village of **Osborn, Ohio,** will vote on a new manager charter November 5.

A City Manager Committee is active in **Van Wert, Ohio.**

Voters of **Beckley, West Virginia,** defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan at an election held October 15.

The charter board of **Grafton, West Virginia,** expects rapid completion of a council-manager charter.

A group of residents in **Nicholasville, Kentucky,** is for a so-called commission form of government under which four commissioners elected at large would appoint a city managing agent.

In **Bardstown, Kentucky,** a "supervisor of city works," has been appointed by the city council, to relieve the mayor and council of much of the work and responsibility caused by rapid growth of that city. All utilities, sewers, water lines, streets and construction will be under his supervision.

In **Paris, Tennessee,** the council-manager plan will be voted on at an election on November 12. The Veterans Better Government League undertook the circulation of petitions calling for a referendum election on the establishment of the plan. The league was supported by Mayor J. M. McCutchan, who was an early signer of the petition.

Three city councilmen of **Warrensburg, Missouri,** have been appointed as a committee to study the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Hutchinson, Kansas,** is campaigning for a change to the council-manager plan.

The city charter commission of **Beaumont, Texas,** is engaged in drafting a council-manager charter. It is expected, however, that it will provide for popular election of a mayor. A new Citizens Organization for Better Government is also interested in obtaining a charter for the county.

In **Pendleton, Oregon,** the voters failed to approve a proposed council-manager charter on August 30 by a vote of 595 to 408. Criticisms were particularly directed against three provisions of the proposed charter: a requirement that a councilman must own property of at least $2,000 assessed value; the election of the five councilmen at large instead of by wards; and permission for the city manager to discharge any city employee "with or without cause."

Interest in the council-manager plan is also evident in **Neillsville, Wisconsin**; **Bloomington** and **Moline, Illinois**; **Tuscaloosa, Alabama**; **Fergus Falls, Minnesota**; **Leavenworth, Kansas**; **San Antonio** and **Kerrville, Texas,** and **Oroville, California.**

Recreation Master Plan for Washington State

In the state of Washington, where entertainment of tourists is reported to be the second largest industry, a recreation master plan is being drafted to correlate community activities with provisions for vacationists.

According to the Council of State Governments this plan is being formulated under provisions and funds granted by the 1945 legislature and will be submitted in January 1947.

Shorter hours, increasing use of the five-day week, and withdrawal of federal support from U.S.O. programs in many localities, have impelled a search for new means to continue social, cultural and athletic activities that have become a true part of the community.

The plan will aim at fuller participation by residents in natural recreation areas nearby as well as providing for tourist entertainment. Researchers have analyzed recreation needs from information gathered through public opinion polls, by community "self-analyses," and by conferences of state and local researchers. Twenty-five communities and rural areas were taken as samples in the public opinion poll, which furnished data on current levels of cultural and recreational development in comparison to future needs.

Development of recreational facilities in hitherto sparsely populated areas is being given special attention including, for example, the Columbia River Valley, where power and other developments will bring an influx of thousands of workers and their families.

Wartime increase in juvenile delinquency has focused attention of researchers also on the need for more extensive corrective and preventive youth recreation programs. Recreation programs and facilities for older people and for specialized groups including seamen, loggers and migratory workers are also being planned.

In-Service Training for Administrators and Technicians

Development of technical skill and increasing the breadth of view of administrators are objectives of various training programs reported from many cities.

The International City Managers' Association has completed a survey of thirteen in-service programs involving administrative personnel of 45 cities. Definite improvements in local government were reported as resulting from all the projects, especially in producing broader understanding by city department heads of municipal administrative problems outside their special fields. This is accomplished by textual study of administrative techniques plus round table discussions among departmental and other officials.

One example of such programs is a series of in-service training sessions now being held for city officials of fifteen cities in southeastern Michigan. Eighteen group discussions are scheduled, based on assigned reading from textbooks purchased by city and individual funds.

Similar in-service training schedules for instruction in administrative techniques are being followed in Amarillo, Texas, and Las Vegas, Nevada.

In Wichita, Kansas, two group training courses have been completed so far, one on municipal administrative techniques and the other on local planning administration. Fifteen weekly sessions were held by each group. All textbooks were furnished by the city. Thirty-two officials took the planning course. Comprehensive planning studies and recommendations of the City Planning Commission, just being completed, were used in many discussions.

In-service training courses in police administration were completed recently by police officers in Los Angeles and Dubuque, Iowa, while general or specialized in-service groups have completed courses in Dallas, Lubbock and Wichita Falls, Texas; San Diego, California; Kalamazoo and several other Michigan cities.

In Kansas City, Missouri, there is an increasing number of in-service courses. More than a hundred persons have completed supervisory courses, which are being continued, with added emphasis on public relations. In the treasury division public relations training is being undertaken with a conference type of course. A course for assessors is beginning, with arrangements for participation by veterans under the GI bill of rights. Courses in typing and shorthand, both basic and advanced, are being given to relieve an extreme shortage of stenographers. The Welfare Department in October started an in-service training program for all full-time recreation workers, covering recreational administration, program planning and recreational workshop.

Cities Try to Resolve Industrial Labor Disputes

Following establishment of an industrial relations committee by Toledo, Ohio, which has been successful in easing various labor difficulties in that city and has been praised by employer and labor representatives, Louisville, Kentucky, St. Louis, Missouri, and New York City have taken steps for active and organized efforts for labor peace.

The Louisville Mediation Board is composed of six representatives each from labor and management and six representatives of the general public, all eighteen being appointed by the mayor. When two factions in a labor dispute are deadlocked they may submit their case to a three-member subcommittee of the new board.

In St. Louis, as in Toledo and Louisville, there is to be an eighteen-member committee. It is expected to rely chiefly on public opinion to make its decisions effective.

In New York City Mayor William O'Dwyer has set up a Division of Labor Relations, headed by Edward C. Maguire, deputy commissioner of transportation and labor advisor to the mayor on many occasions. Mayor O'-Dwyer, having been drawn into several major labor disputes seriously affecting the economic life of the city's population, hopes that the new division may be successful in aiding the settlement of many labor difficulties before they become acute and large-scale. The new agency will also be expected to equip itself with information to help it understand and assist in the solution of disputes both within city employment and outside the municipal government. Its estimated annual budget is $60,000.

Foreign Service of U. S. to Be Reorganized

The first thorough reorganization of the United States Foreign Service since 1924 is provided for by recent legislation approved by President Truman.

According to the National Civil Service League, the act provides that the Foreign Service shall be administered by a director general appointed by the secretary of state from among Foreign Service officers of the two highest classes. A Board of Foreign Service is created under the chairmanship of the assistant secretary of state in charge of administration, with two other assistant secretaries of state and representatives of the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, who shall sit only when matters of interest to those departments are under consideration; the president may also authorize similar representation of other departments. The board's principal function is to advise the secretary of state on policies and procedures to govern the administration and personnel management of the Foreign Service.

A Board of Examiners, under the

direction of the Board of Foreign Service, is set up to examine candidates for the service. An Advisory Interdepartmental Committee of the Foreign Service, made up of the director general as chairman and of representatives of the State Department and other governmental agencies, is to be appointed by the president to advise the secretary of state and the board and to assist in planning and developing the service.

Oregon Studying Growth Beyond Limits of Cities

A committee appointed by the governor of Oregon is investigating problems arising from current population increases in every major Oregon community. Special study is being given to the rapid expansion of unincorporated areas beyond municipal zoning jurisdiction. The committee is making a city by city survey in an effort to help municipalities find ways of directing suburban development beyond city limits.

An outstanding example of such "fringe" growth is at Klamath Falls, where a ring of uncontrolled development containing 12,000 residents has grown up around the city of 16,000. The latter supplies water to the fringe but the new suburban area has no sewage system, no drainage, no street control, no police or fire protection, no building code and no zoning regulation to restrict the development of nuisance industries or establishments.

Fringe business presents potential sources of municipal revenue. The Oregon committee has dicovered that between Grants Pass and Gold Hill, a distance of approximately fifteen miles, there are 24 auto courts representing investments of some $1,200,000. A license is required for none of them.

In Linn and Lane Counties the fringes of Albany, Springfield and Eugene are sites of new, large industries just constructed or in process, and no building permit has been issued.

The committee's activities were reported recently in the progress report of the Oregon Post War Readjustment and Development Commission. The fringe study is scheduled for completion by January 1, when recommendations will be made to the governor and legislature for solution of fringe-growth problems.

Uniform Modern Building Codes Gain Impetus

With the objects of encouraging better construction standards and promoting general adoption of a modern, uniform building code, establishment of the Building Officials Foundation was endorsed on October 3 by the Building Officials Conference of America, meeting in Memphis, Tennessee. Conference leaders expressed confidence that manufacturers and others in the building industry would subscribe $600,000 as an endowment fund to finance the work of the foundation on a non-profit basis.

A basic code of nineteen streamlined sections and a supplemental specifications code have been in process of drafting, and this work will be speeded.

In New Jersey and Connecticut laws have been adopted this year to establish standard building codes, with provision for amendment from time to time by the Department of Economic Development, in New Jersey, and the State Housing Authority, in Connecticut. These standard codes may be adopted in any municipality in the state by reference to the standard code in a local ordinance—thus obviating the high cost of local publication of a voluminous ordinance. New York State has a legislative committee working on this subject.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Governmental Research Booming

Bureaus Expand Programs and Issue Many Reports

"THE public administration movement on the part of university people is more active in this section of the country (the south) than in any other," reports Dr. Christian L. Larsen, assistant director of the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of South Carolina.** "For instance," continues Dr. Larsen, "six states of this region are just completing a study of the administration of natural resources in this area and they are about to undertake a second cooperative study on the technical aids available to government officials. As part of this movement bureaus of public administration are being established, with those at South Carolina and at Mississippi being the most recent ones. There is a close working relationship among the university public administration people in this area."

The South Carolina bureau, of which George R. Sherrill is director, has just celebrated its first birthday. It is supported partly by the university and partly by the General Educational Board. The major project for the first year is the forthcoming study of the administration of natural resources in South Carolina. Future plans include a study of municipal government and administration in South Carolina, the development of a legislative reference service, and occasional short studies at the request of government officials.

A plan for a statewide program of college research on municipal problems was discussed by representatives of a score of Pennsylvania colleges and universities meeting on June 11 as a **Committee on Pennsylvania City Problems,** called by William S. Livengood, Jr., secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania. This meeting, reported in the monthly bulletin of the department, suggested the establishment in each college of a committee on municipal affairs. The plan calls for impartial fact-finding and research through the colleges, the results of which would be turned over to cooperating civic associations for public discussion and possible remedial action.

A somewhat similar plan to coordinate university research in local government with civic action was announced September 9 by **Western Reserve University** jointly with the **Citizens' League of Cleveland** and the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research.** According to announcement by President Winfred G. Leutner of the university and Robert W. Chamberlin, director of the league and bureau, Associate Professor Karl A. Bosworth, of the university's Department of Political Science, will be assistant director of the Citizens' League and the bureau in charge of research. Faculty and students in the Department of Political Science, as well as facilities in such other departments of the university as sociology, preventive medicine and the School of Applied Social Sciences, will cooperate.

Completed research projects will be presented to the Citizens' League as a basis for action and may also be published in popular form by the university.

President Leutner commended the arrangement as "an excellent opportunity to give mature students experience in governmental research" and bring them into direct contact with the various governmental agencies.

The contemplated program includes rendering service to the political subdivisions in the county. It is expected that one of the first projects will be reorganization of county government. Professor Earl L. Shoup, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Western Reserve, has accepted the chairmanship of an **Institute of Government** which will consider this matter later in the year, according to the September bulletin of the Citizens' League.

Larger staff and budget to expand its consultation with citizens groups working on charter revision, tax problems, etc., are forecast at the conclusion of the second of two articles on the "History of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas,**" by Lynn F. Anderson, research assistant of the bureau, in *Texas Municipalities,* August and September, 1946.

The first article reviews the history of the bureau from its establishment in 1913 under the direction of Dr. Herman G. James through 1925, during which period it shared its staff with the Texas League of Municipalities. The second article covers the period from 1934, when the bureau was revived after a nine-year hiatus, to the present.

The reorganized bureau is now entirely separate from the league, but works closely with it. It furnishes a clearing house and depository for data on municipal government, a consultant and research service for Texas cities, in-service and pre-service training programs and numerous research studies undertaken on its own initiative. Twenty-seven major publications were issued between 1934 and 1946. These include studies of government and administration of Texas because they are considered "as necessary for the municipal officials as those made of local problems at the municipal level." Professor Stuart A. MacCorkle, of the Department of Government of the University of Texas, is director of the bureau.

Research Goes Intergovernmental

An increasing number of bureau programs and reports bear out the growing importance of the interrelations of political units, which was one of the principal points stressed in a report of a panel discussion on profitable fields of research in state and local government held at the convention of the **American Political Science Association,** March 29, 1946. Professor William Anderson was chairman, and Kimbrough Owen, secretary of the panel.

An excellent example is a 64-page *Study of Local and State Relationships,* **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, director. The report carries approximately twenty general recommendations and many specific ones.

The recommendations are conditioned by three underlying assumptions: (1) That the state should curtail its activities which involve direct service to the public and emphasize its role as a policeman to see that local officers render services efficiently; (2) That, since there is little prospect of reducing the excessive number of units in the state, progress can best be sought "through the simple method of federated administration of certain services"; (3) That the state should use its powers including its fiscal powers to "aid and encourage" rather than to compel local governments to develop "proper administrative mechanisms."

"Fiscal Relations of California State and Local Governments," a statement by James Mussatti, general manager, **California State Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry,** to the Assembly Interim Committee on State and Local Taxes, analyzes economic and social trends, tax facts and governmental arrangements that need to be considered in seeking a solution of the "critical problem" of financing local governments. The statement includes a wealth of statistical information, some of it summarized in eight charts. It stresses the need for modernizing local governments, without which "improved service standards, equity in tax burdens, and fiscal soundness cannot be achieved." A number of possible methods are suggested.

The September bulletin of **Government Research, Inc.,** Los Angeles, Ed F. Thompson, editor, is devoted largely to a report of testimony by county and municipal officials before the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Officials stressed increasing population, higher personnel and other costs, deferred capital improvements and increasing tax exemptions as principal reasons for the financial difficulties of local governments. Although need for additional revenues was stressed, one city attorney saw the need for local action to modernize municipal methods and increase efficiency.

In the *Brackenridge Schools, A Sample of the League's Lower Echelon Work,* the *Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League for Western Pennsylvania,** Leslie J. Reese, director, reports on a comprehensive survey of the Brackenridge school district. An outgrowth of the report is a demand for an area-wide study of school problems in the Allegheny Valley. The league feels that its most important recommendations relate to consolidation of the Brackenridge and neighboring districts. "We get to know the difficulties in the path of one world when we total up the obstacles in the path of a simple school district consolidation," says the report; but the P.E.L. is not discouraged.

State Aid and Shared Taxes in New York State, issued by the **Citizens' Public Expenditure Survey of New York State,** Albany, reviews the history and effects of state aid and tax sharing in New York. "Several methods to encourage use of state collected and shared revenues for real estate tax reduction" are discussed, but no substitute for the "ultimate safeguard" of alert citizen interest is found. Effect of public works versus private works on the tax base is considered. The twelve-page text is supplemented by extensive statistical tables including a chart giving detailed information on the several categories of state aid payments and shared taxes.

The use of "tax resources for the purpose of providing equal rural services through the imposition of equal tax burdens" is the goal sought in *Postwar Revenues for Rural Public Services in Maryland,* by W. P. Walker and S. H. DeVault, issued by the **University of Maryland, Agricultural Experiment Station.** The report finds that state and local revenues in Maryland should be adequate for normal government functions in the years immediately following the war, but recommends "frequent reviews of state and local fiscal policy," and makes various suggestions for improvement of the present tax structure and the means of financing public education, county roads and public welfare.

Fiscal relations between state and local units occupy a major part of *Financing State and Local Government in Oregon,* (133 pages), the fourth preliminary research report prepared for the **Oregon Tax Study Commission,** S. J. Barrick, director of research. Basic data for counties and cities were compiled by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** Herman Kehrli, director.

This part of the study is summarized with tables in *Western City* for July 1946.

Government—It's With Us Always (even before the cradle and after the grave) is the title page of a recent "work book" issued by the **Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations,** New Castle, Indiana, Jack C. Greig, executive director. This "catalogue" of public services shows clearly how "the unplanned, uncoordinated growth of government services has resulted in a veritable tangle of federal, state and local services being operated on the local level." The report includes an eleven-page "Summary of Henry County Intergovernmental Revenues for 1944."

Assessment of Property in Henry County, Indiana, is analyzed in another recent study of the HCCIR. Eleven recommendations for improving assessment of property are arrived at.

A Report Upon the 1945 or 10th Annual Survey of County, City and Town Government in Tennessee (117 pages) has been issued by the **Tennessee Taxpayers' Association,** William R. Pouder, executive secretary. The report is a mine of statistics, information and wisdom on the subject indicated by the title, and includes reprints of articles and notes from various publications of such organizations as the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, the National Municipal League and Tax Institute. The volume should be invaluable to Tennessee citizens and officials interested in modernizing administrative and fiscal arrangements in that state.

Rising State Expenditures, Project Note No. 15 of the **Tax Foundation,** New York, Charles C. Bauer, executive director, sounds a warning in the midst of general optimism concerning state finances. It notes that most revenue increases were the result of war conditions, that many state expenditures were deferred because of the war and that great commitments have been made "for welfare, public assistance, hospitals and state aid to cities and schools." The report urges a reorganization of the state's financial programs in order to avoid serious difficulties for state and local units if revenues begin to fall.

The **Chicago Civic Federation,** Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, has issued its *13th Annual Study of Debts, Taxes and Assessments,* (23 pages), a compact factual statement on the financial condition of the several overlapping governments supported by the citizens of Chicago.

Just a Moment, issued September 26 by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, notes that on July 1, 1947, the State of New York will begin taxing a 30th source of current revenue in the form of license fees for operators and shops engaged in barbering, hair dressing and cosmetology. This new state tax will encroach on a local revenue source which yields Buffalo about $25,000 a year. The Buffalo bureau does not think the state needs the money.

"The Future of Subsidized Child Care Programs in New York State" is the subject of a questionnaire reported in *Research Brevities,* September 20, **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.,** George Nichols, managing director. Outstanding conclusion: public child care will cease in most cities whenever state financial participation ends.

The dependence of municipal planning and development on governmental cooperation is discussed in the September monthly letter of the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** H. L. Brittain, managing director. Here are three points made by the letter: (1) "City planning, whether it concerns traffic control, transportation, zoning or its many other phases, is not merely the concern of the mother city but of all the municipalities in the metropolitan area which is the real social and economic community of Toronto. . . . If we are not to witness a great community being slowly but progressively strangulated, something like the proposed metropolitan planning board will have to be constituted with adequate powers." (2) "We are bound to flounder along in a bog of uncertainty and frustration" until definite determination is made as to the allocation of tax sources and service responsibilities among the three levels of government. (3) Postwar construction plans for thoroughfare and airport development, traffic control, etc., need to be coordinated as parts of a larger plan which would depend in part on "a nationwide policy of allocation of public revenues."

Two recent reports of the **Nebraska Legislative Council**, Roger V. Shumate, director of reference and research, deal with matters involving important intergovernmental issues. Subcommittee Report Number 4, July 1946, considers interstate toll bridges. The report, approved by the Legislative Council, recommends legislation to enable the Department of Roads and Irrigation to accept title to and responsibility for maintenance of the Nebraska portion of any interstate toll bridge which becomes debt free, provided that the adjoining state takes similar action. The other states now linked to Nebraska by toll bridges are South Dakota, Iowa and Missouri.

Subcommittee Report Number 8 on *Matching Federal Funds for Highway Purposes*, approved by the Legislative Council on August 29, finds that on the basis of present revenues Nebraska will be unable to match all federal funds available under the postwar matching program. In view of the importance of highway improvements to the rural sections of the state, the council believes "that every reasonable effort should be made to match all federal funds available for highway construction," but finds that the problem of securing such funds "presents great difficulty." The report lists increased gasoline or motor vehicle taxes, a special property tax, and income and sales taxes as possible sources but states no conclusion as to the best method of financing.

Reports on November Referenda

Tax Talk, **Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research**, James O. Stevenson, editor, summarizes "seventeen propositions amending the basic law" of California to be voted on in November. "From a tax standpoint" the report holds that the main issue is the proposal to increase state school support by assuming responsibility for paying $120 per pupil, including kindergarten.

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director, in its August 20, September 11 and September 30 bulletins, indicates that taxpayers face a "gloomy prospect" in a number of charter amendments on the November 5 ballot. The bureau finds that twelve of fifteen amendments "provide increased benefits for city and county employees, either in salaries, pensions or working conditions." The bureau also points out that San Francisco voters must "pass on eighteen city and county propositions and eighteen state measures . . . in addition to electing various state officials." Special criticism is directed in the September 11 bulletin at a charter amendment which would increase salaries and reduce the work week for both fire and police departments to an extent which the bureau finds would be out of line with practice in comparable cities.

On the other hand, in Los Angeles, **Government Research, Inc.**, in its August bulletin regrets the defeat of seven bond issues at a special election and notes that because of the pressing need, the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors will resubmit certain of the issues in November. Suggesting that the extremely light vote in August did not "indicate the attitude of a substantial proportion of the voters," the report advises that special elections should be avoided.

In an analysis of the Los Angeles city budgets for 1946-1947 in the same bulletin, it is recommended that salary adjustments be made "in keeping with the annual study of prevailing wages in this area now conducted jointly by the city's Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, the Personnel Commission of the Los Angeles City School Districts, the personnel director of the Department of Water and Power, and the chief administrative officer of the county."

Predicting Employment and Unemployment

Estimates and Forecasts of Total Civilian Employment and Unemployment in California, monthly reports that commenced May 31, may set a new pattern for state reporting of employment figures and prospects. The reports are issued by the **State Reemployment and Reconstruction Commission**, Sacramento, V. B. Stanberry, chief of technical staff. They are prepared by the research staffs of that commission and of the State Department of Industrial Relations and State Department of Employment. These reports give both estimates of current employment and unemployment and short term forecasts of employment by industrial groups for the state as a whole. They cover all employed persons including proprietors and other self-employed workers. The estimates are derived from a review of various kinds of data. The text is clear and interpretive, not merely descriptive.

1947 GRA Officers

At the annual conference of the **Governmental Research Association**, held in September and reported in this section last month, the following officers were elected to serve during 1947:

President, Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; vice president, Alfred F. Smith, director, San Francisco Bureau of Municipal Research; trustees: president and vice president elect; Welles A. Gray, director, State Division, Pennsylvania Economy League; Lennox L. Moak, executive director, New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research; John W. Nowland, director, Tax Research Bureau, Chamber of Commerce of Delaware; Robert E. Pickup, executive director, Providence Governmental Research Bureau; and Walter L. Pierpoint, president and manager, Association of Omaha Taxpayers, Inc.

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Strictly Personal

Dr. William L. Bradshaw, professor of political science, University of Missouri, has recently become dean of the School of Business and Public Administration of the university.

Richard C. Berens joined the research staff of the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research during the summer. Mr. Berens had been a classification analyst for the War Department.

Dr. Robert B. Highsaw, associate professor of political science and director of the new Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Mississippi, has been appointed research consultant to the Mississippi Municipal Association.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizen Groups Active in Planning Field

Report on Local Situations, Seek to Improve Their Areas

THE 1946 edition of the *American Planning and Civic Annual* presents a "record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of national resources." Included are addresses delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Dallas April 21-24 of this year. The volume of 226 pages has been published by the **American Planning and Civic Association**, Washington, D. C., and edited by its executive secretary, Miss Harlean James. Reports and articles have been prepared by eminent leaders in the planning and allied fields.

The annual is divided into five major categories: the nation, the states, metropolitan planning, the cities and towns, and citizen education.

Of particular interest are the discussions on enlisting citizen action and interest for planning, citizens planning organizations, and college courses for education in planning which bring the volume to a close.

The **Allegheny Conference on Community Development**, Park H. Martin, executive director, has published Part I of its *Housing Survey of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (1946). The factual report, prepared by Max Nurnberg, has been issued in two volumes: section I (87 pages) comprises the text of the study with a block map of the city of Pittsburgh; section II (unpaged) contains appendices and tables.

Mr. Nurnberg's study of the existing housing situation is a housing inventory which compares Pittsburgh and Allegheny County with Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia and Rochester. He expects soon to begin his study of the second and third phases of the Pittsburgh housing problem. The second survey is a "market analysis." The third, based on the first two, will make specific recommendations to meet housing needs.

On its toes is the **Mayor's City-Wide Planning Committee of Omaha**, of which Russell J. Hopley is general chairman. Its report, *Improvement and Development Program Recommended for the City of Omaha* (305 pages), is a well organized and beautifully printed piece of work. It contains numerous photographs, maps, graphs and artist's conceptions of proposed buildings and highways, the latter reproduced in sepia tones. Chapters include reports of the organization's Correlating and Finance Committee, a summary of its recommendations, complete reports and recommendations of the project committees, "other improvement and development projects to be undertaken by the city of Omaha during the next five-year period," and a list of chronological developments in connection with the organization of the mayor's committee.

That the work of the committee has borne fruit is demonstrated by the fact that the city council now has before it charter amendments to authorize bond issues for fourteen civic projects labeled "urgent" by the committee. These projects call for a total expenditure of nearly $15,000,000. It is expected that the bond-issue amendments will be submitted to the voters at the November 5 election.

"Cincinnati Needs an Industrial Development Program," says the **Citizens**

Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area, Walter R. L. Taylor, executive secretary, in *Planning and Development News*. The article discusses the City Planning Commission's report, *Industry in the Master Plan*. It asks that consideration be given to the establishment of a municipal or regional authority to operate in the field of industrial sites, and terms "absolutely untrue" a statement appearing recently in a local newspaper that Cincinnati is in such a prosperous condition it has no industrial sites for new industries.

Housing for Your Town—Success—Failure is the latest publication of the **New York Regional Plan Association**, Frederick P. Clark, planning director. Photographs show the results of lack of planning or bad planning and outline "practical means" of avoiding mistakes.

The **South Side Planning Board of Chicago**, a citizen organization headed by Robert E. Garrigan, executive director, has issued a *Prospectus* to provide information on the objectives and program of the board and to enlist support in their development. The *Prospectus* discusses urban blight and its economic drain on the city as a whole. It cites a study of the cost of urban blight made by the Los Angeles Plan Commission, applying the findings in that city to Chicago.

Detroit Citizenship Education Study Progresses

Now well along in its second year, the **Citizenship Education Study** of the Detroit public schools and Wayne University has submitted its first annual report to the public and has published several leaflets describing its purposes and goals. The study is supported by the William Volker Charities Fund which is making a yearly grant of $85,000 for five years beginning 1945.

The purpose of the study is "to seek ways of increasing the understanding, interest, competence and participation of boys and girls in the activities of good citizens so that they will try to be active citizens throughout their lives." Director of the study is Stanley E. Dimond, supervisor of social studies at Wayne University. Five staff members were selected from the Detroit public schools and Wayne University, three from outside the Detroit system. There is a Local Advisory Committee of fifteen members and a National Advisory Committee of 61 members which reads like a "Who's Who" in education.

Two leaflets are now available: *X Marks a Spot*, "being a story about building better citizens in the Detroit public schools," and *Five Qualities of the Good Citizen*, a statement prepared by the staff "to serve as central goals for the study." Both are attractively printed in two colors, are short and to the point. A slide film, "Children are Citizens," has been developed for public presentation of the study.

Among the 28 specific projects now in progress as a result of organizing efforts are these: Development of a unit on democracy in an intermediate school, establishment of a student council in an elementary school, reorganization and restudy of student council procedures, development of a movie on citizenship in a school, use of student assemblies to get pupil participation in the solution of school problems, improved use of visual aids, emphasis on direct civic experience—jury service, visits to city council, legislature, etc. Each of the 28 activities is concentrated in certain elementary or high schools.

Special research projects already undertaken by the staff included an attempt to determine (1) interest in current affairs on the secondary school level and (2) influence of the school in getting out the vote at the November 1945 election. In the latter instance, four approaches to getting out the vote were used by four sets of schools, sixteen elementary schools participating in the study.

In this first report the staff comments that a good beginning has been made and that citizenship education for some children in Detroit already is better than when schools opened a year ago.

Citizenship Efforts in Other Schools

Students of the **Crosby High School** in **Waterbury, Connecticut**, know more about city planning for their community than the average Waterbury adult," says Sando Bologna, writing in *The American City*. Mr. Bologna describes the school's course in city planning which "is believed to be the only one of its kind in New England."

The course was introduced four years ago by Charles E. Woodlock, mechanical drawing teacher. Between sixteen and twenty pupils preparing for college are selected for the study, but when lecturers speak the audience of interested students and teachers becomes so large sessions are held in the assembly hall. Fourteen lecturers are headed by Mayor John S. Monogan and L. T. Scott-Smith, engineer for the City Plan Commission. The director of the State Development Commission discusses the relationship of city planning to state and metropolitan planning. Used as a textbook is one of the plan commission's reports which is filled with graphs and highlighted with breakdowns of estimated costs on a multitude of projects included in the commission's six-year postwar program.

Aileen Roberts, editor of *The Merit Man*, published by the **Connecticut Merit System Association**, in an article appearing in that publication, writes entertainingly on the one-week government course for Connecticut teachers held at the University of Connecticut during the summer.[1] "The week at Storrs," says Miss Roberts, "was an excellent opportunity for teachers not only to learn how their government operates but to meet, talk with and question the people who actually are operating it."

The **Indiana Constitution Day Committee**, in cooperation with the **National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship**, is conducting its first annual statewide "Constitution Week Essay Contest." Over two hundred prizes totaling $1100, are offered to two divisions, the first comprising sixth, seventh and eighth grade students; the second, high school students. First prize in each division is $100 and a trip to Indianapolis to meet Governor Gates and preside for a short time over the Senate or House of Representatives during the next session of the legislature.

The contest is part of the state and national program to make citizens more "constitution-conscious." The contest closes at midnight of November 30. Judges are Governor Gates, President Frank H. Sparks of Wabash College, and Samuel R. Harrell, chairman of the Constitution Day Committee.

World Week, a scholastic magazine on social studies and international affairs for high school students, edited by Kenneth M. Gould, is publishing a series of 32 articles dealing with local and state governments and their tie-up with the federal government. According to announcement, "each will stress the contributions students can make to their local communities by understanding how they are run, and by inaugurating or taking part in programs to improve the government." The first, "Cleveland Celebrates a Birthday," appears in the September 16 issue.

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[1] See also the REVIEW for July, page 366.

Seattle League Tackles County Home Rule

Labeling the securing of a county home rule charter as its number one project for the 1946-47 season, the Board of Trustees of the **Seattle Municipal League** approved some twenty projects covering urgent problems facing the city, county, school district and port. President Lawrence Bates pointed out at the meeting that this action does not limit the organization's program. "The league is prepared to tackle any new development in local government on a moment's notice," he said. "When a problem is uncovered that needs immediate attention we'll have the staff—and probably a special committee—investigate the matter within a few hours."

The league's plan for county reorganization includes the drafting and introduction in the 1947 legislature of a constitutional amendment permitting Washington counties to prepare home rule charters. Such an amendment would give opportunity for the reorganization of King County along modern and efficient lines. Plans are under way to sponsor a number of public forums at which this and other local problems will be discussed.

League membership has now passed the 3000 mark. The 3,000th member, Harold C. Hurlbut, an electrical engineer, amid the flash of the photographer's bulbs, congratulations from league officials, and questioning by a *Seattle Times* reporter, said "I'd just as soon be the 3001st and let someone else have this publicity!" Membership chairman A. J. Quigley commented, "This is only the beginning." Since the Seattle Municipal League's reorganization in 1938, its membership has grown from 345 to the present 3000. C. A. Crosser is executive secretary of the organization.

War Via the Courts on "Lulus" and Vote Frauds

Protesting the payment of "lulus"—payments in lieu—to New York state legislators, Abbett Pulliam, executive vice president of **Governmental Research, Inc, of New York State,** has brought suit against Frank C. Moore, state comptroller, asking that he be restrained from making any further payments of this kind. In his complaint Mr. Pulliam cites the receipt of large sums of money by legislative leaders and committee chairmen, in addition to the salaries prescribed by the constitution, in lieu of "expenses." He points out that these sums, while theoretically for secretarial and clerical help, are actually taxed as income by both the state and federal governments and are recognized as salary in the records of the State Retirement System. In other words, such "lulu" items "are treated as and are actually additional compensation" despite the limitations prescribed by the constitution.

Another organization using the courts in its efforts to secure honest government is the **Citizens Union of New York City,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary. The union has brought suit on behalf of a former assemblyman, John J. Lamula, to void the Republican and American Labor party primary results in the second assembly district of Manhattan. It makes specific charges of "widespread impersonation, casting of ballots on behalf of voters by election officials, conduct of the polls and the count by persons other than officials, changes in the count after it was made and announced, deliberate alteration and mutilation of ballots, and other glaring violations of the election law."

Citizens Work for Good Government

The **Chicago Public Affairs Council** is a new organization interested in community betterment.... A newly formed

Citizens Charter Committee in Santa Monica, California, is campaigning for adoption of a council-manager charter on the November 5 ballot. . . . The **Richmond Civic Association** is backing a proposal on the November 5 ballot to elect a commission to draft a new basic law for that city. . . . The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey** reports that it has had sixteen recent requests from ten different Missouri cities for material on the council-manager form of government.

Legislative Report

In his "President's Message" for 1946, Sydney M. Williams, president of the **Massachusetts Civic League,** reports that "encouraging progress has been made during the year in securing the cooperation of additional statewide groups and organizations on legislation in which we were interested." Included with the message in the September issue of the *Lens* are reports from the league's committees on legislative and other activities. Covered are billboards, children's welfare, education, forms of government, lotteries, housing, public health, public service, public welfare, etc. Samuel Saumsiegle, chairman of the Research Committee on Special State Problems, a new group composed of veterans, college students and recent graduates, reports that his committee has held numerous meetings. It has presented a series of broadcasts dealing with veterans benefits "in an attempt to clarify the existing confusion."

Election Helps

Is Politics Your Job?, a 24-page leaflet by the **National League of Women Voters,** Anna Lord Strauss, president, should go far toward making voters more conscious of their tasks as citizens. It sells for ten cents per copy.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** (Chicago), Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president, has published a 194-page *Illinois Voter's Handbook 1946* (50 cents. The volume, prepared by Helen Kingsley McNamara, represents an extensive revision of earlier handbooks. Incidentally, the Illinois league has set for itself a goal of a thousand new members this fall.

Women in Government

In order to stimulate interest in the preparation of women for careers in government, the **New York League of Business and Professional Women** is sponsoring an annual fellowship at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. The fellowship is designed to prepare a qualified woman from New York for a career in civic administration and community research.

Strictly Personal

The Citizens League of Cleveland has announced the appointment of **Colonel Robert W. Chamberlin** as its director and **Robert D. Fleischer** as assistant director. Colonel Chamberlin resigned as assistant safety director of Cleveland in 1940 to enter the army, where, in 1944, he was made a member of the United States Group Control Council in Germany, later becoming deputy director of public safety in the U. S. German Zone. Mr. Fleischer, previous to entering the army, was on the staff of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Immediately prior to his appointment to the Cleveland League he was management analyst and records administrator with the Office of the Quartermaster General.

The Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union, has announced the selection of **David Krotman** as a member of its Board of Directors to fill the unexpired term of the late Albert Cohen.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

French Revise P. R. Electoral Law

Voters May Now Select Candidates They Prefer

A NEW electoral law for France, published October 8, includes an important modification of the list system of proportional representation used in that country for the constituent assembly elections of October 1945 and June 1946. The law permits the voter to choose his order of preference among the candidates for whom he votes instead of being bound by the order determined by the party.

Under the modified law, which will be used in the November 10 election of the first parliament under the newly adopted constitution, the order of preference established by the parties nominating lists of candidates is merely the order to be applied in the case of ballots carrying no indications to the contrary. The voter may, by marking numbers on the ballot to indicate his order of choice, revise either entirely or in part the order initially selected by the party.

The new arrangement does not go so far as to permit the voter to indicate a series of preferences crossing party lines as he may under the Hare system, though the use of numbered choices within the list is a significant approach to the freedom of the better proportional system used in English-speaking countries.

An attempt to modify the electoral law to permit award of seats on the basis of a combination of "remainder votes"—adding together the votes of each party which are not used in the election of any candidate within the district to make up quotas over a larger area—was rejected. In this respect the electoral law remains essentially the same as that which was in effect for the two earlier elections.

'P. R. in a Nutshell'

A new booklet entitled *Proportional Representation in a Nutshell*, by Mrs. Jeanne F. Young, has been published in Adelaide, Australia.[1] It is dedicated to the memory of Catherine Helen Spence, the "pioneer of the movement for electoral justice in South Australia," and includes a foreword by E. J. Craigie, long an active worker for proportional representation in that country and former member of the provincial legislature.

The pamphlet describes the basic principles of proportional representation and includes an account of experience with the system and some examples of the faulty operation of the single-member district and block-vote systems. There is a good deal of interesting information about the experience with various electoral systems in Australia.

The booklet is concerned almost entirely with the single transferable vote method—Hare system—which, as Mrs. Young points out, has a certain superiority over the list systems used on the European continent, and is the only system of proportional representation seriously advocated in English-speaking countries. The subject is competently explained in simple language, and the only important error seems to be the statement that the system of distributing surplus votes by counting subsequent choices at appropriate fractional values is universally used. A reference to the American counts in connection with this phase of the subject would have been appropriate.

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[1] Proportional Representation Group of South Australia, 55 King William Street, Adelaide, 52 pages, two shillings and six pence.

Mrs. Young's booklet reveals that the recount method of filling vacancies described in this department for September and used in Yonkers and Long Beach is also used in Tasmania, where P.R. has been in use in the state government since 1907. It also includes an impressive list of local and private associations utilizing P.R. for elections.

The history of the Australian movement for P.R. and the various political situations with which it has had to deal are interestingly, if briefly, mentioned. It is clear from this account that the movement has cut across party lines and has succeeded in enlisting a certain amount of support in all of the major parties. This dispersal of support for the reform has been at once the fundamental strength and a tactical weakness of the movement. In the long run the former should prove to be more important.

No Third Alternative on Toledo Ballot

An attempt to place another plan on the November 5 ballot in Toledo, as a further alternative to the retention of P.R. and the manager plan or reversion to the previously used single-member-district council and mayor system failed when the city council, on September 12, refused to make the necessary suspension of the rules.

The alternative plan proposed was for a small council elected at large (block vote), an elected mayor and an elected auditor, with provision for retention of the city manager. This plan resembles that voted down at a referendum last year. The proceedings, which for a while seemed to indicate a presentation of this further alternative, showed a certain divergence of opinion and indecision among the opponents of P.R.

In line with arguments previously advanced, this divergence among P.R. opponents on the council will probably be blamed on P.R. itself. Presumably after its abolition one or the other camp would be denied representation, for otherwise the alleged evil of indecision (read: deliberation) in the city government would hardly be alleviated.

Swedish Provincial and Municipal Elections Held

On September 15 provincial and municipal elections throughout Sweden were conducted under a list system of proportional representation. The P.R. system has been in effect for all elections in that country—national, provincial and local—since 1909. No figures on votes cast are available at the present time in this country.

Program for Annual P. R. Meeting

As announced in this department in October, the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held November 13 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia. The session will be held in connection with the 50th anniversary National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, with which the P. R. League is now merged.

Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers, New York, *Herald Statesman,* will speak on "The Politician Hates P. R." Robert E. Garrigan, executive director of the Chicago South Side Planning Board, will describe the first Hare system election in Italy—in the little town of Atri. Dr. James K. Pollock of the University of Michigan will talk on the use of P.R. in the U. S. Zone in Germany. George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, will discuss the use of Plan E (proportional representation and the manager plan) in Cambridge and Lowell and the possibility of its extension to Boston and to Massachusetts towns. George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the P. R. League and secretary of the New York Citizens Union will report on recent developments.

Participants in the discussion to follow addresses will include C. G. Hoag, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; Walter J. Millard, its field secretary; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis; Charles H. Woodward of Philadelphia; Wm. Redin Woodward of New York; Stanley H. Renton, Charter League of New Rochelle; and Mrs. Guy A. Tawney of Urbana, Illinois.

A New England Pioneer

An invitation to take part in the P.R. session of the National Municipal League's forthcoming National Conference on Government in Philadelphia brought word of the untimely death a few months ago of Christopher M. Gallup of North Stonington, Connecticut.

Back in 1921, long before there was any talk of "Plan E" in Massachusetts or any thought of the imminent adoption of P.R. in Cincinnati or New York, the suburban community of West Hartford, Connecticut, did some significant pioneering. Mr. Gallup was then president of the West Hartford Chamber of Commerce and furnished the active leadership for the enterprise.

The town got permission from the state legislature to install a manager plan and to adopt its own method of electing the town council which was to choose the manager. The Hare system of P.R., then in use in this country in only three cities, was tried for the first election and then adopted for future elections on the basis of a satisfactory experience. A second P.R. election was held in 1922. But the system worked too well. The fortunes of the town prospered, but those of the local organization took a tailspin.

The new plan began to be discussed elsewhere in the state. As Mr. Gallup put it, "The state Republican machine had come to regard the Hare ballot as a sort of infection that was likely to spread and upset things generally."

So with much secrecy the Republican legislature passed a bill to prohibit the use of P.R. for elections anywhere in the state. West Hartford protested officially, but to no avail. The law is still on the statute books, but in 1939 the legislature gave the city of Waterbury permission to vote on the adoption of a P.R.-manager charter. With this precedent there is no presumption that any Connecticut community which wants to use P.R. will now be prevented from doing so.

Mr. Gallup continued his active interest in the plan. He was a member of the national advisory council of the P.R. League, now functioning as a department of the National Municipal League, for many years until the time of his death. In recent years he devoted time and effort, as an alumnus of Yale University, to advocating the use of P.R. for alumni elections.

Christopher Gallup will be missed, not only as a devoted proportionalist, but as a man of unusual initiative and originality whose friendship was an inspiration to those who knew him.

G.H.H.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

County Studies Make Recommendations

Seek Coordination of Local Services

HENRY County, Indiana, one of the four "typical" counties chosen as a testing ground to observe and improve the operation of intergovernmental relationships, has issued an interim report on the activities of its Council on Intergovernmental Relations, *Adventure in Governmental Gearing* (48 pages).

A similar report by Blue Earth County, Minnesota, was issued last year,[1] but Colquitt County, Georgia, has not yet reported. The fourth of the group, Santa Clara County, California, was approved for study in January 1946 and has not as yet had an opportunity to prepare a report. The studies of the four counties are being financed by the Spelman Fund.

The Henry County report is liberally illustrated with graphs and amusing cartoons depicting the governmental problems of the area. Attractive style and typography lend it interest and readability. Ten recommendations are made:

1. The stature of local government should be raised by removal of restrictive local laws enacted by the state legislature.

2. The state universities and state agencies should provide more consultative and advisory services, conferences and short courses for local government officials.

3. New methods of revenue-sharing should be devised as a substitute for centralization.

4. All county ordinance-making duties should be transferred from the county commissioners to the county council.

5. The property tax system should be improved through state technical assistance, reform of assessment procedure, consolidation in licensing and tax collection machinery, more checks and penalties to insure payment, reduction of time between assessment and collection, and installation of modern tax accounting.

6. State and federal governments should assist local government on request only.

7. All services of a kind should be rendered by one agency only in any community.

8. The cooperative machinery should include a local coordinating committee, district and state administrative councils, the principle of rotation of administrative employees among them, and adoption of the practice of removing government employees not "acceptable" to the community.

9. "The farther removed the administration from the point of service, the fewer and simpler should be the controls exerted."

10. The "teamwork organizer" for the federal, state and local governments should be the county planning commission. In this lies the very core of the success of the plan.

Wisconsin Study

The Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditures Survey has issued a report, *County Government in Wisconsin* (43 pages), in which it sets forth its findings and recommendations. Recommendations include:

1. The establishment of a county finance officer for each county;

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90.

2. Adoption of centralized purchasing;

3. Abolition of administrative boards and transfer of their functions to the county commissioners;

4. Consolidation of all county welfare activities;

5. The placing of all traffic control functions under jurisdiction of the sheriff;

6. Abolition of the fee system as a method of compensation;

7. Reduction of the number and size of committees in the county board;

8. Permission granted to adopt alternative methods of county board representation, such as election at large under a system of proportional representation.

Knoxville-Knox County Library Program Outlined

The recent interruption of library service in Knox County, Tennessee, resulting from court action holding illegal the allocation of tax funds collected on city property for county services outside the city, has provided the occasion for re-examining city-county relationships in the library field. A study entitled *Knoxville-Knox County Relationships in the Field of Library Service* has been released by the Board of Library Trustees of Knoxville. This study reviews the history of library service in Knoxville and Knox County and sets forth alternative proposals for continuing and strengthening the service in this area.

Knox County has been receiving library service from the city of Knoxville since 1929. For this, the county pays to the city an amount agreed upon annually; the payment has amounted to $15,000 each year since 1938. On the other hand, the city of Knoxville appropriated $85,000 for library service during the fiscal year ending December 31, 1945. City inhabitants have been bearing an undue share of the cost of providing library service. According to the report, the county's contribution amounts to approximately 22 cents per capita as compared with about 57 cents per capita for the city.

The report offers three possible methods for providing the city and county with adequate library service:

1. Knoxville would continue to provide service to the county under contract as in the past. The county, however, would be required to increase its contribution to equal at least the equivalent of a one-mill county library levy.

2. A second method of providing library service would be for each unit to maintain its own library service. The report does not favor this method, however. While such action would present no financial or administrative problems for the city, it would result in greatly increased unit costs for the county and, together with the initial expense of setting up the service, might result in the discontinuance of county library service altogether.

3. The third plan outlined in the report would make the county the basic unit for providing library service to both urban and rural areas. Under this plan the city would withdraw its support, thus placing full responsibility for county-wide library service on the county. The city could, however, supplement the county service if necessary. Among the advantages accruing to a county-wide system, the report lists lower unit costs, simplification of administrative problems, more adequate financing, and a more comparable service for city and county residents.

The report recognizes the difficulties of obtaining a county-wide system of library service at this time but recommends that the plan be subject to "further investigation and study by a joint committee comprised of members representing the city and the county library boards and legislative bodies."

Finally, the report itself provides an outstanding example of intergovernmental cooperation. The report was issued by the Board of Library Trustees of the city of Knoxville. It was prepared for the board by the planning commissions of Knoxville and Knox County with the technical assistance of the Tennessee State Planning Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

Wisconsin Considers County Finance Officers

The Wisconsin State Legislative Interim Committee is giving extensive consideration to a proposal to establish county finance officers throughout the state. Such officers would integrate all control in the handling of public funds and would operate under the direct supervision of the county board. They would be modeled in part after the office of auditor of Milwaukee County.

Much County Highway Activity in Prospect

A survey of counties in eight states conducted by the editors of *Better Roads* led them to conclude that unprecedented activity for county highway departments was in prospect for the near future. They recognized that the process of "reconversion" was much slower than that anticipated a year ago, and that labor and materials were scarce, costs had risen, and equipment and repair parts were difficult to obtain. They believe the unprecedented activity will result from highway deterioration caused by wartime abnormal conditions, the vast amount of deferred work, accumulation of plans and funds, and the effect of the federal-aid secondary program.

The states containing the counties which reported on highway conditions include New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Kansas, Iowa and New Jersey.

Committee Will Draft Fulton County Manager Law

In consequence of the overwhelming vote in favor of a manager plan for Fulton County, Georgia, a committee has been appointed to draft a bill for introduction in the state legislature. The Atlanta League of Women Voters is in the forefront of organizations planning to present the basic principles of county manager organization to the voters in order to secure the best possible law.

Oregon Counties Seek More Federal Forest Revenue

The Association of Oregon Counties is pressing for the adoption of a law now pending in the U. S. Senate which would increase the payments made by the federal government to counties in lieu of taxes on federally-owned forests. Under existing law local governments receive 25 per cent of the gross revenue from national forests, but the counties desire an annual payment equivalent to 2 per cent of the appraised value of the forest lands. They emphasize the need for stabilized revenues to replace the fluctuating payments resulting from changing forestry practices and lumber prices from year to year.

Pennsylvania County Zones Townships

The Planning and Zoning Commission of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, has entered into an agreement with three townships to prepare zoning plans for them. Such plans would then be placed before the county commissioners for final adoption. It is expected that other townships of the county will request that the same service be performed for them.

California Cities Ask State to Assess Property

Seek Amendment to Provide for Agency to Handle Task

PREPARATION of a constitutional amendment to place responsibility for the assessment of all real and personal property in a state agency, to assure statewide equalization of assessed valuations, was urged by the League of California Cities at its annual conference at San Diego in September.

The league adopted a resolution directing its board of directors to have prepared and submitted an amendment which would require a state agency concerned solely with tax matters to make the assessment within areas for each of which there would be a full-time assessment staff. Members of the staff should be appointed on the basis of merit and if possible reside in the areas in which such staff members serve. The amendment would reserve to the governing bodies of the cities, counties and districts the right of appeal or protest from assessments deemed inequitable, and would also make provision for the readjustment of local tax rate limits in those intances where the present basis of assessment is at a higher ratio than the ratio which might be used after reassessment by the state.

At present the assessment of property in California is primarily the responsibility of the counties, which assess all local property except so-called public utility operative property, for which valuations are determined by the state. The county's assessment is used in levying taxes for county, school district and special district purposes. Cities, however, assess property for city tax purposes, although under the statutes permitting intergovernmental service by contract a number of cities—including Los Angeles, the largest in the state—use the county assessment and have the county collect city as well as other local taxes.

California cities apparently contemplate that the assessment areas under state jurisdiction would coincide with the counties, except in the case of some of the smaller counties. These might require consolidation for assessing purposes into areas sufficiently large to justify the maintenance of trained personnel. Benefits sought include the immediate rectification of inequalities between different types of property and between different areas as well as the increased efficiency which would result from a uniformly high standard of assessment technique through the state.

In deciding to sponsor a constitutional amendment the cities indicate also a belief that the case for additional municipal revenues cannot be consistently supported so long as it is possible to point to individual properties or types of property under-assessed and hence not contributing their full share to the local revenue system. They point out that no problem of home rule is at issue, since home rule is concerned with the local determination of policy and assessment is a technical and procedural rather than a policy matter. They also emphasize that it is not their purpose to increase property taxes by trying to base assessments on present day inflated prices.

Tax-Delinquency Delays Housing

Indication that tax delinquency is proving an impediment to execution of mass housing programs is contained in an announcement made recently by Charles S. Ascher, regional expediter for the National Housing Administration.

Announcing the results of a survey made in fourteen areas in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, Mr. Ascher urged that communities foreclose on tax delinquent land and sell it to veterans and builders. He urged surveys to locate tax delinquent property and study of the feasibility of making this land available for both housing projects and the construction of small homes. In many cases the land acquired by tax sale would be located where public service facilities were already available, cutting down the need for installation of utilities.

Pay-As-You-Go for White Plains

White Plains, New York, county seat of wealthy Westchester County, adopted a local law in September committing the city to adherence to a pay-as-you-go plan of financing future capital improvements, according to press reports.

Service on outstanding city bonds accounts for more than one million dollars, nearly a fourth of the proposed 1947 budget. If the city carries out its proposal to finance future improvements from current revenues, it will pay the last of its outstanding water bonds in 1961, the last of the general improvement bonds in 1963, and the last school bonds in 1967.

More Cities Make Charges for Garbage Collection

New service charges are a major single source of increased municipal revenues, and a number of cities are imposing charges for waste collection. Dallas, Texas, expects to raise more than $1,500,000 annually by putting its city garbage collection service on a fee basis beginning October 1. The fee has been set tentatively at 75 cents per month for each household.

Virginia, Minnesota, and Wheeling, West Virginia, recently began charging garbage collection fees of 50 cents a month for residences and Virginia charges $1 per month for business establishments.

St. Paul, Minnesota, will put a new garbage and rubbish collection system into effect next spring, to be financed through service charges of 75 cents per month for single family dwellings. Kent, Washington, has adopted a compulsory garbage collection system operated through private contractors and financed through a service charge collected by the city.

Houston Cab License Voided by Courts

Because of a recent decision by the Texas Supreme Court, taxicab operators in that state are no longer charged a city license fee. The decision involved a Houston ordinance charging a fee which ranged up to $60 per vehicle. The court held that although Texas cities clearly have the power to license cabs, they do not have authority to charge fees for such licenses since taxis are already subject to the state motor vehicle license fee.

Houston charged cab operators $60 per vehicle annually for taxi licenses, a fee above average for major cities in the United States, according to a survey made for the Syracuse, New York, city council. Among the 56 cities of more than 100,000 population surveyed, the taxi license fee of $125 in Columbus, Ohio, is the highest.

Only six cities in the surveyed group charge license fees of $50 or more. Camden, New Jersey, and Memphis, Tennessee, both charge a fee of $75 annually for taxi licenses, while Chicago charges $60 per cab. Seattle and Detroit charge $50 a year for taxicab licenses.

Lowell, Massachusetts, is the only city surveyed other than the Texas municipalities where no license fee is charged for taxis. Eight other cities in the groups of 56 charge a fee of less than $10. Taxis in Connecticut and Rhode Island are subject to state rather than city regulation.

The number of cabs in operation is regulated in 35 of the 56 cities. Almost without exception, as many taxi permits for 1946 have been issued as are permitted. Baltimore has issued its entire quota of 1,000 licenses this year, or one for every 859 residents. Minneapolis has issued 214 licenses, or one for every 2,300 residents.

A new Toledo, Ohio, ordinance gives authority to regulate the number of taxis to a three-man taxicab board composed of the directors of city law, welfare, and public service. Heretofore the number of taxis in Toledo was not subject to limitation. Among cities without taxi quotas, Washington, D. C., has the most cabs per population unit, with one for every 98 residents.

At least fifteen of the cities surveyed require that fare meters be installed in all taxis. Highest cab fare rate reported is in Tacoma, Washington, where passengers pay 40 cents for the first one-quarter mile plus ten cents for each additional one-third mile. Lowest cab fare rate reported was in Chicago, where twenty cents is charged for the first one-third mile plus ten cents for each additional two-thirds mile.

Local Borrowing Costs Rise

Local governments are paying more for their borrowed money this fall than they did last spring and summer, but the increased cost is small compared to the inflated prices governments and the rest of us are paying for commodities and services. In fact, net interest costs now compare favorably with pre-1946 costs, and are still below the averages for 1944 and earlier years.

The trend is shown by *The Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields, which transposes varying dollar prices for numerous bond issues of different interest rates and maturities to a "yield" or "net interest cost" basis. *The Bond Buyer's* index for twenty representative bonds reached its lowest point (representing highest bond "prices") last spring, when the yield was 1.29 per cent. It rose gradually through the summer, and by August 1 was up to 1.51 per cent. Increasing "stickiness" of high priced new issues, the customary end-of-summer slowness in the municipal market, and the September break in the stock market combined to raise the index to 1.73 per cent by the end of September, and it stood unchanged at the same point the end of the first week in October.

The twenty-bond index rise from 1.29 to 1.73 represented an increase of .44 basis point or approximately one-third in net interest cost. The early October index, however, was only slightly above the October 1, 1945, yield of 1.72 per cent and was bettered in only one of the 36 months preceding 1944. Moreover, it compared most favorably with the all-time high yield of 5.69 per cent established May 1, 1933.

While local units which marketed large issues of postwar improvement bonds in the earlier months of the year may well congratulate themselves on their foresight—especially when the marketing was well planned and managed to take full advantage of prevailing high prices—it must be noted in fairness to bond dealers that many of these high priced flotations of the late spring and summer were unsuccessful when the bonds were re-offered at retail to the investing public. The bull market in municipals resulting from their attractiveness as a "tax haven" during the war was slowly drying up, partly because of saturation and partly because the reduction in income tax rates, thought slight, was sufficient to make municipal yields to large taxpayers considerably less attractive. The institutional buyers—insurance companies, trust companies, savings banks, and the like—who normally constituted the market for the bulk of municipals—could not afford to buy high priced bonds. Consequently, there was a conspicuous number of cases of top quality bonds and a larger number of good bonds which were moved off dealers' shelves only after original offering prices were shaded downward.

Some further lowering in prices and increases in yields (net borrowing costs) are prospective, as materials and labor become more readily available and a larger volume of municipal bonds is marketed. For the first nine months of 1946, *The Bond Buyer* reports, state and municipal voters approved bond issues totaling $839,115,000. In the comparable 1945 period, issues aggregating $327,009,000 were approved. May and June were the top months this year, authorizations in the two-month period totaling nearly $518,000,000. It is not yet possible to estimate the total likely to be submitted to voters at the November election, but it is expected to exceed considerably the November 1945 figure, when approvals totaled $214,777,000.

All in all, it is evident that the supply of municipals is slated to increase in the coming months, but though net interest costs to the borrowing cities, counties, school and other districts rise they will probably remain much below levels of even a few years ago.

Maryland Revenue Commission Reports

The Commission on the Distribution of Tax Revenues, appointed last year by Governor O'Conor, published its recommendations on October 2. They are designed to produce a more equitable distribution of state revenues to Baltimore City and the counties of Maryland.

If put into effect, Baltimore City's share of state funds should be increased by about $6,400,000 and that for counties and their incorporated towns by $6,200,000.

The commission made the following recommendations in order to correct clear inequities in the present situation and to meet what seem to be the requirements of the near future:

1. Every political subdivision in the state should be required by state law to adopt a uniform system of accounts. A commission should be created to set up such a system and to carry it into effect. Every subdivision should be required to adopt either the calendar year or July 1 to June 30 as its fiscal year.

2. Annual sessions of the General Assembly should be provided to consider the state budget on a yearly basis.

3. A fiscal research bureau should be set up within the State Tax Commission to study constantly the revenues and expenditures of the political subdivisions and their fiscal relationships with the state.

4. The political subdivisions, uniformly, should be given a limited first call on the income tax paid by their individual residents to the state, expressed in terms of percentage of income rather than percentage of tax. This percentage of income should be, for the near term future, 1½ per cent of investment income and .625 per cent of ordinary income. Above these amounts the state can increase or de-

crease the rates of the income tax solely from the point of view of state needs.

5. As to racing, the tax on net revenue on all tracks should be abolished. The daily license fees on mile tracks should be reduced to $1,000 per day. The tax on the pari-mutuel pool for all tracks should be increased to 4 per cent, the total "take" to remain as at present at 10 per cent. Breakage from the mile tracks should continue to go to the state, but should be retained by the half-mile tracks.

All tax revenue received from the mile tracks should be allocated one-half to the state and the remaining half to the counties, incorporated towns and Baltimore City on the basis of population according to the latest available Federal census. Tax revenues from the half-mile tracks should be allocated one-half to the state, one-fourth to the counties, incorporated towns and Baltimore City, in the same manner as revenues from the mile tracks, and one-fourth to the Maryland State Fair Board for the promotion of state and county agricultural fairs and exhibits. The additional license fee of $3,000 daily paid by Pimlico and allocated to Baltimore County should be abolished.

6. With respect to highway user taxes, if the General Assembly in the near future authorizes issuance of additional bonds of the State Roads Commission, the entire cost of servicing such additional debt should be financed entirely by increases in motor vehicle fees or in the gasoline tax, or both. Baltimore City's participation in the highway user funds should be made a uniform 30 per cent.

7. All funds for education should be allocated to the counties and Baltimore City through two funds: (1) $400 per classroom unit per year, and (2) $20 per pupil in attendance per year. The equalization fund should be continued and two incentive funds should be established on a matching basis, one for increasing salaries of school teachers, the other to provide better school facilities.

8. Net proceeds of the tax on admissions should be allocated to the political subdivision in which the licensed activity is conducted.

9. Net proceeds received from all licenses local in nature should be allocated to the political subdivision in which the licensed activity is conducted.

10. Proceeds of the tax on the recordation of instruments relating to real or personal property, with one minor exception, should be paid to the subdivision in which the tax is collected.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Governmental
Efficiency and Economy

End of Tax Discounts Urged in Seattle

Officials of King County, Washington, which collects property taxes for Seattle and other local units, are seeking to abolish the statutory discount of 3 per cent now granted taxpayers for prompt payment of taxes. The county must pay local units their pro rata share of collections based on the taxes before deduction of the discount. This procedure has been costing the county from $300,000 to $500,000 annually over the last decade.

Washington is one of the few states granting discounts for payment of taxes when due, and the county commission has recently instructed the county attorney's office to frame legislation for submission to the 1947 legislature designed to end the practice, according to the Seattle Municipal League. The discounts bear with particular weight on the county inasmuch as there is in effect in Washington a 40-mill over-all tax rate limit, of which the county receives only 10 mills.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Local Government Finance Probed

New South Wales Sessions Discuss Expenditure Needs

THE problem of local government finance is a paramount one in all countries at present. Exemplifying this was the New South Wales Local Government Summer School, attended by members of local authorities, which had as its topic local government finance.[1]

The school was opened by the Minister for Works and Local Government, who outlined the policy of the New South Wales government on local finance. He held out little hope of the extra financial assistance which local government says it needs. He commented:

"It is inevitable that if a government contributes towards local expenditure it will have some say in the method of expending that money, and it is through the grants-in-aid which the British government makes that it secures such close control of local government administration in England. I would regret to see such direction and control in New South Wales, and the way to avoid it is for councils to become as self-reliant as possible, and councils can retain their independence and self-reliance if better use is made of existing financial resources. There is too great a tendency to seek government assistance for works and services well within the compass of the local authority if the finances are administered with vision."

The minister was most emphatic in stating that local authorities should pay for more services out of loan money. "There is nothing more reproductive than well planned and executed loan programs," he said. "They provide works and services which would not otherwise be possible, but despite these well known truths councils come and ask for assistance and give as one of the reasons why they are entitled to special consideration that they are prudent in their administration, as evidenced by the fact that they have no loan debts." The minister spoke of a "no-borrowing complex," and suggested that all councils, despite the claims of many of them that their revenue was insufficient, had not wisely used their existing resources, especially their borrowing powers.

The minister saw no reason why any statutory limit should be placed on the rates levied by either shires or municipalities; the present system allowed the "inactive and ultra-conservative council" to shelter behind the statutory rating limit "when requests were made for works and services fully justified in the interests of the local community and which could be provided from local resources without financial embarrassment."

He rejected the suggestion, often made, that local authorities should be allowed to make profits from their trading undertakings, on the grounds that "the progress of the state would be retarded by reason of the high costs of services which use gas and electricity" and that the landowner in one area would be "subsidized by the electricity consumer because the council of that area was the supply authority."

A lecturer in the Department of Tutorial Classes at the University of Sydney described the changed financial relations between the commonwealth and the states and their probable effects upon the finance of local government. The commonwealth would in future supervise the raising of loans for all purposes throughout Australia, and would be able, through uniform taxation, to decide what extra assistance local government might receive from grants. The commonwealth's power could well be used to insure high employment, "but unless the commonwealth is prepared to take the state and local authorities into its confidence, and treat them as partners rather than subordinates, it will certainly not be able to achieve its long-run purpose—a smoothly running economy, although it may temporarily achieve its short-run purpose—the actual exercise of control."

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[1] See "Local Government Finance," *Public Administration* (Australia), June 1946.

He showed the considerable differences between councils revealed by comparisons of the average amount of unimproved capital value per capita population, and the average amount of rates spent per capita. He suggested that these comparisons showed the weakness of the present statutory upper rating limit.

Possible Aids

With a warning that it was dangerous and misleading to apply overseas solutions to Australian problems, without allowing for differences in conditions, the lecturer described various financial devices either adopted or suggested overseas to meet the revenue needs of local government. Among these were the English block grant, grants-in-aid, the "national rate," local or regional income taxes and excise duties, and profits from trading ventures. Finally, he suggested that the rating system should remain, helped out where necessary by statutory grants, because "the abolition of local rating would remove from councils the last measure of that personal and local responsibility which is the very being of local government; without local interest there is no excuse for local government at all."

Another speaker concluded that councils in New South Wales were not so heavily burdened financially as those in certain other states, particularly those in Queensland; that a fair comparison between rating levels in various states could be made only when the amount of state land taxation (of which there is none in New South Wales) was added to the total of rates; that most councils in New South Wales were still some distance below their rating limits, and some were even below 50 per cent of their limits; and that, in comparison with certain other countries, local government in New South Wales and in Australia generally had much less responsibility and much less finance at its command.

One observer suggested that council auditors should be appointed by the minister, on the advice of the auditor-general rather than by councils themselves; that auditors should be empowered to report on the office administration of councils; and that local government and the state should jointly build up a financial "pool" over the years, the money to be made available to county councils for "semi-national works," at low rates of interest.

During the discussion it was apparent that most councils were unwilling to accept new responsibilities unless they were assured of new sources of revenue. But it was apparent also that there were wide differences of opinion between the representatives of various councils as to what these sources should be. Some wanted increased rates; some wanted more generous grants from the state; others pinned their faith on a wider use of overdrafts; others suggested profits from trading undertakings. A few felt that problems of area, rather than of finance alone, required attention. Most condemned the state government's action in exempting so much of its own and other property from the payment of rates. There was some realization of the implications of the commonwealth's new financial policy, but little apparent understanding of how that policy might be used to work in local government's favor. One observer at least felt that the phrase "parish-pump," though hackneyed, could well be applied still to the views on finance of a number of councils.

Vote on Taxing Method

Provision has been made in the Local Government Act of Victoria for 10 per cent of the ratepayers of a municipality to demand that a poll be taken on the question of whether the municipal rates should be levied on the annual rental system or the improved capital system of valuation.

Of 197 municipalities in the state, only 15 have at the present time adopted the system of rating on improved values. Polls will be taken in seven municipalities this year as a result of demands by ratepayers to decide whether the municipal rating system will be so changed.

Central Borrowing Recommended

The Mayor of Brisbane told the city council recently that he believed that, instead of local authorities competing on the loan market, all money for government and semi-government bodies should be raised by the commonwealth.

He said that proposed works had to receive commonwealth approval and, before money to carry out the works could be borrowed, the loan also needed commonwealth approval. He thought the commonwealth could complete the job and raise the money in one lot and make it available to local authorities.

English Local Finance Probed

The Fabian Society's latest contribution to the study of local government is *The Reform of Local Government Finance in England and Wales,* by Michael Fogarty (Fabian Publications, Research Series No. 111).

This study is a competent analysis of the urgent problem of reform in local government finance—"the problem of insuring that local authorities achieve and maintain a substantial measure of financial independence." Postulating as essential to the survival of local democracy that local authorities must have at least one large independent source of revenue at their disposal, that as a general rule they must pay a substantial part of their marginal costs from their own resources, and that all citizens or at least the majority of them should contribute towards local taxation, the author prescribes three conditions for "the right local taxes." They should be easy to assess and collect; they should be assessed on a scale which will permit raising or lowering at local discretion without embarrassing national finances; and they should be equitable in their distribution, not only in themselves but in relation to the incidence of national taxation. Yet local taxation is likely to remain a choice of evils, and the problem one of determining which of the various possibilities is likely to prove least unsatisfactory.

Mr. Fogarty subscribes to the general view that the main solution to the problem lies in the revision of the grant system, especially the block grant which, he thinks, should be used to level up disparities in rate poundages. The valuation problem can be solved, and the plan put forward by the author contains a novel suggestion which is worthy of close examination, viz., that a single standard valuation be adopted for all small houses in each district.

Books in Review

For Us the Living. An Approach to Civic Education. By John J. Mahoney. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1945. viii, 344 pp. $3.

The great object of this book is nothing less than the preservation of the republic and the salvation of the way of democracy which the author finds to be "one and the same" with the way of religion. The book is a blueprint for getting on with the "unfinished work" of "education calculated to perpetuate and improve the workings of that democracy which some thousands of Americans have died to defend in two world wars."

There could be no more important subject for an American educator at this juncture. And it would be hard to imagine a book more worthy of the magnitude of the subject. The book is the distilled wisdom resulting from 22 years of teaching teachers about civic education. It is, therefore, a mine of practical procedures for attaining specific objectives considered germane to the general objective of education for civic competence in a democracy: An adequate understanding of, and a whole-hearted allegiance to, the democratic way of life; an appreciation of the rights, privileges and protections which political democracy ensures; a keen interest in things political; the application of more intelligence in the conduct of political affairs; better political leadership; a citizenry that is more law-abiding; intergroup understanding, respect and good will; ecoomic democracy; a translation of the teachings of religion into civic behavior.

Let it be emphasized, *this is an important book.* It is also an exciting book. It is eminently a book to be read, and then read some more and thought about and acted upon. The author fully appreciates that it is fruitless to talk about civic education or education for democracy without a reasonably clear and comprehensive concept of the democracy for which we are educating. So he presents a carefully weighed definition: "Democracy is a kind of society in which free men, fraternally minded, voluntarily and persistently strive for the elimination of inequalities and exclusions (political, social and economic) to the end that all men may share equitably in the rights, privileges and satisfactions that our life in common affords."

It is natural, therefore, that Part II, almost two-thirds of the book, is "about democracy." Ten chapters analyze the content and necessary conditions of progress toward the comprehensive political, social and economic democracy envisaged by this definition.

This is a courageous book. Professor Mahoney does not balk at taking positions that are considered controversial, albeit he always takes his positions with courtesy and all due respect for respectable differences of opinion. For example, he holds that we must begin to educate for an economic democracy which "holds mid-place on the scale between capitalism of the 19th century brand (economic individualism) and communism—the two extremes"—a system which would involve a "wider and more equitable distribution of income" as well as "a larger place for the functions of the cooperative movement" and "more altruism, a higher standard of social ethics, less greed."

Professor Mahoney's position on this question, and on the even larger question of the relation between religion and democracy, is substantially that of the October 16 "Declaration on Economic Justice" issued by leaders of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic faiths.

Professor Mahoney recognizes that it

will certainly be some time before all Americans of good will agree to work unreservedly for such ends. But, after all, isn't the clarification of our democratic goals and purposes which he seeks, painful as it is, one of the central problems of our time? How can American democracy educate its own and the other peoples of the world in its behalf until or unless it knows what it means? No one who has followed the recent discussion of price control can possibly believe that we are at all clear among ourselves about the implications of democracy in the economic sphere.

For Us the Living is sprinkled with wit as well as wisdom. It is also a hopeful book because the author obviously believes in the capacity of humans properly educated to conduct themselves in accordance with the democratic way. Moreover, he does not think that this has to be brought about to perfection over night. Doubtless he believes that in working together for progress in civic education we will arrive gradually at a closer agreement concerning fundamentals about which we are now greatly confused or divided. Certain it is that without such working together we will become more not less confused.

Finally it should be observed that this book is written entirely in English save for a few easy Latin phrases. In other words it does not have to be translated from the Pedigeese in order to be understood by an ordinary literate American.

J. E. B.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Education

Postwar Education in America. A Symposium by Seven Leading Educators. New York, Newsweek Educational Bureau, 1945. 36 pp.

Education for Public Administration

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A list of colleges and universities offering programs of training. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1946. 19 pp. Ten cents each; $3 per hundred.

Government Corporations

Governmental Use of the Corporate Device (second edition). By Freeland F. Penney. New York, Universal Books Co., 1946. 42 pp.

Hospitals

Measuring Your Community for a Hospital. A collection of articles from hospital and medical journals discussing how to determine the need for a hospital, its type and size, organization and responsibilities of the governing board and medical staff, and the necessity for competent architectural consultation in its planning and construction. Chicago 10, American Hospital Association, 1945. 96 pp.

Housing

Roofs or Ceilings? The Current Housing Problem. By Milton Friedman and George J. Stigler. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 1946. 22 pp. 25 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Municipal Government

Handbook for Municipal Officials. By Walter R. Darby. Trenton, New Jersey Department of Taxation and Finance, Division of Local Government, 1945. 65 pp.

Planning

The City Is the People. By Henry S. Churchill. New York 18, Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1945. 186 pp. Illus. $3.

Financing Community Planning. By John D. Morrison. Address before Local Planning Institute, Escanaba, Michigan, 1946. 6 pp.

Government Center Plan. First Report—Civic Center Studies. Dayton, Ohio, City Plan Board, 1946. 39 pp.

Kingsport, Tennessee—The Planned Industrial City. (Second Edition.) By Kingsport Rotary Club. Kingsport, Tennessee, Kingsport Office Supply Company, 1946. xviii, 350 pp. Illus. $2.

Organization and Operation of City Planning Activities in Philadelphia. By W. Clark Hanna. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1946. 12 pp.

Planning Detroit 1945. The City Plan Commission of the City of Detroit Presents a Review of Its Work for the year 1945. Detroit, The City Plan Commission, 1946. 29 pp. Illus.

Planning St. Paul for Better Living. St. Paul, City Planning Board, 1946. 32 pp. Illus.

Police

The Organization and Practices of Police Women's Divisions in the United States. By Carol M. Williams. Detroit, National Training School of Public Service, 1946. 40 pp.

Recreation

Community Relations in Public Housing Project Areas. Containing a report on recreational and community facilities in New York City's public housing projects prepared by the Housing Committee of United Neighborhood Houses and highlights of a conference in February 1946 at which this report was discussed. Edited by Susan Jenkins. New York 16, United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., 1946. 20 pp.

Proposed System of Recreational Facilities. City of Detroit—Master Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 36 pp. Illus.

Refuse Disposal

Report on Waste Collection and Disposal by Mayor's Committee. St. Louis, Department of Streets and Sewers, 1946. 23 pp. Illus.

Social Security

Retirement Plans for Public Employees. Containing an outline of the basic principles governing retirement planning for public employees. By Committee on Public Employee Retirement Administration. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1946. 36 pp. $1.

Social Security Revision. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1946. 32 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Amusement Taxes. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1946. 12 pp.

City Finances 1944. Cities having Populations over 25,000. (Volume 3. Statistical Compendium.) By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1946. ix, 255 pp. 70 cents.

Some Views on Inflation and the Budget. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 8 pp. 25 cents.

A Study of the Tax Burden in Ohio in Comparison with Other States. Columbus, State Department of Taxation, 1946. 21 pp.

Trade Outlets and Taxable Retail Sales in California. First Report on Self-Employment Study. Sacramento, State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1946. 20 pp.

Traffic Safety

The Public's Attitude on Traffic Safety. A Public Opinion Survey for the National Committee for Traffic Safety. Princeton, New Jersey, Opinion Research Corporation, 1946. 16 pp.

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The League's Business

Edison Elected League President

Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey and a leading foe of political bossism, was elected president of the National Municipal League at the annual meeting of the council November 11 at the Hotel Philadelphian in Philadelphia.

Governor Edison succeeds John G. Winant, United States member of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and former ambassador to the Court of St. James's, who has served as president since his election at the Springfield conference in November 1940.

Governor Edison, who is president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., has had a long career of public service, serving as secretary of the Navy prior to his election as governor of his state. In the latter capacity he gained national attention through his vigorous struggle to destroy the power of Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City. While governor he led the nonpartisan movement of 1944 for a modern constitution, narrowly lost as a result of Hague's opposition.

Re-elected vice presidents by the council were Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and James W. Clise of Seattle.

Honorary vice presidents elected were: Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis; Robert W. Johnson, chairman of the board of Johnson and Johnson, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Ralph B. Maltby, mayor of Bronxville, New York; and Harold E. Stassen, former governor of Minnesota.

New members of the council elected at a meeting of the League membership the afternoon of November 11 were: Frederick E. Baker, public relations counsel, Seattle; Philip H. Cornick, Institute of Public Administration; Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House; Cyril G. Fox, of Fels & Company, Philadelphia; Max E. Friedmann, president, Ed. Schuster & Company, and vice president and trustee of the Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee; Lloyd Hale, president of L. H. Tenant Company, Minneapolis; Henry J. Heinz, II, president of the H. J. Heinz Company, Pittsburgh; Joseph D. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City. Mr. Winant, as former president, becomes a life member of the council as provided by the constitution.

* * *

Council Business Meeting

In the absence of President Winant, who was in England on government business, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council, presided at the annual meeting of the council the evening of November 11.

Also present were: J. W. Clise, vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; Carter W. Atkins, Karl Detzer, Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., Berry Fleming, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, Mark Matthews, Lawson Purdy, and Murray Seasongood, members of the council; Philip Cornick and Herbert Emmerich, members-elect; Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary; and John E. Bebout, assistant secretary.

Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration and a former member of the council, was heard briefly at the beginning of the meeting. He urged that the League and all other civic and research organizations call attention to the importance of the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census as a source of vital statistical information, support expansion of the division's services, and resist any move to curtail them. It was moved by Mr. Linen, seconded by Mr. Detzer, and unanimously approved that the League take all appropriate means to support the strengthening of the Governments Division.

The secretary's report, presented by the executive secretary, was received and an expanded budget for 1947 was adopted on motion of Mr. Pforzheimer, seconded by Mr. Seasongood. The executive secretary called attention to the unprecedented civic ferment in all parts of the country as indicated by the record number of adoptions of the council-manager plan, the movements for modern state constitutions, efforts toward metropolitan coordination and other factors, and said that considerable expansion of the League's capacity for service is required by more than double the normal number of requests for assistance. It was agreed that additional sources of support be sought.

On motion of Mr. Frye, seconded by Father Dowling, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, Dr. Parley Paul Womer has with unselfish devotion and without compensation served as chairman of the Citizenship Committee of the National Municipal League since 1939, and

"Whereas, in this work he has broadened financial support of the League's activities and helped to multiply its effectiveness through the planning of regional conferences and through his writing and speaking, and

"Whereas, he finds it necessary to relinquish this activity in order to conserve his health,

"Be it therefore resolved that the council express on behalf of the League's membership the deep appreciation due Dr. Womer for his steadfast devotion to the highest ideals and for the earnestness, patience and effectiveness with which he labored to imbue others with his spirit and understanding, and

"Be it further resolved that the council regretfully accept Dr. Womer's resignation."

The council received invitations for the next National Conference on Government from Nashville, Minneapolis and Columbus.

* * *

Augustus R. Hatton Dies

Augustus R. Hatton, educator who for many years was prominently associated with the League, died suddenly in Austin, Texas, the afternoon of November 12 at the age of 73. As a charter consultant of the National Municipal League, Dr. Hatton was author of more than 30 city charters and was widely known as an advocate of the council-manager form of government. While professor of political science at Western Reserve University, he led the successful campaign for the adoption of a manager plan-P. R. charter for Cleveland and was elected to the city council. He retired as head of the political science department of Northwestern University in 1940 and made his home on a ranch near Dripping Springs, Texas, except for a year as visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico. For two years he also lectured in the department of government at the University of Texas. He was president of the Proportional Representation League from 1930 to the time of his death.[1]

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[1] See also page 613 this issue.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Property taxes up for third successive year; increase in assessments greatest since comparison first made in 1932.

BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH (DETROIT)
and the
NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE*

AN ACCELERATED increase in tax rates, the greatest in eight years, is a prominent feature of this year's municipal scene. To supply greater revenue needs, cities have to an extent relied upon the property tax as evidenced by an increase of $52 per $1000 valuation for adjusted tax rates and an increase of 5.3 per cent in assessments. This assessment increase is the greatest jump since such a comparison was first made in 1932.

These tax rate and assessment increases have, nevertheless, been insufficient to meet postwar expansion of municipal activities and increased costs. Greater revenue needs have been incurred by higher equipment and supply costs, increased payroll outlay, resumption of public construction retarded by the depression and war, maintenance of present services and assumption of new ones.

It is estimated that the average city in the United States derives about 90 per cent of its tax revenues and 75 per cent of its total revenue from the property tax. New demands, however, coupled with economic and statutory limits upon property taxation, are forcing cities into new revenue fields. Despite the use of newer sources of revenue, the property tax seems destined to bear the largest share of local government costs, probably remaining as the backbone of the local tax structure.

Of the 249 cities compared in the tables, 130 or 52 per cent show an increase in the adjusted tax rate. Each population group shows a preponderance of increases of adjusted rates over decreases and "no changes." Thirty per cent of the cities report decreases in their rates with 18 per cent of the cities reporting no change. It is noted that cities in the larger population groups show the greatest percentage increase in adjusted rates.

The larger cities also show the highest adjusted rates and the greatest amount of dollar increase over 1945. Group II cities show the highest average adjusted rate, $32.92, and Group I follows closely with $32.86. The low of the adjusted rates, $26.55, is reported by Group VI. Group VI is also the only group indicating a reduction with all other groups showing increases of $.18 to $2.31.

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*The following Volker Fellows of the training school compiled and tabulated the data as part of their field training with the Bureau of Governmental Research under the supervision of Richard A. Ware of the bureau staff: George L. Hinds, University of Denver; George A. Hines, University of South Dakota; Russell W. Maddox, Jr., Marshall College; Myron D. Miller, Jr., Ohio State University; Robert J. Schier, University of Rochester; Vernon E. Timmons, Pomona College; William H. Wilcox, University of Connecticut.

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	Per Cent of Change in Assessment	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate Amount of Change*[a]
1945-46	+5.3%	+.52
1944-45	+1.3	+.22
1943-44	+1.1	+.12
1942-43	+ .6	—.35
1941-42	+1.5	—.05
1940-41	— .1	+.02
1939-40	—1.5	+.29
1938-39	— .5	+.45

[a] Per $1000 of assessed value.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF CITIES SHOWING CHANGES IN ADJUSTED TAX RATE 1945-46

Population Group[b]	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*No Change*
I[c]	0	2	1
II	2	5	2
III	5	14	2
IV	15	28	7
V	16	36	24
VI[d]	36	45	9
Total	74	130	45

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF 1946 AND 1945 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 249 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1,000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1,000 Assessed Value*		
	1946	*1945*	*Increase*	*1946*	*1945*	*Increase*
I[c]	$43.56	$40.05	$3.51	$32.86	$30.55	$2.31
II	37.19	34.20	2.99	32.92	30.64	2.28
III	51.83	42.99	8.84	27.53	25.47	2.06
IV	41.04	38.99	2.05	30.00	29.10	.90
V	40.19	38.15	2.04	28.06	27.88	.18
VI[d]	40.08	38.44	1.64	26.55	26.56	— .01
Total	$41.23	$38.71	$2.52	$28.09	$27.57	$ .52

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] New York City and Chicago not included.

[d] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 were not tabulated.

The adjusted tax rates increased from $27.34 to $28.08, or $.75, in the five-year period 1941-46 for the 249 cities used in the comparison. The greatest amount of increase, $4.36, is for Group II cities. A slight decrease occurs in Group III cities whose average rate drops $.07 from $27.60 to $27.53.

The increase in total assessed value from 1945 to 1946 is 5.3 per cent, approximately half of the 10.5 per cent rise in valuations during the last five years. Cities from 250,000 to 500,000 show the greatest increase, 6.8 per cent; cities from 500,000 to 1,000,000 the least, 1.4 per cent. Over the five-year period cities in the 250,000 to 500,000 group also show the greatest increase, 14.3 per cent. No population group shows a decrease in assessments.

Assessment Ratios

Table VI, reporting changes by population groups in the ratios of assessed to true value, presents a new feature of this study. It is designed to show the degree that assessed valuations follow shifts in real estate values.

Table VI reveals a slight general lowering of assessed to true value

TABLE IV

FIVE-YEAR COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 249 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value* 1946	1941	Increase	*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value* 1946	1941	Increase
I[c]	$43.56	$39.78	$3.78	$32.86	$30.11	$2.75
II	37.19	33.98	3.21	32.92	28.56	4.36
III	51.83	45.09	6.74	27.53	27.60	— .07
IV	41.04	40.64	.40	30.00	29.28	.72
V	40.19	38.33	1.86	28.06	27.04	1.02
VI[d]	40.08	30.04	1.04	26.55	26.25	.30
Total	$41.23	$39.48	$1.75	$28.09	$27.34	$ .75

TABLE V

CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIODS

Population Group[b]	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value* 1946	1945	*Per Cent Increase in Assessment 1945-46*	*Per Cent Increase in Assessment 1941-46*
I[c]	$15.49	$14.75	5.0%	10.9%
II	16.97	16.74	1.4	7.8
III	12.68	11.87	6.8	14.3
IV	12.83	12.55	2.2	9.7
V	13.53	13.05	3.7	9.2
VI[d]	12.45	12.06	3.2	11.6
Total	$14.26	$13.54	5.3%	10.5%

(See footnotes on preceding page.)

TABLE VI

Change in Estimated Ratios of Assessed to True Value from 1945 to 1946

Ratios of Assessed to True Value	Number of Cities by Population Groups														
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		Total		
%	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	1945	1946	Change
0-19											1	1	1	1	0
20-39					4	5	3	3	1	2	6	8	14	18	+4
40-59	1	1	1	1	3	3	6	6	15	15	15	17	41	43	+2
60-79					7	7	15	15	26	30	25	25	73	77	+4
80-99			2	3	2	3	7	7	13	11	14	15	38	39	+1
100	2	2	6	5	5	3	19	19	21	18	29	24	82	71	—11
Total	3	3	9	9	21	21	50	50	76	76	90	90	249	249	

ratios from 1945 to 1946 among the cities studied. A net total of eleven cities have dropped their estimated ratios from 100 per cent to lower figures. There has been a net increase of four cities in the 20-39 per cent range, two cities in the 40-59 per cent range, four cities in the 60-79 per cent range, and one city in the 80-99 per cent range, a total of eleven cities. This number may seem slight in relation to the total of 249 cities included in the table, but because of the large class interval, there are many changes within the classes that are not shown. No population group shows an unusually great change in comparison with the others.

This year, approximately 31 per cent of the cities, 77 out of 249, have an estimated assessed value between 60-79 per cent of true valuation. An almost equal number, 71 cities, declare their assessed value at 100 per cent. The majority of remaining cities are below 60 per cent.

From a comparison of 137 cities replying in 1935, 1940, 1945 and 1946, it was found the average ratio of assessed to true value remained at a constant 80 per cent through 1945, then fell slightly to 77 per cent in 1946.

This decrease appears in contrast with the increase in total assessment of 5.3 per cent previously noted. This condition may be caused by several factors: (1) assessing authorities are in many instances taking into account present inflated prices in determining their estimates of assessed to true value, thus decreasing their ratios; (2) revaluation upward is being made, but not on a scale large enough to keep up with inflated sales prices; (3) increased new construction has increased total assessed valuations.

Many cities noted that their given ratios are on the normal sales prices as differentiated from present sales prices. Also, there has not been a large enough general revaluation upward to keep assessment ratios constant, despite the temptation of easing the pressure of property taxes against legal limits. From such replies it appears many assessment officials feel present prices may be temporary and that they prefer to keep assessments on the conservative side to avoid the danger of over-assessed property in the event real estate prices decline. At least there is a note of caution in not jumping assessed values on the basis of present "sales prices."

Actual Tax Rates Reported

The tax rates reported in the appended table are those levied per thousand dollars of assessed valuation by all governmental units for which general property taxes are a source of revenue. In some states levies are made by special districts and townships performing services financed by taxes on general property. Since the compact form of tabulation makes it impossible to print the separate rates for all special districts, these have been included with the other rates under one of the four general headings—city, school, county or state.

Where the larger unit of government responsible for the levying of these special district taxes was not indicated, the common practice in a majority of the municipalities studied was the determining factor in classifying them. For example, levies of park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts are included with city rates, since in the majority of cities these functions are performed by the municipal government.

Occasionally, city officials have expressed disagreement with this procedure because it increases the given city rate above the rate at which taxes are actually levied. The practice has been continued since it is felt that it is the only practicable way to obtain an equitable comparison of total property tax burdens among municipalities.

The compilation is not intended as a measure of governmental costs or services, for tax rates alone cannot give a complete picture of the expense of government or indicate the quantity or quality of services. Even though two municipalities may be served by the same type of governmental units with comparable property tax rates, the police department of one may do a better job of crime prevention and criminal apprehension than that of the second city, and at less cost. Or schools in the second city may surpass in quality those of the first, again at less cost. The efficiency of services in two cities, on the other hand, may be identical, but a differential in tax rates may be accounted for by one city performing more services than the other. A comparison of tax rates, therefore, cannot gauge the relative quality or quantity of service or measure administrative efficiency.

A majority of the states provide the legal basis of assessment at 100 per cent of true value. Exceptions are found in North Dakota and Washington where 50 per cent of true value is the legal basis and in Alabama and Iowa where 60 per cent is used. In Arkansas the State Corporation Commission has responsibility for determining what the assessment ratio shall be and has set the ratio at 50 per cent. California law requires that assessment shall be in proportion to value but does not state what the proportion shall be.

Even though legal requirements often specify that assessments shall be at full or true cash value, care should be exercised in comparing actual rates since assessments frequently vary from the requirements.

The tax rates actually levied are adjusted by applying to them the estimated ratio of assessed valuation to true cash or full value. The rates thus derived are comparable to a considerable degree as they are all placed on a theoretically uniform basis of 100 per cent. This adjustment is accomplished by multiplying all actual tax levies for one city by the appropriate estimated ratios (i.e., county and city) of true to assessed value and finding the sum of these products. The weighted average of the assessment ratios is determined, where necessary, by dividing the adjusted rate by the actual rate. In some instances, Pittsburgh for example, it is necessary to first compute a weighted tax rate because of the different rates applying to land and improvements.

The determination of the assessment ratios occasionally develops disagreement between authorities over the proper ratio of assessed to true values in the same jurisdiction. Some state tax commissions publish annual estimates of the assessment ratio of local units that do not conform with those of the local assessing agencies. Such differences occur most frequently in New York State. (See footnote at end of tabulation.) In such a case, the figures given by the local officials are used in this study.

The estimated ratios of assessed to true value may also vary because of the variance in interpretation of true value but, despite this limitation, it is felt that the adjusted tax rates as computed offer a higher degree of uniformity and comparability than otherwise obtainable.

Assessments Averaged

The assessment ratios used in this study reflect over-all assessing practices within individual cities. They will not hold true for all types of property or for individual pieces of property. A ratio of 90 per cent may be reported by a city, yet there may be instances where some types of property within the city will be assessed at 60 per cent, others at 100 per cent. In some states, as in Ohio and Minnesota, various types of personalty are assessed at different ratios from realty and other types of personalty. Elsewhere, other cities assess residential property at a different ratio from that used for industrial and commercial property. The ratio used here is the over-all assessment ratio within the city.

(Continued on Page 624)
(See pages 576 to 589 for tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 331 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1946

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I												
	Population 1,000,000 or over												
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	$15,908,518,199	N	2	—	—	—	—	$28.60	100	$28.60	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	4,732,228,415	26	2	23.30	14.60	4.50	N	42.40	100	42.40	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,174,045,740	24	Op	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Michigan[4]	1,623,452	3,000,517,242	28	2	22.25	10.07	5.40	N	37.73	100	37.73	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,504,277	1,664,548,330	21	2	18.05	20.21	25.92	N	64.18	50	32.09	5
	Group II												
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000												
6	Cleveland, Ohio[P]	878,336	1,337,379,979	21	2	16.00	9.10	4.70	N	29.80	100	29.80	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	1,860,568,314	37	Op	29.90	—	N	1.00	30.90	100	30.90	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	1,042,250,600	12	4	17.50	9.10	N	.70	27.30	100	27.30	8
9	Boston, Mass.[8]	770,816	1,536,385,600	10	2	30.01	8.91	2.12	.96	42.00	100	42.00	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[9]	671,659	959,541,596	N	12	42.00	11.75	N	N	53.75	100	53.75	10
11	Washington, D. C.[10]	663,091	1,576,964,017	12	2	—	—	—	—	17.50	95§	16.63	11

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N = None

* = Estimated

— = Figures or breakdown not available

Op = Optional

§ = These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $27.90; Queens, $28.60; Brooklyn, $28.20; and Richmond, $27.90. Totals include levy for reassessments of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Assessment ratio shown in figure reported by State Tax Commission. State and official records show that some properties are assessed at 160 per cent or higher, while others are assessed below 100 per cent of full value. See footnote n.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $4.40 park and $3.40 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.50 forest preserve rate. Assessed valuations shown above are Cook County assessor's full value figures. The Illinois State Department of Revenue contends that the assessor's full value figures for real estate are nearly 68 per cent of full value.

[3] **Philadelphia.** There is no county tax. City and county are consolidated, and city rate covers all costs.

[4] **Detroit.** City rate includes $.62 library and $.04 library debt rate.

[5] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $2.28 flood control and $4.80 water district rate applied on land and improvements only.

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed value includes $56,650,000 shares of banks and trust companies, $335,000,000 deposits in savings banks, $89,015,270 railroad securities taxed at 1 per cent, $18.75, and $3 respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[7] **St. Louis.** St. Louis is a city and county within itself. City rates include county rate.

[8] **Boston.** Statutory requirement is that valuation be a fair cash value.

[9] **Pittsburgh.** City average is a weighted average of $28 on land and $14 on buildings.

[10] **Washington, D. C.** Ratio estimated at 95 per cent; assessments in downtown area are reported as being 100 per cent and those in outlying areas as being 90 per cent. Home owners pay taxes in four installments. There is but one tax rate covering all purposes.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
12	San Francisco, Calif.[11]	634,536	860,706,541	17	2	43.24	12.26	N	N	55.50	50	27.75	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.	587,472	913,727,515	17	10	15.39	12.41	10.93	.37	39.10	81	31.59	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[12]	575,901	898,810,838	N	2	22.27	9.25	10.47	.06	42.05	92	38.69	14
	Group III Population 250,000 to 500,000												
15	New Orleans, La.[13]	494,537	521,264,828	28	2	23.78	7.00	—	5.75	36.53	71§	24.94	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[j]	492,370	239,669,210	23	4	68.74	25.86	15.62	7.78	118.00	34	40.14	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[p]	455,610	907,074,870	15	2	9.80	7.46	2.74	N	20.00	85	17.00	17
18	Newark, N. J.[m]	429,760	707,687,900	30	4	31.14	14.55	7.78	2.13	55.60	100	55.60	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	504,604,190	28	1	13.90	13.50	6.80	.90	35.10	70	24.57	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[14]	386,972	553,287,220	30	2	15.79	11.00	6.10	1.30	34.19	60	20.51	20
21	Houston, Tex.[15]	384,514	389,744,210	29	1	19.50	12.75	9.20	3.70	45.15	47§	21.28	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[16]	368,302	298,232,198	28	2	20.70	17.50	14.40	2.10	54.70	35	19.15	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[n]	324,975	536,968,644	4	4	19.78	10.32	9.48	N	39.58	94§	37.97	23
24	Denver, Colo.[17]	322,412	406,632,450	31	2	21.66	16.00	—	3.50	41.16	80	32.93	24
25	Louisville, Ky.	319,077	343,185,287	14	1	16.65	8.15	15.00*	.50	40.30	70	28.21	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[p]	306,087	457,430,390	22	2	6.46	7.94	2.40	N	16.80	70§	12.36	26
27	Portland, Ore.[18]	305,394	356,035,970	18	4	23.50	10.90	13.80	N	48.20	56	26.99	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[d]	302,288	402,845,541	35	3	13.25	—	24.00*	5.00	42.25	56§	23.66	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[19]	302,163	312,820,451	—	2	30.00	23.40	15.50	N	68.90	35	24.12	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.	301,173	497,081,215	11	4	27.67	19.97	15.73	2.51	65.88	75	49.41	30
31	Dallas, Tex.[u]	294,734	427,322,780	32	2	15.88	8.63	8.00	3.70	36.20	62§	22.44	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	347,882,487	16	4	11.50	6.50	9.10	.80	27.90	100	27.90	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[20]	287,736	139,222,587	22	4	40.02	23.84	28.16	7.78	99.80	33	32.93	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[p]	282,349	479,707,815	25	2	8.65	7.58	2.77	N	19.00	74§	14.11	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	206,934,850	19	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Tex.[u]	253,854	228,061,900	22	5	20.50	11.80	8.00	7.20	47.50	68§	32.30	36
37	Providence R. I.[21]	253,504	719,376,480	45	4	25.00	N	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	37

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[11] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include $363,081,193 solvent credit. City and county governments are combined.

[12] **Buffalo.** Assessed value includes $39,048,848 special franchise valuations.

[13] **New Orleans.** Assessed valuation includes $143,596,383 personal property assessed for city purposes but not for state purposes. The state actually reimburses the taxing units for loss sustained.

[14] **Indianapolis.** Exemptions are allowed on real estate on which there is a mortgage, provided the mortgage is recorded in recorder's office. Soldiers are allowed exemption of $1,000 on service. See footnote e.

[15] **Houston.** Assessment value and state rate are estimate.

[16] **Seattle.** County includes $1.50, Port of Seattle rate. See footnote v.

[17] **Denver.** Consolidated city-county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[18] **Portland.** City rate includes $.80 port and $1.96 dock rates.

[19] **Oakland.** County rate includes $.20 mosquito abatement, $2.20 municipal utility, and $.50 park rates. Personalty not available.

[20] **St. Paul.** Rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $93.58. See footnote j.

[21] **Providence.** Assessed value includes intangible personal property taxes at the rate of $4.00 per $1,000, amounting to $216,230,600.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV												
	Population 100,000 to 250,000												
38	Akron, Ohio[22]	244,791	369,400,000	31	2	12.12	9.62	3.66	N	25.40	64	16.26	38
39	Omaha, Nebraska	233,844	272,337,445	30	2	13.20	16.00	4.68	5.09	38.97	70	27.28	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[p]	210,718	Not reported										40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[n]	205,967	336,375,186	5	4	20.92	8.86	12.43	.08	42.29	100	42.29	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[23]	204,424	136,398,595	15	2	21.84	19.26	10.49		51.59	40	20.64	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[24]	203,341	228,585,700	23	2	20.50	19.70	19.60	—	59.80	50	29.90	43
44	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	267,635,500	7	Op	29.21	8.93	1.27	.59	40.00	90	36.00	44
45	Richmond, Virginia	193,042	351,909,188	14	2	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00	45
46	Honolulu, T. H.[25]	179,358	165,560,442	50	2	—	—	—	—	24.80	80	19.84	46
47	Fort Worth, Texas[26]	177,662	186,904,350	26	2	20.20	11.60	9.00	7.20	48.00	63	30.24	47
48	Jacksonville, Florida[27]	173,065	95,143,080	15	1	26.00	13.94	9.31	N	49.25	59	28.86	48
49	Miami, Florida[28]	172,172	276,590,680	12	1	30.13	13.40	6.10	N	49.63	100	49.63	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[29]	167,720	287,724,298	14	2	7.43	7.87	3.30	N	18.60	80	14.88	50
51	Nashville, Tennessee[30]	167,402	193,525,862	37	2	16.75	5.25			22.00	100	22.00	51
52	Hartford, Connecticut[31]	166,267	381,556,309	19	4	19.01	11.87	.55	.57	32.00	100	32.00	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[32]	164,292	220,459,630	23	1	8.10	7.31	2.74	N	18.15	100	18.15	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[33]	164,271	267,298,420	16	2	17.19	23.66	22.06	N	62.91	50	31.45	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[34]	160,605	320,333,233	21	2	16.51	10.57	.42	N	27.50	100	27.50	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa[f]	159,819	142,118,562	13	2	22.35	28.39	14.30	N	65.04	60	39.02	56
57	Flint, Mich.[35]	151,543	234,006,840	23	3	8.44	7.52	4.00	N	19.96	80	15.97	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[36]	149,934	151,994,814	33	1	18.10	17.75	8.05	2.70	46.60	70	32.62	58

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[22] **Akron.** City rate includes $.21 Metropolitan Park Board rate. See also footnote p.

[23] **Oklahoma City.** First $1000 of homestead is exempt from $42.15 of the $51.59 total levy. See also footnote q.

[24] **San Diego.** County rate includes $.10 inland navigation district levy.

[25] **Honolulu.** City rate includes cost of school and county government. Land is assessed at 60 per cent, improvements at 100 per cent of true value. Homestead exemption: First $1500 assessed value plus one half of value between $1500 and $5000.

[26] **Fort Worth.** Homesteads are exempt from state tax levy up to $3000 assessed valuation. City rate includes $3.20 water controlling. See also footnote u.

[27] **Jacksonville.** County rate included $.22 navigation district rate and $.33 air base authority levy. See also footnote c.

[28] **Miami.** Miami County rate included $.10 inland navigation district levy. Total valuation of homestead exemption $75,047,220. $5,000 valuation on homestead exempted from operating tax and debt service on debt created after Nov. 16, 1934. See also footnote c.

[29] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $1.36 sanitary district and $.12 township rate. See also footnote p.

[30] **Nashville.** City rate includes $6.24 sinking fund levy, $1 park levy, and $1.08 pension fund levy.

[31] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.99 metropolitan district levy.

[32] **Grand Rapids.** City rate includes $1.55 levy for city debt. School rate includes $.22 for school debt. See footnote h.

[33] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water district, $2.28 county flood control rate and $.94 sanitation district rate.

[34] **New Haven.** Tax rate for ward 32 is $14.99.

[35] **Flint.** County rate includes $1.00 levy for T. B. Sanitorium. See also footnote h.

[36] **Salt Lake City.** City rate includes $1.10 mosquito abatement and water district rates combined.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	258,501,455	10	2	19.96	12.61	1.53	.90	35.00	100	35.00	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.[37]	147,121	280,359,430	28	2	22.45	6.61	.17	.57	29.80	100	29.80	60
61	Norfolk, Virginia[38]	144,332	181,900,000*	15	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[n]	142,598	284,273,780	N	4	21.08	9.44	5.83	.06	36.41	99	36.05	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[q]	142,157	133,124,571	20	4	12.62	13.55	5.88	N	32.05	50	16.02	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[39]	140,404	96,180,391	N	4	21.15	22.50	8.20	N	51.85	75	38.88	64
65	Paterson, N. J.[m]	139,656	165,731,517	13	4	23.82	9.99	8.32	2.13	44.26	100	44.26	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[40]	130,577	236,673,941	4	1	28.90	—	9.34	.08	38.32	95	36.40	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.[41]	128,163	122,578,316	21	1	22.00	—	—	.80	—	60	—	67
68	Trenton, N. J.[42]	124,697	152,299,425	18	4	21.59	18.34	8.35	2.12	50.40	76	38.21	68
69	Spokane, Washington[v]	122,001	86,756,881	25	2	18.00	13.00	9.60	2.20	42.80	50	21.40	69
70	Kansas City, Kansas	121,458	84,626,835	19	2	21.36	22.56	9.80	.70	54.42	60	32.65	70
71	Fort Wayne, Indiana[43]	118,410	184,000,000*	33	2	12.50	12.50	6.70	1.30	32.00	75	24.00	71
72	Camden, N. J.[m]	117,536	130,443,215	15	4	18.70	16.94	11.44	2.12	49.20	59§	29.02	72
73	Erie, Pa.[r]	116,955	124,607,060	N	Op	15.50	17.00	7.00	N	39.50	94§	37.05	73
74	Fall River, Mass.[44]	115,428	110,586,700	17	2	—	—	—	—	42.60	100	42.60	74
75	Wichita, Kansas[45]	114,966	139,506,610	25	2	15.71	25.06	7.96	.65	49.38	65	32.10	75
76	Wilmington, Delaware	112,504	166,188,125	1	1	15.35	1.85	4.00	N	21.20	80	16.96	76
77	Gary, Indiana[46]	111,719	142,122,505	51	2	13.82	16.50	5.98	1.30	37.60	40	15.04	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	146,206,004	30	1	17.62	6.18	16.90	.80	41.50	69§	28.64	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	175,095,000	8	2	25.50	7.80	1.04	1.45	35.80	100	35.80	79
80	Reading, Penn.[r]	110,568	138,000,000*	N	1	12.00	16.00	6.50	N	34.50	94§	32.55	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.[47]	110,341	98,585,200	11	2	32.42	10.81	1.37	.60	45.20	100	45.20	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[48]	109,921	133,348,985	11	4	22.39	16.00	5.48	1.83	45.70	100	45.70	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[49]	109,408	61,537,383	0	2	22.05	26.60	12.00	2.17	62.82	33	20.93	83
84	Canton, Ohio[50]	108,401	177,394,930	25	2	5.60	9.00	2.40	N	17.00	80	13.60	84
85	Tampa, Florida[51]	108,391	80,843,040	21	1	32.50	7.50	14.00	N	54.00	68§	36.60	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.	105,958	Not reported										86
87	Peoria, Ill.[52]	105,087	82,411,170	33	2	31.05	25.00	4.35	N	60.40	30	18.12	87

[37] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes $1.35 welfare and $4.66 debt levy.

[38] **Norfolk.** School tax included in city tax.

[39] **Scranton.** City rate represents weighted average of $29.82 on land and $14.91 on improvements. County rate includes $2.70 for institutions and poor. See also footnote r.

[40] **Albany.** City rate includes school tax levy. See also footnote n.

[41] **Chattanooga.** City rate includes school.

[42] **Trenton.** City rate includes $.05 general tax levy. See also footnote m.

[43] **Fort Wayne.** County rate includes $1.40 township levy including poor relief. School rate includes $1.30 library levy.

[44] **Fall River.** Assessed value for 1946 not available—1945 figures used.

[45] **Wichita.** School rate includes $.224 municipal university levy.

[46] **Gary.** Total homestead exemption: $30,000,000. See also footnote e.

[47] **New Bedford.** Debt and interest rate of $4.12 included in city rate.

[48] **Elizabeth.** City rate includes $2.29 reserve levy. See footnote m.

[49] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 park district levy; county rate includes $2 port district levy. See footnote v.

[50] **Canton.** City rate includes $.10 township levy. See footnote p.

[51] **Tampa.** City rate includes $10 debt service. See footnote c.

[52] **Peoria.** City rate includes town, park and sanitary levies.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	116,705,950	8	10	26.35	11.90	1.70	2.55	42.50	100	42.50	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	94,335,800	9	1	32.09	10.59	2.12	N	44.80	100	44.80	89
90	South Bend, Indiana[e]	101,268	154,401,120	25	2	12.13	10.17	5.20	1.30	28.80	70	20.16	90
91	Duluth, Minn.[53]	101,065	45,679,729	20	4	50.73	39.59	24.00	7.78	122.10	40	48.84	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.[e]	100,899	125,681,095	26	12	12.50	2.50	9.50	N	24.50	67	16.41	92
93	Utica N. Y.[n]	100,518	122,925,935	N	2	24.66	10.06	10.33	N	45.05	82	36.92	93
	Group V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**												
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	216,721,923	25	2	19.43	8.38	.34	.60	28.75	100	28.75	94
95	Shreveport, La.[g]	98,167	116,828,491	33	1	16.00	12.50	2.00	5.75	36.25	50	18.13	95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	132,104,985	11	2					34.40	100	34.40	96
97	Evansville, Ind.[e]	97,062	140,179,240	26	2	9.60	10.70	8.80	1.30	30.40	75	22.80	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[r]	96,904	108,949,412	N	4	14.00	15.00	5.00	N	34.00	57§	19.40	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[54]	96,810	84,680,300	22	2	13.50	12.80	7.80	7.20	41.30	57§	23.36	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[d]	95,996	65,539,333	24	4	23.00	10.00	12.50	5.00	50.50	58	29.29	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.[b]	88,039	48,699,617	35	3	13.70	18.00	8.30	9.00	49.00	25	12.25	101
102	Austin, Tex.[55]	87,930	77,731,700	19	1	16.50	7.00	7.20	8.50	39.20	57§	22.40	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[56]	87,549	160,707,620	N	4	19.58	10.37	8.61	.05	38.61	86§	33.20	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[r]	86,236	77,866,309	8	4	15.98	18.50	9.10	N	43.58	65	28.33	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[57]	85,547	99,364,370	8	2	18.20	20.20	18.40	N	56.80	51§	29.25	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[58]	84,637	63,000,000	35	2	24.40	25.40	4.70	N	54.50	40	21.80	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.[59]	84,323	84,333,025	9	2	19.76	15.30	2.77	.97	38.80	100	38.80	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[r]	83,893	93,931,345	N	Op	14.00	16.00	6.00	N	36.00	53§	18.90	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[60]	82,794	126,000,634	22	4	7.74	5.92	3.40	N	17.06	69§	11.77	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[61]	82,582	82,377,975	16	2	13.66	23.02	21.12	N	57.80	50	28.90	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa[f]	82,364	79,492,422	23	2	17.84	20.33	7.25	N	45.42	60	27.25	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[62]	81,894	98,495,572	23	2	12.15	17.00	3.48	4.24	36.87	78§	28.86	112

[53] **Duluth.** Rate applies to non-homestead rate only. Homestead rate is $115.88. City rate includes $1.80 for other levy. See footnote j.

[54] **El Paso.** Local authority states that city normally assesses at 70 per cent of true value, but due to inflated values assessment is not over 33 per cent this year. See footnote u.

[55] **Austin.** Estimated ratio of assessed value to true cash value based on pre-inflation period. See footnote u.

[56] **Schenectady.** Estimated ratio of assessed value to true cash value based on 1941 figures. See footnote n.

[57] **Berkeley.** County rate incudes following: sewer district rate of $.40, water district rate of $1.80, park district rate of $.50 and mosquito abatement district rate of $.20.

[58] **Rockford.** City rate includes $2.50 road and bridge rate.

[59] **Lawrence.** City rate includes redemption and interest rate of $3.69 and an "overlay" rate of $.37.

[60] **Saginaw.** Assessed value shown is equalized value as fixed by the Michigan State Tax Commission. Assessor's valuation is $117,767,960 of which $93,021,585 is realty. City rate includes $1.74 city "prior obligation" rate; school rate includes $.32 school "prior obligation." See footnote h.

[61] **Glendale.** County rate includes Los Angeles county flood control rate of $2.28.

[62] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $1 sanitary district rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess-ment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
113	Pasadena, Calif.[63]	81,864	165,768,950	17	1	11.32	25.45	21.12	N	57.89	55§	31.77	113
114	Altoona, Pa.[r]	80,214	71,416,115	N	1	12.00	18.00	6.00	N	36.00	62§	22.20	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.[64]	79,815	125,368,683	50	Op	19.40	2.11	5.00	N	26.51	70	18.56	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.[m]	79,198	123,982,740	20	4	41.11	—	14.15	2.26	57.52	70	40.26	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[w]	78,836	130,989,205	46	2	5.00	9.18	4.30	.10	18.58	95	17.65	117
118	Lansing, Mich.[h]	78,753	123,250,057	20	1	18.44	9.80	4.24	N	32.48	80	25.98	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	66,457,052	31	1	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.48	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[65]	78,309	106,161,267	N	4	23.04	12.07	5.09	—	40.20	100	40.20	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.[a]	78,084	48,489,845	29	1	12.50	7.00	7.00	6.50	33.00	80	26.40	121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[n]	78,029	159,023,710	3	2	20.74	13.30	5.50	N	39.54	85	32.61	122
123	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	93,929,433	25	1	31.24	—	4.32	.14	35.70	100	35.70	123
124	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	134,192,525	6	—	—	—	—	—	30.00	100	30.00	124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[s]	75,797	162,104,330	30	4	—	—	—	—	21.00	100	21.00	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,111	60,187,780	27	1	16.50	15.80	7.90	.70	40.90	68	27.81	126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.[66]	75,609	47,208,703	37	2	32.73	28.00	5.50	N	66.23	40	26.49	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[67]	75,503	52,388,104	21	2	26.65	25.25	7.50	N	59.40	33	19.60	128
129	Portland, Me.[68]	73,643	81,811,575	24	Op	30.39	12.60	1.31	6.10	50.40	90	45.36	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	19,421,562	36	Op	15.00	34.50	12.50	—	62.00	18	11.16	130
131	Springfield, Ohio[p]		Not reported										131
132	Troy, N. Y.[n]	70,304	70,949,580	N	2	31.33	11.52	12.50	—	55.35	89	49.26	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[69]	70,184	100,121,445	—	2	13.85	19.58	8.07	1.30	42.80	50	21.40	133
134	Newton, Mass.	69,873	169,911,300	10	10	—	—	—	—	29.00	100	29.00	134
135	Roanoke, Va.	69,287	80,364,347	14	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio[p]	69,160	95,989,240	10	2	7.40	14.10	4.70	N	26.20	75	19.65	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[m]	68,945	104,651,800	9	4	17.14	14.64	7.70	2.12	41.60	100	41.60	137
138	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	113,232,830	19	1	—	—	—	—	29.50	100	29.50	138
139	San Jose, Calif.	68,457	Not reported										139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[70]	67,914	126,016,985	32	2	—	—	—	—	58.43	60	35.06	140

[63] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $2.28 flood control rate; school tax is levied and collected by the county.

[64] **Winston-Salem.** City rate includes debt service rate of $6.24. See footnote o.

[65] **Binghamton.** $30,073,040 of the total assessed valuation of $106,161,267 represents realty. The balance represents land improvements. See footnote n.

[66] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes an $8.80 levee and sanitary district rate, a $4.80 park district rate and a $1.33 health district rate. Included also is the $3.50 tax rate of the town of East St. Louis.

[67] **Springfield.** City rate includes a $1.67 sanitary district rate, a $5 park rate and a $1.35 airport rate.

[68] **Portland.** School debt service charge not included in school rate. The figure for this charge was not reported.

[69] **Hammond.** City rate includes a $2.30 sanitary district rate. See footnote e.

[70] **Charleston, W Va.** Rate shown is for Class IV property totaling $70,545,700. The rate for Class II property valued at $22,944,950 is $29.21 per $1,000. The rate for Class I property consisting of $30,262,135 in personal property and $2,264,200 in public utility property is $12.85 per $1,000. See footnote w.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
141	Topeka, Kan.[71]	67,833	95,721,975	46	2	15.21	15.93	7.86	.70	39.70	66§	26.20	141
142	Madison, Wis.[72]	67,447	142,929,125	16	2	8.81	12.11	7.36	.22	28.50	90§	25.50	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[73]	67,362	142,260,265	N	2	11.95	14.55	7.68	—	34.18	100	34.18	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	112,327,290	18	7	7.93	11.56	5.23	.25	24.97	80§	20.11	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[r]	66,668	72,627,660	7	4	14.00	19.00	6.00	N	39.00	97§	37.80	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.[h]	66,626	111,434,620	30	1	13.10	7.68	4.16	N	24.94	75	18.71	146
147	Davenport, Iowa[f]	66,039	62,747,825	9	1	18.00	19.39	7.15	N	44.54	60	26.72	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[74]	66,015	100,890,608	12	2	13.50	16.30	4.50	N	34.30	78	26.75	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[75]	65,919	50,875,986	38	3	20.00	17.00	9.00	5.00	51.00	50	25.50	149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	82,827,904	25	2	21.50	37.20	4.40	3.20	66.30	63§	41.75	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[76]	65,389	119,795,922	13	2	12.60	15.00	4.00	.80	32.40	100	32.40	151
152	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reported										152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[m]	64,094	78,760,645	10	4	35.00	13.90	13.50	2.10	64.50	100	64.50	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.[h]	63,584	272,375,947	42	4	13.82	11.37	5.40	N	30.59	60	18.35	154
155	Medford, Mass.	63,083	79,494,100	6	2	—	—	—	—	41.00	100	41.00	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	59,199,180	35	2	15.79	13.85	10.26	1.30	41.20	100	41.20	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	25,883,455	—	1	—	—	—	—	33.00	17	5.61	157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	70,870,650	11	—	—	—	—	N	46.80	100	46.80	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	62,120	65,536,803	29	2	18.57	23.44	6.06	N	48.07	60	28.84	159
160	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	69,639,605	28	4	20.60	11.40	12.00	2.00	46.00	50	23.00	160
161	Covington, Ky.[77]	62,018	57,506,365	25	2	17.00	12.70	—	—	29.70	70	20.79	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[m]	61,394	86,131,700	17	4	30.30	8.90	8.29	2.11	49.60	100	49.60	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[r]	61,345	91,131,350	N	1	5.50	12.50	1.50	N	19.50	96§	18.75	163
164	Springfield Mo.[78]	61,238	39,191,000	22	1	18.00	19.00	5.50	.70	43.20	43	18.58	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[w]	61,099	122,440,125	52	2	—	—	—	—	42.75	75	32.06	165
166.	Galveston, Tex.	60,862	Not reported										166
167	St Petersburg, Fla.[79]	60,812	104,767,096	8	1	27.85	9.00	7.65	N	44.50	100	44.50	167
168	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	75,677,665	18	2	18.40	24.60	11.50	N	54.50	50	27.25	168

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[71] **Topeka.** Assessed value includes $24,142,067 intangibles assessed at $.50 per $100. City rate includes a $.43 library rate; county rate includes a $2.19 Washburn University rate.

[72] **Madison.** City rate includes $.84 library and $.15 sewerage district rates.

[73] **Mt. Vernon.** School rate includes a $.91 library rate. See footnote n.

[74] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $3.40 sanitation district, $1.60 park district, $.20 driveway maintenance and $.20 mosquito abatement. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate.

[75] **Augusta.** Real estate sales in the city for the past year have run anywhere from three to four times the assessed valuation the city has placed on the properties. Outside the business section, however, on which rents have been increased, little or no increase has been made by the Real Estate Board. See footnote d.

[76] **Evanston.** City rate includes $4.10 rate for "other purposes."

[77] **Covington.** Debt service rate of $3.60 included in city rate.

[78] **Springfield.** Additional $2.40 included in county rate for special road district.

[79] **St. Petersburg.** City rate indicated for old tax zone plus $1.35 building rate and $3 special district tax. Other city rates are as follows: Zone A $23.00, Zone B $20.50, Zone C $19.50. See footnote c.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
169	Durham, N. C.[o]	60,195	97,272,404	35	1	12.60	2.90	5.50	N	21.00	75	15.75	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[80]	59,319	103,777,560	26	1	14.40	.60	N	N	15.00	85	12.75	170
171	Decatur, Ill.[81]	59,305	35,910,456	19	2	29.65	25.50	3.60	N	58.75	25	14.69	171
172	Chester, Pa.[r]	59,285	61,594,413	N	—	15.70	17.00	5.00	N	37.70	86§	32.43	172
173	Beaumont, Tex.[82]	59,061	60,700,000	18	4	16.50	11.30	11.60	3.70	43.10	60	27.32	173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[r]	58,490	71,222,494	8	4	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	64§	23.36	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[n]	58,408	140,347,935	6	4	19.00	14.30	7.10	—	40.40	100	40.40	175
176	Malden, Mass.[83]	57,865	70,185,425	9	2	25.67	12.10	2.03	N	39.80	100	39.80	176
177	Macon, Ga.[d]	57,865	45,800,000*	30*	9	13.00	N	26.00	5.00	44.00	50	22.00	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[u]	57,301	78,320,280	20	1	20.00	15.00	13.00	3.70	51.70	53§	27.46	178
179	York, Pa.[r]	56,712	50,852,735	N	1	12.50	20.00	6.00	N	38.50	57§	21.90	179
180	Union City, N. J.[84]	56,173	61,423,220	7	4	23.87	17.60	14.10	2.22	57.79	100	57.79	180
181	Waco, Tex.[u]	55,982	64,000,000	13	12	17.00	8.00	6.90	3.70	35.60	73§	25.81	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[r]	55,355	57,500,000	N	1	13.50	17.00	8.62	N	39.12	75	29.34	182
183	Irvington, N. J.[m]	55,328	71,692,100	12	4	18.60	17.60	7.70	2.20	46.10	100	46.10	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	54,996	104,561,900	10	2	4.78	14.70	4.70	N	24.18	60	14.50	184
185	Stockton, Calif.[85]	54,714	64,164,875	8	10	15.14	—	—	N	—	66	—	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[e]	54,637	102,999,145	44	2	11.08	10.95	8.07	1.30	31.40	50	15.70	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[86]	54,097	80,920,340	28	12	9.40	17.75	4.41	N	31.56	70	22.09	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	71,627,180	5	2	26.42	N	1.50	1.08	29.00	100	29.00	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[87]	53,500	60,346,140	22	2	21.20	24.01	25.92	N	71.13	50	35.57	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[d]	53,280	45,133,775	22	1	15.00	21.00	12.00	5.00	53.00	50	26.50	190
191	Pueblo, Colo.	52,162	31,624,598	17	2	32.65	28.00	10.00*	3.42	74.07	56§	41.34	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[88]	51,743	50,212,182	21	2	15.10	20.48	5.33	N	40.91	60	24.55	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[u]	51,686	66,783,050	26	2	13.00	13.20	6.00	3.70	35.90	58§	20.82	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[o]	51,310	54,383,501	18	1	15.30	3.80	10.70	N	29.80	60	16.88	194
195	Highland Park, Michigan[h]	50,810	105,716,800	30	2	14.80	13.95	5.39	N	34.14	60	20.48	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.	50,745	38,649,727	7	2	25.00	N	N	N	25.00	70	17.50	196

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[80] **Greensboro.** City rate includes sewer rate of $.70 and debt service rate of $4.80. See footnote o.

[81] **Decatur.** City rate includes $4.20 town, $3.30 road and bridge, $2.10 sanitation district, $3.95 park district and $1.20 T. B. Sanitorium rates.

[82] **Beaumont.** County rate includes $.20 navigation district, $1.80 drainage district $6 and $2 Lamar College. See footnote u.

[83] **Malden.** City rate includes $5.26 for debt maturity and interest on debt and welfare and veterans' aid.

[84] **Union City.** Figures shown are for the West Hoboken District which is approximately 62 per cent of assessed value. Rates for town of Union District are as follows: City $23.87, school $17.60, county $14.10, state $2.22, total $57.79. See footnote m.

[85] **Stockton.** Estimated ratio for city only. County estimate is 50 per cent.

[86] **Kalamazoo.** City rate includes $2.03 rate of sanitation district. See footnote h.

[87] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $4.80 for mountain water district and $2.28 flood control.

[88] **Waterloo.** West Side rate shown. City rate for East Side is $15.01. See footnote f.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
197	Hamilton, Ohio[p]	50,592	77,700,000	23	2	8.04	9.71	2.54	N	20.29	70	14.20	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not reported										
	Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**												
199	Hamtramck, Mich.[h]	49,839	85,783,510	41	2	20.00	12.50	5.85	N	38.35	70	26.84	199
200	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	132,021,800	10	2	20.62	5.63	.89	1.36	28.50	100	28.50	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[e]	49,720	51,758,330	49	2	14.90	—	—	—	—	—		201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.	49,684	61,533,715	8	2	36.44	—	2.87	1.09	40.40	100	40.40	202
203	Jackson, Mich.[89]	49,656	76,263,170	21	5	9.15	8.39	4.05	N	21.59	80	17.27	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	60,054,339	24	2	18.20	8.80	4.00	.50	31.50	64	19.85	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[s]	49,303	78,741,010	28	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[m]	48,827	57,018,341	10	4	19.33	16.40	8.29	2.08	46.10	75	34.58	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.[90]	48,765	76,644,920	13	3	7.11	15.14	8.75	—	31.00	80	24.80	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[91]	48,451	53,808,030	7	2	11.90	17.10	4.50	N	33.50	100	33.50	208
209	Bay City, Mich.[h]	47,956	57,521,530	22	2	15.00	12.25	5.75	N	33.00	68§	22.44	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[92]	47,938	112,330,523	19	1	—	—	—	—	32.10	100	32.10	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.[h]	47,697	69,506,050	27	1	9.09	7.98	4.17	N	21.24	92§	19.57	211
212	New Castle, Pa.[r]	47,638	52,285,450	N	Op	13.00	20.00	4.50	N	37.50	75	28.13	212
213	Aurora, Ill.[93]	47,170	29,331,337	23	2	28.70	31.50	4.08	N	64.28	30§	19.08	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[s]	47,085	83,034,800	23	4	—	—	N	N	24.00	100	24.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.[94]	46,897	68,889,987	21	Op	13.50	—	8.20	N	21.70	50	10.85	215
216	Everett, Mass.	46,784	83,595,900	17	2	18.38	8.26	1.26	2.10	30.00	100	30.00	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	49,548,450	11	1	33.87	9.92	1.23	.58	45.60	100	45.60	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[95]	46,235	73,069,620	10	2	9.06	11.44	6.02	.22	26.74	94§	25.14	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.[96]	46,140	31,002,930	19	2	19.00	8.50	9.70	3.70	40.90	66§	27.29	219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.[97]	45,112	36,806,650	38	2	15.00	14.50	12.30	7.20	49.00	67	32.67	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[98]	45,106	51,005,129	N	2	22.40	13.00	8.78	—	44.18	84§	37.11	221
222	Lima, Ohio[p]	44,711	65,261,664	23	2	8.80	7.20	2.80	N	18.80	75	14.10	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	44,845,483	8	—	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223

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[89] **Jackson.** County tax rate includes $.13 for collection fee. See footnote h.

[90] **Kenosha.** City rate of $7.11 includes $1 rate for library. Rate of $8.75 under county includes both county and state rates.

[91] **Berwyn.** City rate of $11.90 includes $3.40 rate for sanitary district, $.60 for public health (township), $.60 for township and township poor relief.

[92] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for 1st city district; rate for 3rd city district is $28.60.

[93] **Aurora.** City rate includes $2.60 township, $2.50 road and bridge, $4.20 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.38 forest preserve.

[94] **Raleigh.** County rate includes school rate. See footnote o.

[95] **Green Bay.** City rate includes Green Bay metropolitan sewerage district rate of $2.

[96] **Port Arthur.** County rate includes $.21 drainage district No. 7 rate. See footnote u.

[97] **Wichita Falls.** County rate includes $7 irrigation district; school rate includes $2 junior college rate. See footnote u.

[98] **Elmira.** City rate includes street and highways rate of $5.28. See footnote n.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
224	Williamsport, Pa.[99]	44,355	30,037,285	N	Op	13.75	21.00	8.00	N	42.75	56§	24.05	224
225	Lorain, Ohio[p]	44,125	91,910,566	—	2	6.49	5.21	1.80	N	13.50	80	10.80	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa[100]	43,892	35,741,396	23	2	22.27	17.51	14.03	N	53.81	60	32.29	226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	39,736,865	25	Op	18.50	18.00	8.30	2.70	47.50	50	23.75	227
228	San Bernardino, Calif	43,646	34,381,320	28	2	15.56	28.20	22.90	N	66.66	50	33.33	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.[h]	43,453	73,346,900	26	1	7.20	11.63	3.88	N	22.71	71§	16.12	229
230	Warren, Ohio[101]	42,837	73,225,270	15	2	5.60	8.30	2.50	N	16.40	60	9.84	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[102]	42,775	25,105,049	30	2	22.60	29.30	5.50	N	57.40	33	19.13	231
232	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	61,381,790	17	3	8.87	12.28	10.60	.25	32.00	80	25.60	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[n]	42,638	57,006,335	N	1	13.00	16.70	8.18	—	37.88	82§	30.97	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[103]	42,365	26,123,348	—	2	21.20	34.70	7.20	N	63.10	20	12.62	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	49,847,775	16	2	24.00	14.84	2.20	1.36	42.40	67	28.27	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.	41,664	40,659,260	7	2	—	—	—	—	36.00	100	36.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[m]	41,623	66,046,417	13	4	21.60	10.90	7.80	2.10	42.40	100	42.40	237
238	Anderson, Ind.[104]	41,572	41,958,700	—	2	—	—	—	—	70.00	—		238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Reappraisal of real estate										239
240	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	42,715,900	8	2	36.64	13.78	N	2.78	53.20	100	53.20	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[m]	41,242	47,448,910	15	4	22.04	17.94	14.35	2.17	56.50	50	28.25	241
242	Salem, Mass.	41,213	54,840,330	12	2	21.52	12.42	2.59	.97	37.50	100	37.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.	40,832	48,647,973	20	2	14.48	14.98	4.55	N	34.01	70	23.81	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	53,743,140	12	2	14.84	13.80	5.62	.24	34.50	92§	31.74	244
245	Poughkepsie, N. Y.[n]	40,478	53,970,838	N	4	23.35	10.41	5.24	—	39.00	75	29.25	245
246	Quincy, Ill.	40,469	40,728,069	45	2	17.56	15.24	5.40	N	38.20	50	19.10	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio[p]	40,466	51,526,554	24	2	11.04	9.47	3.49	N	24.00	100	24.00	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[n]	40,327	114,604,811		2	13.43	14.68	7.15	—	35.26	100	35.26	248
249	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	53,023,300	7	2	—	—	—	—	38.40	100	38.40	249
250	Arlington, Mass.	40,013	58,074,860	2	2	—	—	—	—	38.00	66	25.08	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.	39,849	Not reported										251
252	Montclair, N. J.[m]	39,807	81,300,540	9	4	18.90	18.60	7.60*	2.30*	47.40	100	47.40	252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio[p]	39,495	55,544,480	15	2	7.50	12.90	4.70	N	25.10	50	12.55	253
254	Meriden, Conn.[105]	39,494	65,480,765	20	2	14.69	12.04	.27	—	27.00	100	27.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	54,300,000	19	Op	12.50	7.34	10.35	1.00	31.20	78	24.35	255

[99] **Williamsport.** City rate includes $.75 library rate. County also charges $4 on personal property. See footnote r.

[100] **Dubuque.** Moneys and credits are assessed $10,573,916, taxable at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[101] **Warren.** City rate includes $.10 township rate. See footnote p.

[102] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $2.40 township and $2.03 street and bridge rates.

[103] **Joliet.** County rate includes forest preserve rate of $.30. City rate includes road and bridge rate of $3, town rate of $1.40, park district rate of $4.

[104] **Anderson.** Figures same as shown for 1945.

[105] **Meriden.** City rate includes $1.67 public welfare tax. See footnote p.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
256	Kearney, N. J.[m]	39,467	Not reported										256
257	West New York, N. J.[106]	39,439	36,852,235	10	4	21.58	23.83	16.37	2.58	64.36	60	38.60	257
258	Laredo, Tex.[u]	39,274	20,269,028	24	4	21.45	6.95	15.00	3.70	47.10	55§	25.91	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	47,938,075	19	4	10.04	16.32	4.20	.64	31.20	84§	26.21	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	32,959,660	22*	2	15.94	22.17	13.62*	N	51.73	50	25.86	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	34,464,033	20	1	—	—	—	—	39.00	65	25.40	261
262	High Point, N. C.[o]	38,495	50,625,414	30	4	13.52	6.78	4.40	N	24.70	85	21.00	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[107]	38,333	24,356,498	24	2	22.90	26.60	4.08	N	53.58	23	12.30	263
264	Norristown, Pa.[r]	38,181	33,052,656	N	1	14.50	25.00	1.50	N	41.00	50	20.50	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[108]	38,009	28,150,420	7	1	15.50	23.00	8.07	4.00	50.57	50	25.29	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio[109]	37,651	57,626,191	23	2	3.35	7.70	2.15	N	13.20	79§	10.43	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio[p]	37,500	45,905,415	14	2	4.10	8.45	2.25	N	14.80	75	11.10	267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[m]	37,469	57,985,025	11	4	15.39	19.12	7.16	2.13	43.80	95	41.70	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.[c]	37,449	Not reported										269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	33,051,460	6	2	—	—	—	—	45.20	100	45.20	270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[110]	37,154	63,000,000	24	2	4.40	8.50	2.50	N	15.40	59§	9.09	271
272	Joplin, Mo.[111]	37,144	24,007,742	30	1	15.00	16.00	6.00	.90	37.90	50	18.95	272
273	Butte, Mont.[112]	37,081	47,000,000*	10*	2	32.70	20.90	26.65	3.50	83.75	29	24.30	273
274	Newport News, Va.	37,067	52,468,081	20	1	19.90	12.60	—	N	32.50	60	19.50	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[a]	36,975	29,490,705	15	2	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	29	9.00	275
276	Danville, Ill.[113]	36,919	20,684,138	22	2	21.40	30.60	4.40	N	56.40	46	25.94	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	24,337,372	0	2	20.52	40.08	—	3.20	63.80	55	36.74	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo	36,789	30,393,540	23	2	14.00	26.92	7.51	3.50	51.93	100	51.93	278
279	Orlando, Fla.[c]	36,736	Not reported										279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[b]	36,584	19,982,441	—	3	6.55	18.00	9.00	9.00	42.55	25	10.64	280
281	West Allis, Wis.	36,364	80,907,594	32	4	15.89	7.32	10.28	.26	33.75	83	28.00	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	34,201,930	11	2	15.84	2.56	36.60	N	55.50	50	27.75	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[n]	35,753	51,183,000	N	2	17.47	9.79	4.92	N	32.18	75	24.10	283
284	Orange, N. J.[m]	35,717	41,280,350	8	4	17.91	17.96	7.23	2.85	46.00	100	46.00	284
285	Meridian, Miss.[k]	35,481	25,699,009	35	3	17.00	14.00	15.00	2.00	48.00	57§	27.36	285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	26,323,439	13	2	15.31	4.51	10.79	5.98	36.58	60	22.95	286
287	Watertown, Mass.	35,427	53,085,450	7	2	—	—	—	—	37.60	100	37.60	287

[106] **West New York.** County rate includes $.17 court tax. See footnote m.

[107] **Elgin.** City rate includes $1.70 sanitary tax and a $3.25 township tax.

[108] **Hazleton.** County rate includes $1.07 institutional tax. See footnote r.

[109] **Steubenville.** City rate includes $.10 township tax. See footnote p.

[110] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township tax. See footnote p.

[111] **Joplin.** County rate includes $2.50 road tax.

[112] **Butte.** This figure based on ratio taxable value of property to total property value..

[113] **Danville.** City rate includes $3 road and bridge, and $2.50 sanitary tax.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
288	Richmond, Ind.[114]	35,147	40,096,893	30	2	5.75	14.50	6.45	1.30	28.00	60	16.80	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	40,933,003	13	2	8.32	15.15	16.18	.21	39.86	100	39.86	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	50,126,840	14	2	12.50	18.00	17.00	—	47.50	53§	25.18	290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	11,496,050	49	1	50.00	28.00	36.00	N	114.00	30*	34.20	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.[115]	34,719	47,379,737	30	1	11.25	8.90	1.90	5.75	27.80	35§	20.10	292
293	Riverside, Calif.[116]	34,696	41,216,560	14	2	19.52	25.90	24.40	N	69.82	50	34.91	293
294	Moline, Ill.[117]	34,608	23,159,564	27	2	21.50	34.30	5.50	—	61.30	30	18.40	294
295	Revere, Mass.	34,405	39,363,200	7	10	—	—	—	—	46.80	100	46.80	295
296	Burbank, Calif.[118]	34,337	81,907,295	38	2	15.90	20.20	23.02	N	59.12	50	29.56	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.[119]	34,241	18,232,569	—	2	30.40	41.60	7.40	N	79.40	25	19.85	297
298	Rome, N. Y.[n]	34,214	32,347,934	N	2	17.47	18.01	11.28	—	46.76	79	37.94	298
299	Norwood, Ohio[p]	34,010	60,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.28	—	—	299
300	Kokomo, Ind.[120]	33,795	32,327,455	38	2	17.50	26.90	7.40	1.30	53.10	54§	28.67	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.	33,776	102,076,461	12	1	12.82	6.09	.24	.35	19.50	100	19.50	301
302	Paducah, Ky.[121]	33,765	24,452,478	—	2	18.40	11.20	7.00	.50	37.10	68§	25.23	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[122]	33,693	37,953,410	15	1	37.50	8.50	8.41	N	54.41	—	—	303
304	Easton, Pa.[123]	33,589	41,029,234	N	4	12.00	14.50	8.50	N	35.00	55§	19.25	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[124]	33,523	58,430,646	15	2	—	—	—	N	25.00	50	12.50	305
306	Elkhart, Ind.	33,434	45,500,000	—	2	13.35	17.10	5.75	1.30	37.50	60	26.50	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	53,069,195	18	1	13.50	—	—	N	—	70	—	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[n]	33,385	46,942,964	N	1	16.50	12.40	10.30	—	39.20	99§	38.80	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[n]	33,329	26,110,307	N	4	14.78	25.80	14.14	—	54.72	65	35.57	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[m]	33,180	41,412,882	10	4	18.50	15.94	13.86	2.10	50.40	70	35.28	310
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	43,974,900	16	1	10.00	18.80	9.40	.70	38.90	50	19.45	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[125]	32,927	46,346,803	37	1	30.26	.14	3.80	N	34.20	100	34.20	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[126]	32,868	20,436,581	26	2	23.10	30.10	4.60	N	57.80	35	20.23	313
314	Port Huron, Mich.[h]	32,759	42,540,205	16	1	13.94	12.12	6.07	N	32.13	100	32.13	314
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	41,877,803*	36	2	23.50	15.00		N	38.50	45	17.33	315

[114] **Richmond.** County rate includes $1.05 township tax. See footnote e.

[115] **Baton Rouge.** County rate includes $.10 court house tax. See footnote g.

[116] **Riverside.** City rate includes $.12 flood control tax.

[117] **Moline.** City rate includes $1.50 township tax.

[118] **Burbank.** County rate includes $2.28 county flood control and $1.90 metropolitan water district rates.

[119] **Waukegan.** Rates same as those reported for 1945. City rate includes $4 park, $2.50 sanitary district and $5.10 township rates. School rate includes $19.40 township high school rate. County rate includes $2.10 road and bridge rate.

[120] **Kokomo.** School rate figured on basis of city rate. These figures based on proposed rate. See footnote e.

[121] **Paducah.** City rate includes $.40 for pension fund, $1.30 for bond sinking fund and $1.70 for bond interest.

[122] **West Palm Beach.** County and school rates represent general over-all levies. See footnote c.

[123] **Easton.** City and county per cent adjusted in view of today's market. School rate figured on basis of city rate. See footnote r.

[124] **Alexandria.** Rate for personal property is $28 per $1,000.

[125] **Nashua.** City rate includes most of school rate.

[126] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $3.60 township and $4.10 sanitary district.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
316	Fargo, N. D.[127]	32,580	30,044,878	23	2	12.74	10.58	4.69	2.55	30.56	75	22.92	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	49,000,000	10	1	5.00	—	12.20	1.00	18.20	100	18.20	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	16,258,857	35	2	7.25	16.63	11.31	N	35.19	53§	18.65	318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[128]	32,249	10,392,625	43	1	60.00	28.50	24.50	N	113.00	13	14.69	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[129]	32,165	51,732,615	22	4			N	N	24.00	80	19.20	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[130]	31,921	30,262,330	64	2	19.38	24.59	18.62	N	62.59	25	15.65	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.[n]	31,883	39,156,110	N	3	20.00	13.40	3.60	.09	37.09	86	31.90	322
323	Lubbock, Tex.[u]	31,853	47,617,443	19	1	10.00	10.00	7.00	3.70	30.70	67	20.56	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa[f]	31,570	28,371,654	—		24.07	13.92	12.50		50.49	60	30.29	324
325	Newark, Ohio[p]	31,487	Not reported										325
326	Alton, Ill.	31,255	15,484,566	28	2	18.50	33.80	5.50	4.10	61.90	50	30.95	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[131]	31,220	65,645,287	35	2	3.41	8.34	3.39	N	15.14	80	12.11	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	19,663,721	27	4	24.70	25.10	16.90	—	66.70	44	29.35	328
329	Marion, Ohio[132]	30,817	40,285,170	29	2	5.58	8.52	2.50	N	16.60			329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	36,246,710	15	2	4.32	19.17	11.23	.28	35.00			330
331	Newport, Ky.[133]	30,631	22,137,700	4	2	19.40	11.70	7.20	.60	38.90	66	25.67	331
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	28,339,614	17	4	—	—		N	22.50	80	18.00	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[h]	30,618	50,244,875	12	1	13.00	10.95	5.13	N	29.08	100	29.08	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.[w]	30,579	53,658,480	—	2	5.00	—	—	—	—			334
335	Newport, R. I.[s]	30,532	75,095,000	40	4	—	—	N	N	24.50	100	24.50	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	50,140,703	13	2	22.10	9.90	.50	.50	33.00	95	31.35	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	21,765,874	24	2	12.20	12.40	—	—		60		337
338	Everett, Wash.[134]	30,224	17,549,181	32	2	22.00	13.00	10.00	2.40	47.40	50	23.70	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	66,482,660	30	2	—	—	—	—	28.25	95	26.84	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.	30,114	27,604,075	17	2	14.10	—	—	N		50		340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.[w]	30,103	51,040,990	45	2	5.00	13.77	4.06	.10	22.93			341
342	West Haven, Conn.[135]	30,021	56,022,854	11	2	—	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	342
343	Hutchinson, Kan.	30,013	30,011,153	33	2	17.45	21.90	4.66	.65	44.66	68§	30.37	343

[127] **Fargo.** City rate includes $1.55 for park system. Issue of tax rate before State Supreme Court. Ratio of assessed to true value same as provided by legislative act in 1945. Farm structures are not assessed in North Dakota.

[128] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 for metropolitan sewer district.

[129] **East Providence.** Total assessed valuation includes intangible personal property valued at $2,232,925 taxed at rate of $4 per $1,000. See footnote s.

[130] **Santa Ana.** City rate includes harbor district. County rate includes flood control, cemetery district and metropolitan water district.

[131] **Middletown.** County rate includes $.92 conservancy flood rate. Estimated ratio of assessed value to true value represents percentage of last reappraisal, although it is believed that at present it is less than 50 per cent. See footnote p.

[132] **Marion.** City rate includes $.04 township rate. See footnote p.

[133] **Newport.** Estimated ratio not stated for county; same ratio used as for city.

[134] **Everett.** Tax rates are for 1947. City rate includes $3 for port and $1.50 for public utility district. See footnote v.

[135] **West Haven.** Rate shown is for one of three districts. Rates for the other two are $25.25 and $26.25 per $1,000.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Arkansas.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c] **Florida.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligation incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d] **Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100 per cent of true value and taxed at from $.10 to $3 per $1,000 by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f] **Iowa.** Legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values, which applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g] **Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state parish and special district taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000 allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h] **Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1945. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in the case of Wayne County.

[j] **Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40 per cent, except for first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent and 33 1/3 per cent. The first $4,000 of true value homesteads is exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law.

[k] **Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts and road districts.

[m] **New Jersey.** State rate now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years, this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

[n] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate. The ratio of true value at which property is assessed in New York cities is the subject of considerable controversy. The ratios shown in the tabulations are those given by local officials and in some cases differ from those given by the State Tax Commission. The reader may choose the ratio he believes most accurate:

	State Tax Commission	Local Officer
Syracuse	96%	100%
Yonkers	95	99
Albany	93	95
Schenectady	88	94
Binghamton	92	100
Mt. Vernon	96	100
New Rochelle	85	100
Elmira	80	85
Poughkeepsie	84	75
White Plains	95	100

[o] **North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* $300 on personal property.

[p] **Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuation.

[q] **Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[r] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted.

[s] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. School rate included in city rate.

[u] **Texas.** First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[v] **Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50 per cent of true value.

[w] **West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1 per cent of assessed value.

Pennsylvania Likes Managers

Thirty-six boroughs and first-class townships now using system; increase in adoptions predicted for near future.

By H. F. ALDERFER*

DURING the next ten years Pennsylvania municipalities will face their severest test in this century. They will be called upon to render more services; their revenues from real estate will decline; migration outside municipal boundaries will continue; industrial strife will tax their ability to maintain law and order; the need for modern housing, transportation, sewage disposal facilities and other public works will increase. This period will offer the elective governing bodies a great challenge to sterling and constructive public service. It is necessary, therefore, for them to have available modern tools for competent administration. The manager form of government is one of them.

What are the principles involved in the manager form of government: First, it allows the elective commission or council to act primarily as a legislative body translating the will of the people into governmental policy. The members of these governing bodies are at their best as representatives and legislators. They are not, and cannot be expected to be, elected on the basis of administrative ability. To assume that they are administrators is to invite either a breakdown of municipal administration or of the councilmen themselves—and sometimes both.

Second, policy once determined by the elected council is carried into effect by its administrative agent—the manager. He is the head of the staff that renders day-by-day services of government to the people. Instead of having several officials independently responsible for administrative effort, as is the case now in non-manager municipalities, the power to guide and direct it is consolidated and integrated in the office of the manager. He is like a superintendent of an industrial organization carrying out the orders of the governing board.

Third, the manager is hired and fired by the council—is completely responsible to it. He is not elected by the people but appointed by the people's representatives. The employees working under him are responsible solely to him. They may or may not be protected by merit system provisions, as the case may be.

Fourth, the manager is a career administrator, that is, he is making municipal management his life work. It is presumed that he will have had training and experience for his job, and that he will not be subject to

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dismissal because of changes in the politics of the governing body. Many managers have been chosen from outside the municipality on the theory that it is better not to have the inevitable home ties and alignments influence their work.

State Has 36 Managers

These, in short, are the general principles involved in the manager system of government as practiced in the United States. Since 1908, when it was first adopted in Staunton, Virginia, it has been adopted by 715 cities and 9 counties as of November 15, 1946.

At present there are 36 manager municipalities in Pennsylvania with populations ranging from 529 in Osborne to 39,566 in Lower Merion. The total population served by managers is 321,454. About half these municipalities are found in western counties, chiefly Allegheny.

A majority of managers in Pennsylvania are engineers by training. In other words, they are acting as engineers and have taken on additional managerial duties. In the smaller municipalities they continue to be primarily engineers. Managers in some of the larger local units, however, have been promoted from the position of secretary. Some come from business life or from other lines of public service. In such cases engineers are retained along with the manager.

Generally speaking, managers have had a good influence on local government and community life in Pennsylvania. They have given liberally of their time and energy to good causes within their localities and through the state as a whole. They are respected as sound, solid, competent public servants, not given to spectacular actions or talk but to practical and efficient service.

The original borough manager act was drafted by Hon. Nelson McVicar, a member of the House of Representatives of the commonwealth and for many years a federal judge in Pittsburgh. It was passed June 23, 1917 (P. L. 641), and incorporated in the Borough Code (1927, P. L. 519, sections 1140-1142). The first-class township manager act was passed April 21, 1927 (P. L. 337), and modeled after the borough legislation.

Both provisions allow the governing body (council in boroughs and board of commissioners in first-class townships) extensive powers. It may create and abolish the office of manager by ordinance, hire and fire the manager, regulate his powers and duties, fix his compensation and bond. It may delegate any of its non-legislative and non-judicial powers to the manager, as may the burgess with the borough council's consent. Neither the burgess nor any member of a borough council is eligible to hold the office of manager.

The borough law states that the offices of borough manager, street commissioner, secretary, treasurer and chief of police shall not be deemed incompatible, and that any two or more of these offices may be held by one person, except that of the secretary and treasurer. In point of fact, the manager has generally combined several of these offices as well as others, such as the secretary of the board of health and secretary of the zoning commission, in his person, thereby achieving substantial administrative consolidation within his office. The acts give the governing bodies a great flexibility in making the manager idea adaptable to particular communities and circumstances, and this has helped to make it popular with the elected councilmen and commissioners.

Large Cities Shut Out

The legislature has not yet extended the power to adopt the manager form of government to cities in spite of the constitutional mandate, adopted in 1922, giving such municipalities the "right and power to frame and adopt their own charters and to exercise the powers and authority of local self-government" with electoral approval. Legend has it that two cities of the third class, Altoona and Bethlehem, had brief manager governments about the time of World War I when the commissioners of these cities voluntarily relinquished some of their powers and salaries to a manager of their own choosing.

Civic organizations for many years have attempted to influence the General Assembly to make it possible for the voters of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Scranton, as well as third-class cities, to have power to vote upon the manager plan, but thus far have been without success.

As it now stands, the voters in no unit of local government in Pennsylvania are allowed the right to vote on this question. Moreover, manager government for Pennsylvania counties has never been seriously considered. School districts, however, with their elective boards of directors who appoint superintendents and supervising principals, who, in turn, are given general administrative authority to operate the schools of the district, in reality have had the manager plan in operation for many years.

But while manager legislation for Pennsylvania municipalities is limited in its scope, administrative consolidation increases on informal lines. In many municipalities, key officials are rising to almost managerial status without having title. Thus, borough engineers, borough secretaries, first-class township secretaries, clerks to the county commissioners, city clerks, superintendents of utilities are in many places being given increased responsibilities. These are mostly on the routine level, to be sure, but the practice accentuates the need for additional administrative unity. An ever-increasing interest in manager government is being shown, ten Pennsylvania municipalities having added it since 1940. A substantial increase in adoptions can be expected in the postwar years. If the legislature gives the power of adopting manager government to citizens by referendum, still greater numbers of municipalities can be expected to be added to the list.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—See also *Manager Government in Pennsylvania Municipalities,* reviewed on page 623 this issue.

Britain Broadens Franchise

Property owners no longer have exclusive rights in local elections; suffrage extends to all citizens of voting age.

By **NORMAN CHESTER***

THE Representation of the People Act of 1945 introduced several important changes into the English local government franchise. Briefly these were:

1. Extension of the local franchise to cover all those qualified to vote in Parliamentary elections. This was generally called the assimilation of the local government and parliamentary franchises;
2. Reduction in the extent of plural voting by the abolition of the so-called "spouse's" vote; and
3. Certain administrative changes in the method of the compilation of the register of voters.

Section one of the 1945 act provided that the class of persons qualified as local government electors should be extended so as to include any person who was qualified as a parliamentary elector.

Up to this time there had been a fundamental difference between the qualifications for the local government and the parliamentary franchises. In order to qualify for a parliamentary vote a person had to be a resident in the constituency for three months prior to the qualifying date (June 1 in England), whereas for the local government franchise he had to occupy, either as owner or tenant, premises in the area during the same period.[1]

This may appear to be a subtle distinction until one remembers that the basis for paying local taxes in England is occupation of property. Local rates are levied on the rental value of all property in beneficial occupation and, therefore, prior to the 1945 act, the local government elector was broadly similar to the local government ratepayer or taxpayer. I say broadly similar because limited companies and corporate bodies such as universities, even though large ratepayers, were and still are excluded from the franchise.

The local government franchise affirmed, in effect, a revised form of the old principle that there should be no taxation without representation—in this case that there should be no representation without taxation. In the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, for example, the basis of the franchise for voting at Boards of Guardians' elections was one vote per £50 of ratable value up to a maximum of six, but as this qualification applied to both ownership and occupation, a person who was both owner and occupier might have as many as twelve votes in respect of the same property. The same principle was embodied in the Pub-

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[1] The act also abolished the qualifying period—see the latter part of this article.

lic Health Act of 1848 and for certain local government elections was not finally abolished until 1894.

On the other hand, to show how two quite different ideas can flourish during the same period, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 provided that each municipal elector should have one vote only, no matter how high the value of the property which he owned or occupied. The development of the last century has been a triumph for the second principle, already enshrined, so far as parliamentary elections were concerned, in the Reform Act of 1832, and the gradual departure from relating voting rights to value of property occupied.

Groups Excluded

Prior to the 1945 act the local government electorate was some 25 per cent smaller than the parliamentary electorate. The main classes of people excluded from voting at local elections were: (1) sons and daughters of 21 years and over who were still living at home and whose parent or parents were treated as the occupiers of the house and therefore as the only local government electors in that house; (2) various classes of lodgers and people living in furnished rooms. It was possible for lodgers in unfurnished rooms with a separate rentbook to be placed on the local government electoral register, but by and large the basis of qualification excluded most persons who were not actually householders.

In passing, it is interesting to reflect on the reasons why this change should have come about. There was, of course, the administrative inconvenience of having an electoral register compiled on two different principles, and indeed one of the main arguments used for the assimilation was the obvious convenience of a single register covering both local government and parliamentary elections.

More fundamental, however, was the rather weakened relation between the expenditure of local authorities and the burden on the local ratepayer. The old argument was that people would be much more cautious in voting for increases in municipal expenditure if as a result their local taxes were increased. But over the past 50 years in particular there has been a vast growth in central grants-in-aid of all kinds to the local authorities, so that now in many instances only half (or even less) of any increase in local expenditure falls directly on the local ratepayer. Again, in some quarters it was felt that, as the housing shortage had caused a large number of adult people to live as lodgers, insistence on occupation of separate premises was unfair.

Other important arguments used in favor of the assimilation of the two franchises were: (1) that the direct relation between local expenditure and increases in local rates was rather blurred in the case of the majority of small householders because they did not pay rates direct to the municipal authority, for the amount was added to the weekly rent they paid their landlord and it was he who actually paid the local authority; (2) the insistence on occupation of property excluded a large number of young people whose energy and interest were very much required if local government was to continue to flourish.

Actually there was little opposition to the change, and the Labor party, possibly because it felt it had most to gain from the change, was particularly strong in its favor.

Even so, such is the strength of ideas that there will continue to linger a hangover from the old system. The act did not provide the same definition for local government and parliamentary franchises, but only extended the local government franchise to cover all those who were qualified as parliamentary voters but not as local government voters. It is still possible, therefore, for a person to get a vote at a local election purely by virtue of being a ratepayer.

For example, in Scotland there are two bodies of ratepayers—payers of owners' rates and payers of occupiers' rates—who both have the local government vote. In so far as anybody in either class is not a resident of the area, and therefore not qualified as a parliamentary voter in that area, he will nevertheless still continue to be entitled to a local government vote. The same point arises in England, but not to the same extent, for most of the people who are ratepayers but not residents will probably already be covered by what is known as the business vote.

One final point—peers are excluded from voting at a parliamentary election, but in the assimilation of the local government and parliamentary franchises it is definitely stated that peers should continue to have the right to vote in local elections.

The second important change involves some understanding of the system of plural voting in English elections. Whilst the broad principle is that one person has only one vote at any election, there were two main exceptions to this rule prior to the 1945 act. First, university graduates had the right to vote in parliamentary elections in certain special university constituencies as well as to vote in the normal constituency on a residence qualification. Second, there was the so-called business vote, which allowed a person to have a vote by virtue of occupation of business premises and, prior to the 1945 act, this right also extended to the person's wife or, where occupation was already in the name of the wife, to her husband.

Plural Voting Challenged

Both forms of plural voting were criticized during the discussions which led up to the 1945 act. The Labor party in particular was critical, partly because it probably felt more keenly about the idea of "one man, one vote" and each man being equal in that respect, but also partly because it felt that both the university and the business vote tended to go to its opponents.

The university vote was less in question because, by and large, the university constituencies had returned a number of distinguished independents to the House of Commons, who had made important contributions to the discussion of national policy and who might not otherwise have stood for election or have been elected. Among such people are Sir John Anderson, Sir John Boyd Orr, Sir Arthur Salter and the late Miss Eleanor Rathbone. The business vote, on the other hand, was not felt to have even this virtue and, particularly so far as local elections were concerned, was felt by the Labor party to weaken the chances of that party getting control of local councils.

The 1945 act, however, was being discussed at the time of a coalition government in which the Conservative party had a majority, and therefore a compromise was reached as to the changes to be made here. It was agreed that the right of the occupier of business premises to have a vote in respect of those premises at both local and parliamentary elections should be retained, but that the right should not be extended to the spouse of the occupier. The effect of this openly avowed compromise was to reduce the number of persons qualified for the business vote from 350,000 to about 200,000. A large part of the 200,000 is concentrated in the city of London and the central areas of such large towns as Manchester and Liverpool. The number may be contrasted with the over twenty million people who vote by virtue of the residential qualification.

In passing, it is interesting to note that the growth of limited liability companies—which are not eligible for voting even at local elections though they may in some cases be very large ratepayers—had probably gone a long way to undermine the merits of a business vote. Usually the business vote consists of the small shopkeeper who does not live on his shop premises or the professional man with one or two rooms in an office block. Seldom are they the large ratepayers.

Food Cards Identify Voters

The third important change may be temporary, for it depends largely upon whether the system of national registration is continued. At the moment every citizen, of whatever age, must have a national registration identity card. This card is the basis of the food rationing scheme (one has to produce one's identity card in order to obtain a new ration book) and the national registration officer in each area is also the officer responsible for the administration of the food rationing scheme in that area. This combination of individual identity cards and local registration for food rationing means that in each area information is continuously available as to the names and addresses of all persons living in that area and registered there for the purpose of food rationing. Any changes of address must be reported and the identity card altered accordingly.

Before the war the electoral register was compiled from forms filled in by each householder, normally in the presence of a door-to-door canvasser employed for that purpose by the local authority concerned.[2] The register was compiled during the summer, immediately after June 1, which is the end of the three months qualifying period. This register came into force for all elections after October 15, and remained in force until the new register came into operation on the succeeding October 15. Thus any parliamentary or local government election fought towards the end of the life of the register was based on information as to residential qualification which might be a year or even more out of date.

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[2] The local authority in each area is responsible for preparing the electoral register and gets a special grant from the treasury for this purpose.

The electoral register is now compiled from information based on the local lists of holders of national registration identity cards in each area. As a result no qualifying period of residence is now required: the list of people otherwise eligible, i.e., adult non-aliens, whose address on their national registration or identity cards on June 30 is in the particular electoral area, becomes the next electoral register.

There was a good deal of discussion about introducing continuous registration, so that any election, whether a general one or merely a by-election, would be fought on an up-to-date register. It was decided in the end, however, that whilst the national registration card information should be used there should still be a fixed register. This will continue to come into force on October 15 of each year.

There is, however, in the Elections and Jurors Act, 1945, an important new provision to mitigate the effect of elections being fought on an out-of-date register. The system of postal voting for parliamentary elections has been extended to the civilian voter, whereas previously it was largely confined to the voter in the armed forces. In each parliamentary constituency a register of absent voters has to be compiled and the following classes of persons are entitled to have their names on it:

1. Persons who have ceased to reside in the constituency but whose names are still on the electoral register of that constituency because they had been residing there at June 30;
2. Persons who satisfy the electoral registration officer that though normally resident in that constituency they will be away from it and unable to vote without making a journey by sea or air;
3. Persons who are incapacitated physically either by blindness or otherwise.

The postal vote applies only in respect of the parliamentary election and should reduce the percentage of non-voting. The local nature of the municipal elections is still preserved.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Sixteen More Cities Adopt Manager Plan

79 Adoptions in 1946 Shatter Previous Record

At the November 5 elections twelve cities voted to adopt the manager plan; in October two cities adopted the plan. Two Canadian communities taking action earlier, one in 1944 and the other this year, have been added to the list. These additions bring the number of municipalities reported thus far for 1946 to 79, a new record.[1] Four cities, where existing manager charters were under attack, have voted to retain council-manager government.

Madison, Wisconsin, capital city of that state, adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 14,937 to 11,429. The contest there was as to the advantages of the plan in affording a better administrative setup rather than bad government by present officials. The manager plan was supported by various civic groups, with the League of Women Voters particularly active.

In **Ypsilanti, Michigan,** a manager charter was adopted by a majority of approximately 700. The Junior Chamber of Commerce had taken a leading part in campaigning for it.

In Kansas the council-manager plan won in **Emporia** and in **Hutchinson** by substantial majorities. It lost in **Ottawa** and **Coffeyville.**

The city of **Grand Forks, North Dakota,** voted to adopt the manager form of government at the November 5 election.

Santa Monica, California, adopted the manager plan by a margin of approximately two to one. In **Santa Ana,** however, the plan was defeated.

In Oregon three cities—**Pendleton, Roseburg** and **Springfield**—voted in favor of the manager plan; a similar proposal lost in **Oswego,** and a makeshift manager scheme was rejected in **Klamath Falls.** In Pendleton and Springfield the plan had previously been turned down in recent months.

Osborn, Ohio, approved a manager charter by a 60 per cent majority.

Two additional cities adopting the council-manager plan at the recent election are **Waxahachie, Texas,** and **Nicholasville, Kentucky.**

Wayzata, Minnesota, adopted the manager plan on October 8 by a vote of 97 in favor and 11 against.

Fox Point, Wisconsin, has a city manager by ordinance, passed on October 8.

St. Jerome, Quebec, has been added to the official council-manager list of the International City Managers' Association. It adopted the manager plan, under Quebec laws, in 1944. A manager has just been appointed.

Chicoutimi, Quebec, has adopted the council-manager plan this year.

In **Toledo** another attack on the manager-P.R. charter failed in the defeat of the Guitteau plan for mayor and council of 21 ward aldermen. The vote was 48,691 to 40,989.

Paducah, Kentucky, also resisted an attack on the manager plan and voted to retain it, 3,160 to 1,962.

By a vote of 2,876 to 972 at a special election the citizens of **Moberly, Missouri,** retained the manager plan; the vote is reported to be the largest ever cast at a special election in that city on a single question. When the plan was adopted in 1944 at a special election the vote was 1,478 to 1,056.

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[1] This figure represents all adoptions reported in the Review during 1946. Some may not yet have been added to the "recognized" manager list.

Marshall, Texas, retained the manager plan by a vote of 907 to 497 on September 30. It has had the plan since 1927.

Council-manager government for **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** failed of adoption on November 5 by the narrow margin of 612 votes. According to the *Chattanooga News Free Press,* the campaign for the new charter was waged by the Good Government League, the GI-Citizens Nonpartisan League, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters, as well as by hundreds of volunteer workers.

Aligned against these groups was the full force of the city-county political machine, aided by certain labor leaders. The Chattanooga Central Labor Union adopted a resolution opposing the manager form of government, but members of its affiliated unions were free to vote as they think best. Other labor men, however, including Jack Henderson, president of the CLU, supported the manager charter.

Dalhart, Texas, rejected the manager plan on October 22 by a vote of 198 to 153.

A vote on a manager charter for **Crookston, Minnesota,** has been postponed to 1947 because of delay in completing the charter draft.

Owosso, Michigan, will vote on the council-manager plan at the spring election in 1947.

Petitions calling for an election on the question of adoption of the council-manager plan have been circulated in **Danville, Virginia.**

A majority of the newly elected members of the borough council of **Fairlawn, New Jersey,** advocate the manager plan.

The Missouri Public Expenditure Survey reports continued widespread activity in favor of the council-manager plan in that state. In **Boonville** a committee appointed by the mayor is studying the manager plan. In **Cape Girardeau, Chillicothe** and **Macon** the Rotary Clubs have discussed the plan and have brought in speakers to explain its advantages, with considerable publicity. In **Jefferson City** the *Post-Tribune* is advocating the plan and the Junior Chamber of Commerce has brought in speakers. In **Columbia** a Citizen Council committee is studying the plan, which is strongly backed by a member of the city council. In **Poplar Bluff** the Chamber of Commerce committee has recommended manager government and it has also been approved by the entire chamber whose president has now appointed a committee from various civic, fraternal and religious groups to promote the plan and circulate petitions. In **Slater** a group of citizens has recently formed a Taxpayers League to promote manager government and circulate petitions. In **St. Charles** a citizens' committee is studying the plan. In **University City** a vote on the new charter, incorporating the manager plan, is expected in February or March 1947. In **Warrensburg** Mayor Hueftle has appointed a council committee to study it. In **West Plains** a committee of the planning board is doing the same. Newspapers in **Carrollton, Carthage, Hannibal, Mexico, St. Joseph** and **Washington** definitely favor the plan and it is also receiving publicity in **Louisiana, Springfield** and **Trenton.**

In **San Antonio, Texas,** the recently organized Citizens Council has been conducting a postcard poll on the question of adoption of council-manager government with favorable results.

The Board of Commissioners of **Phenix City, Georgia,** adopted in October a resolution proposing the reorganization of the city government on the commission-manager plan and petition-ing the city's representatives in the two houses of the state legislature to introduce the necessary legislation, to be prepared by the city attorney.

The mayor and commissioners of **Whiteville, North Carolina,** adopted a unanimous resolution on October 31 favoring the council-manager plan, and urged citizens to petition the Columbus County Board of Elections for a special election on the question.

In **Woodland, California,** the advantages of the manager plan were explained at a joint meeting of the Lions and Rotary Clubs by Professor Samuel C. May of the University of California at Berkeley. An unofficial poll of the meeting disclosed a majority as in favor of a manager. Other civic groups planned to hold meetings for discussion of the plan.

In **Hastings, Minnesota,** the city charter commission has been revived and is assembling material for study.

Mayor Sam S. Caldwell of **Shreveport, Louisiana,** at the close of twelve years in office, recommends the manager plan as the best form of municipal administration. He states that a change in the form of government in that city, which now has the commission plan, is "absolutely necessary for the best interests of Shreveport."

Mayor Oscar F. Holcombe of **Houston, Texas,** in campaigning for reelection, claimed to desire improvement of the manager plan, now in effect in Houston. However, the changes proposed by him would make the manager merely an assistant to the mayor, the latter to have full executive and administrative authority.

Other communities where interest in the manager plan is being manifested include **Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire; Duluth, Minnesota; Moline, Illinois; Blackwell** and **Konawa, Oklahoma; Plainview, Texas; Laramie, Wyoming; Yakima, Washington,** and **Timmins, Ontario, Canada.**

Baltimore and Richmond Vote for New Charters

The citizens of Baltimore, Maryland, voted nearly three to one on November 5 for a new charter of the strong mayor type which reduces the number of independent boards or commissions. It replaces a charter dating from 1898.

Drafting of a new charter for Richmond, Virginia, was authorized by a vote of some 16,000 to 4,000. The present bicameral city council is expected to be superseded by a single chamber; the manager plan may also be a result of the charter revision.

Washington, D. C., Citizens Want Vote and Home Rule

In an unofficial election on November 5 the residents of Washington, D. C., expressed themselves 139,272 to 26,687, in favor of the right to vote for president, vice-president and congressman. A constitutional amendment would be required to make this effective.

By a somewhat smaller majority the right to elect local government officials was favored, 116,559 to 49,669.

Five Jersey Municipalities Approve Merit System

At the November 5 elections in New Jersey the cities of Hackensack and Hoboken, the borough of Vineland and the townships of Mount Holly and Riverside adopted the provisions of the state civil service act. They were rejected in the town of Montclair and in Hunterdon County. The Hoboken result in particular was a notable victory over the local political machine. In Montclair there was apparently general satisfaction with the present municipal personnel situation and fear that preferential provisions in the state law might bring about a decrease in competency.

Voters Aid Veterans, Veto Closed Shop

Referendum elections on November 5 approved eight of nine proposals for the benefit of veterans of World War II, four restrictive measures as to labor unions, and various bond issues, etc.

Alabama adopted a constitutional amendment requiring would-be voters to be able to "read and explain" any section of the United States constitution to the satisfaction of county registrars. It was admittedly designed to block mass registration of Negro voters. The vote was fairly close, approximately eight to seven.

California approved a bond issue of $100,000,000 to help veterans buy homes and farms, but rejected a constitutional amendment authorizing the state to make loans for aiding veterans to go into business.

Illinois approved a $385,000,000 bond issue for veterans' bonuses of $10 a month for domestic service and $15 a month for foreign service.

Illinois also failed again to pass the so-called "gateway amendment" to liberalize the process of amending the state constitution.

Louisiana adopted an amendment to increase the homestead exemption of veterans from $2,000 to $5,000 for the period 1947-52.

Michigan approved an amendment authorizing bonuses up to a maximum of $500, involving an outlay of about $270,000,000.

New Jersey authorized a $35,000,000 bond issue for a veterans' emergency housing program.

New York voted for a proposition increasing from $6,250,000 to $9,000,000 the annual subsidy by the state for low-cost housing.

Rhode Island approved $200 bonuses for soldiers, sailors, marines and merchant marine sailors.

Texas voted for an amendment to create a veterans' land fund for the purchase of land for veterans to be financed by a $25,000,000 bond issue. A state board is provided to purchase land from private owners as well as state and federal agencies for resale to veterans on a long-term loan basis.

Three states—Arizona, Nebraska and South Dakota—adopted constitutional amendments prohibiting denial of the right to work because of membership or non-membership in a union; thus the closed union shop is banned in those states. Massachusetts voters required unions to file financial reports and California defeated establishment of a "fair employment practices" commission.

Tennessee Constitution Revision Commission Reports

After more than a year of study and discussion the Tennessee Constitution Revision Commission has rendered its report to Governor McCord, proposing a limited constitutional convention and a number of specific constitutional changes. The commission was appointed by authority of a resolution adopted by the 1945 legislature.[1] It is headed by William L. Frierson of Chattanooga, former solicitor-general of the United States.

The recommendations include:

1. Liberalization of the method of amendment by making a majority of persons voting on amendments sufficient for adoption.
2. Permitting the legislature to classify property for taxation.
3. Requiring apportionment for the legislature to be on a population basis instead of basis of "qualified voters."
4. Making a majority of both houses of the legislature a quorum instead of two-thirds.
5. Increasing the per diem compensation of legislators from four to ten dollars.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1945, page 503.

6. Increasing the governor's term from two to four years, with a limit of two instead of three successive terms.

7. Permitting the governor to veto items in appropriation and revenue measures and to sign bills for five days after final adjournment of the legislature.

8. Removing the constitutional requirement of a poll tax.

9. Home rule for counties and municipalities and permission to consolidate city and county governmental and corporate functions.

Attorney-General Roy H. Beeler doubts the legality of a limited constitutional convention, but the commission believes that the legislature can propose one and that the people can authorize it but would not be likely to approve a general revision.

Doubt as to recommendations 2, 3, 7, 8 and 9 was expressed by District Attorney General William Gerber of Memphis, commission member and close associate of Edward H. Crump, head of the powerful Shelby County Democratic organization.

Georgia Unit System Gains Court Victory

By vote of six to three the United States Supreme Court on October 28 dismissed two protests against the county unit rule for primary elections in Georgia. Under this system,[1] whereby populous counties are grossly underrepresented, Eugene Talmadge in this year's primary won the nomination for governor by a majority of county unit votes although his popular vote was exceeded by that of James V. Carmichael. A three-judge federal court had upheld the unit plan as not violating rights of voters, and a majority of the high court declined a review, without opinion, against the protests of Justices Black, Murphy and Rutledge.

On the same day the court refused a rehearing in the Illinois case decided by a four-to-three vote on June 10 against the efforts to compel a long overdue congressional reapportionment in that state.[2]

Intercoastal Fisheries Committee Organized

Representatives of fourteen states of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts have established an Intercoastal Conference Committee of nine persons to collaborate in regard to the conservation, development and wise utilization of coastal fisheries, as a result of a meeting in Washington last May. According to Wayne D. Heydecker, secretary-treasurer of the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission, writing in *State Government* for October, this was the first time in the nation's history that representatives of state governments from the three coasts have met to consider interstate and even international fisheries problems and to formulate a state position as to federal policy on international matters affecting the functions and attitudes of the states.

The conference was called because of the increasing tendency toward international treaties to protect fisheries, and the recently re-asserted jurisdiction of the United States over coastal fisheries beyond the three-mile limit.

Resolutions adopted, besides setting up the continuing committee, pending creation of interstate agencies for the Pacific and Gulf coasts, called for consultation with the states in the formulation of international fisheries treaties, and the assumption by the states of jurisdiction, in collaboration with one another, over coastal fisheries beyond territorial waters.

(Continued on Page 622)

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1946, page 415.

[2] See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 359.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Costs and Taxes Going Up

Bureaus Concerned About Taxpayers and Services

"NEW taxes seem inevitable," says Rudolph Lee, manager of the **Minneapolis Research Bureau** in *Minneapolis Civic Activities* for October 11. "As a matter of fact," continues Mr. Lee, "every city in the country is facing this same problem." Mr. Lee concludes that "even after all possible economies have been made the increased services and activities that come naturally to a growing city cannot be met much longer with present revenues."

"Has St. Louis Solved Its Financial Problem?" asks the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute,** Charlton F. Chute, director, in *Dollars and Sense in Government.* The answer given is "despite the adoption by St. Louis of an income or earnings tax, the city faces the prospect of a deficit of about $1,408,000 in the municipal revenue fund at the end of the current fiscal year on April 7, 1947. Invalidation of the tax by the courts would increase the prospective deficit to about $3,075,000." The Governmental Research Institute concludes that municipal budgets for the current and future years can be balanced only by reducing expenditures or by imposing higher tax rates or resorting to further new sources of revenue. Much of the factual data back of these conclusions is contained in the institute's September 19 bulletin, *Mind Your Business,* which analyzes the increasing cost of government in St. Louis.

Salary increases and capital improvements are responsible mainly for the 72-cent increase in the 1946-1947 tax rate in San Francisco, according to the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. But the increase would have been even higher had it not been for a surplus in the general fund inherited from war years, the bureau points out.

It Is Your Business, of the **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Bureau of Governmental Research,** Carl R. Dortch, director, anticipates "an all-time record high of property taxes next year," despite reductions in proposed local and county budgets after hearings and action by the adjustment board. The bureau asks, "What is the answer?" and refers back to earlier bulletins recommending reforms in assessment, personnel, governmental organization, etc.

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary, in *Subscribers Bulletin* for September 3, lists proposed increases in 1946 tax levies but notes that, as a result of action by the bureau and the **Des Moines Taxpayers' Association,** they were lower than originally planned. The *Bulletin* for November 7 lists six suggestions for property tax relief made to the State Tax Study Committee. These include making additional non-property tax revenues available to cities and towns.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman Gill, director, considers financing the increased cost of operating and rehabilitating public services in the Milwaukee metropolitan area in recent bulletins. The bureau points out that "efficiency can help off-set expanding costs" and urges elimination of unnecessary expenditures and postponement of service expansion which can wait. Special attention is given to payroll costs and to the method of administering the cost of living adjustment plan.

The bulletin of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, continued its defense of a pay-as-you-go plan for public improvements which, if continued with no more borrowing, would make Rochester debt free by 1962. In any event the bureau holds that further borrowing should be approved only by the electorate at a general election.

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, in its July-August bulletin devoted to the 1946-1947 budget, concludes that "the existing revenue structure of the city must be substantially implemented" if needed improvements are to be financed during the next ten years and the "present heavy debt load is to be lightened in any appreciable degree." The report points out that "the proposed 1947 budget is balanced only through the refunding of current obligations and the use of more than $600,000 in nonrecurrent income."

The same bulletin, commenting on a proposal that parking meter income be ear-marked for traffic regulation and financing off-street parking facilities, declares that experience favors turning all income into the general fund as the best way of meeting "changing needs of modern government."

In its October bulletin, the Providence bureau explained the purposes of eight bond issues, totaling $12,500,000, submitted to the voters on November 5. The bureau pointed out that if the issues are approved, careful timing of projects would avoid pushing debt service above the current level within the next four years but that some refunding would probably be required after 1950 to avoid increased annual debt service.

Substantial impending increases in Los Angeles tax bills are due partly to an average increase in the cost of protection three times that of population growth in the last ten years, according to the **Los Angeles Bureau of Governmental Research** edition of *Tax Talk* for October 5, James O. Stevenson, editor.

Police Salaries Compared

A comparative analysis of police salaries in 52 selected Pennsylvania municipalities ranging from 9,000 to 40,000 population is reported in the November 1946 supplement to the *Borough Bulletin,* **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service,** Philadelphia. "Forty of the 52 municipalities reported an increase in police salaries in 1946 ranging from 5 per cent to 20 per cent." The study found definite variations in the salary patterns as between the larger and the smaller municipalities and also between those located in and those outside a metropolitan area.

The **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau,** in *Comments,* compares tax rates and government costs in Lackawanna with those in Buffalo and notes "the fantastically amazing rise in expenditures of some of the Lackawanna city departments." The Tax Research Bureau obviously thinks that the trend of local finance is not good for the city's competitive position.

In the meantime, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, presents facts and figures concerning increases in Buffalo city costs in its weekly *Just A Moment* for October 3 and 17. The bureau "believes that a firm stand against an over-all increase in city costs at this time is warranted." *Just A Moment* for September 12 reviews the Erie County bonded debt and lists Erie County tax rates.

Harley L. Lutz, professor of public finance at Princeton University, in the October issue of *Tax Review,* **Tax Foundation,** follows his September discussion of a cash basis for the federal government with an analysis of two devices for limiting or circumventing an apparent cash basis and suggests criteria for judging the appropriateness of borrowing versus current financing at different levels of government.

A study of the financial operations of New Castle County, Delaware, prepared by the **Tax Research Bureau, Chamber of Commerce of Delaware,** John W. Nowland, director, presents in highly condensed tabulated form the essential facts about New Castle County revenues, debt and expenditures since 1933.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in *Bureau Notes,* questions the policy of issuing fourteen-year serial bonds to buy Detroit street railway buses which would be used up before the bonds are all retired.

The *Taxpayers' Fifteenth Annual Financial Report on The Government of the State of Tennessee,* June 30, 1946, 20 pages, published by the **Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, Inc.**, William Pouder, executive secretary, includes a balance sheet, budget statement, and summaries of receipts, disbursements, bonded indebtedness and unemployment compensation reserve fund figures. The report urges that the $14,000,000 surplus accumulated in recent years "be held intact and used only to supplement sharply reduced revenue collections when the lean years come."

Two September numbers of *Your Tax Dollar,* issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**, D. Benton Biser, director, deal with city budget considerations. Part 1, *Budget Making and the Citizen's Role,* cites a $10,700,000 increase in budget appropriations between 1940 and 1946, an accumulated "backlog of essential maintenance and repair work" and the necessity for extending city services in outlying sections as indicating the need for "a new approach to budget making," if solvency and essential services are to be maintained. "Such new approach calls for active citizen participation to develop broad policies for the guidance of city budget makers." The commission believes the citizen can be of most help in determining what functions should be included in the budget and to what extent each should participate in the total funds which the taxpayers are willing to provide. The commission also suggests that with the easing of the man power situation the time has come to tighten up personnel administration. Part 2 details the statistical background for these suggestions. It notes that one effect of state and federal aid has been expansion of services that have become heavy burdens on local government when the aid was later reduced or withdrawn.

Governmental Researchers Have Regional Meeting

About 30 members of the **Governmental Research Association** from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland met at the **Institute of Public Administration** in New York City on Saturday, November 16, for a one-day conference. The morning session was devoted to an informal discussion of "Federal-state-local Governmental Relationships," led by Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration. The afternoon session was given over to a discussion of "Citizens' Governmental Research in Transition," led by Dr. John F. Sly, director of the **Princeton Government Surveys**. The group met at the suggestion of Henry Connor, director of the **Newark Governmental Research Bureau,** who had in mind the possibility of a regular meeting of governmental researchers in the Middle

Atlantic area similar to the New England Round Table which meets under the auspices of the New England Council. At the close of the afternoon session it was agreed by common consent that future meetings should be held, perhaps three or four a year, and a committee, consisting of Robert Matteson, director of training at the Institute of Public Administration, chairman; Henry Connor; and G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary of the Governmental Research Association, was appointed to arrange and call the next meeting.

Election Day Issues and Practices

Numerous autumn publications were motivated by the imminence of election day. Reports on approaching referenda were noted last month. Other such reports include a twenty-page report on 1946 constitutional amendments by the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** Lennox L. Moak, executive director. The effect of each is analyzed and the bureau's position on each of 31 amendments voted on at the November election is explained. The bureau was in favor of eight of the amendments, opposed eighteen of them, and took no position on five.

An October 31 bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** reported the positions of the mayor and twelve business and civic groups on fifteen proposed charter amendments and three other propositions. An October 29 bulletin by the same bureau had estimated the yearly increase in city expenses to be anticipated from nine of these propositions to be about seven and a half million dollars.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in *Bureau Notes* 514 and 515 analyzed four proposals to be voted on November 5: a constitutional amendment to remove restrictions on state expenditures for airport, harbor and waterway development; two propositions authorizing bonds and tax levies for improvements at the Wayne County airport; and a proposal that the state issue up to $270,000,000 worth of bonds to finance a veterans' bonus. The bureau raised a number of questions concerning the effect of a state bonus and pointed out that the question submitted to the voters provided for no means of paying the bonds.

On September 28 *Bureau Notes* protested against a Detroit city appropriation of $17,000 to "educate the citizens" on the sales tax amendment on the ground that it was "morally indefensible" thus to use citizens' money to "influence the citizens' thinking."

In Notes 512 and 513 the bureau explains its opposition to the sales tax amendment which was later (November 5) approved by the voters. On the other hand the **Genessee County Taxpayers' Association,** G. Keyes Page, executive secretary, in a 23-page report issued September 26, supported the amendment on the basis of an analysis of the arguments pro and con and an examination of its effect on fourteen cities and their surrounding counties. The same organization, in a 29-page report dated August 15, analyzed the "net contribution to state revenue" by these same units as well as the adjusted state aid they receive.

In a series of reports on issues presented to Baltimore voters the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** indicated reasons for its support of four constitutional amendments, one charter amendment (complete new city charter) and four loan proposals aggregating $20,000,000; its opposition to $1,500,000 harbor improvement loan and a charter amendment for mandatory pay increases for fire department employees; and its failure to take a position on a charter amendment concerning daylight saving time.

Reasons for caution in authorizing a $20,000,000 debt to finance a veterans' bonus voted on at the November election were given in the October 30 issue of *Your Government Affairs,* published by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director. The report pointed out that $20,000,000 would double the net debt of the state and expressed doubt that this would leave "sufficient resources for such a capital program as it may be advantageous to undertake."

A number of recent issues of *Just A Moment* by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** dealt with election problems. The September 19 number pointed out that in the August 20 primaries only one out of four registered Republicans and one out of every five Democrats voted, that in 26 of the 36 nominations there were no contests, and that organization candidates were nominated in each case. The following question is asked: "In the interests of good democratic government would it not be better for each party organization to put the stamp of approval on three or four outstanding party members for each particular office, and then let the rank and file of the party members decide which should receive organization endorsement?" The October 10 number compares registration and voting at general, state and local elections since 1936, showing an average registration of 72.6 per cent of potential voters in presidential years, 56.3 per cent in state elections, and 54.7 per cent in local elections. The October 24 and 31 numbers report briefly on legal election machinery and procedures.

The **Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, undertook to help the voters by devoting its October 28 bulletin, *Your Government,* to a report on voting qualifications and procedures by Rhoten A. Smith, research assistant. The second of the bureau's newly inaugurated Citizens' Pamphlet Series was a reprint of the 1946 platforms of the Republican, Democratic, Prohibition and Socialist parties in Kansas.

More Reports from Legislative Councils

Alabama State Purchasing is the title of a report by the **Alabama Legislative Reference Service,** approved September 19 by the State Legislative Council. The report concludes that a million dollars a year may be saved if certain changes are made to correct present "hand to mouth" purchasing procedures and to stop dissipating the total purchasing power of the state through independent uncoordinated procurement by institutions and counties. Among the specific recommendations are establishment of a state warehouse system, more extensive use of purchasing contracts, further standardization of commodities, and compulsory purchasing for institutions and counties by the State Division of Purchases and Stores. At the present time counties generally have failed to take advantage of the services of the division available to them on request.

The **Kansas Legislative Council** in a *Progress Report* by Dr. Frederic H. Guild, director of research, reprinted in *Kansas Government Journal* for October, outlines the status of the work of the council. Thirty-three proposals have been submitted to the council for consideration before the next session of the legislature. At the September meeting three bills were approved for submission and five approved for drafting. Five proposals were dropped and two will be submitted as recommendations without bills, leaving twenty for action at the final council meeting in November prior to the deadline of 30 days before the opening of the legislative session.

Nebraska Reports

Three more reports prepared by subcommittees and approved by the **Nebraska Legislative Council,** Roger V. Shumate, director, are at hand:

Report on *District Courts,* 25 pages, analyzes the work load of the districts statistically and gives a summary report on the testimony of more than 60 members of the bench and bar. It concludes with a statement of five principles looking to efficiency, convenience and uniformity in the administration of justice, followed by specific recommendations.

Taxation and Regulation of Iusurance Companies, 23 pages, was designed in part to indicate "what steps the state can or should take in the regulation of interstate insurance business to prevent such business from falling primarily under the regulatory authority of the federal government on and after January 1, 1948," when under the McCarran act the federal anti-trust laws "shall be applicable to the business of insurance to the extent that such business is not regulated by state laws." The report recommends that the State Department of Insurance be given powers over the insurance business similar to those enjoyed by the Federal Trade Commission within its own field; that provision be made for the establishment of a rating bureau, preferably a privately operated one licensed and regulated by the state; and that the Nebraska Fair Trade Practices Acts be amended to include all phases of appropriate federal laws. In answer to questions concerning existing laws for the taxation of the insurance business the report recommends no change in the present tax of 2 per cent of premiums of foreign companies and of four mills on premiums of domestic companies, but suggests the possibility of minor adjustments in insurance taxation.

Municipal Budget Law, 25 pages, reviews the comprehensive 1943 municipal budget act, the objections which led to its repeal in 1945, and the provisions of the present municipal budget laws. The report found that present budgetary practices are "often wholly inadequate for the purpose of revealing to the citizens the general financial operations of their respective municipalities." Recommendations include a new budget law, a uniform fiscal year, a uniform system of accounts, prescribed budget forms (showing of past receipts and expenditures not to be required), inclusion in each budget of all funds administered by the municipality and an itemized statement of all bond transactions, opportunity for public budget hearings and recommendations for filing of budgets with the auditor of public accounts within 30 days of adoption, and enforcement by invalidation of expenditures which do not comply with law.

The following reports by the **Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council,** J. F. Isakoff, director, amount to brief comparative textbooks on the subjects indicated by their respective titles:

State Personnel Administration in Illinois, 59 pages, largely prepared by Orville Alexander on leave from Southern Illinois Normal University, assisted by members and staff of the Illinois Civil Service Commission and Dr. Orme W. Phelps, School of Business of the University of Chicago; *Veterans Rehabilitation Legislation,* 37 pages; and *Investments by Insurance Companies in Housing Projects,* sixteen pages.

Each report deals factually with the Illinois situation in the light of history, current thinking and practice in other jurisdictions. All three of the reports should be helpful to persons interested in these problems in any state.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Augusta Voters End Cracker Dictatorship

Good Government Group Elects Its Entire Ticket

FOLLOWING up its resounding victory in the spring when, for the first time in a decade, independent candidates in Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia, were elected to the legislature and the county commission, the **Augusta Independent League for Good Government** saw its entire councilmanic slate win the city primary[1] of October 30, thus breaking the grip of the Cracker party in both city and county politics. Together, the independent legislative delegation, the three county commissioners-elect, and the newly nominated councilmen have complete control of city and county affairs. It is predicted that a proposed new city charter, providing the council-manager plan, and other reforms will be initiated without opposition.

Writing on the victory, Millwee Owens, editor of *The Augusta Herald*, commented: "The mills of political justice grind slowly in Augusta public affairs, for it required some twenty or more years of patient plodding and hammering on the part of *The Herald*, Scott Nixon, Berry Fleming, and perhaps a half dozen other valiant souls to convince the Augusta people that the bonds that held them so tightly under a Cracker dictatorship could be broken. The simple fact of the matter, though, is that this is a victory of the people—the plain people. The government has been restored to them. It is theirs in fee simple once more."

"But," says Editor Owens, "let none of the voters lose sight of the fact that with victory comes community responsibility. Those who are soon to take office in the city and county, with the control of these governmental units within their hands, must never forget that they have made definite promises to the people—promises of efficiency, tolerance and kindly consideration. . . . All in all these new independent officeholders have quite a job to perform. The voters will expect much of them."

Thus is one more chapter added to the story of "Colonel Effingham" and his fight for good government in Augusta.[2]

Hartford Women Learn of Yonkers Manager Achievements

The **League of Women Voters of Hartford, Connecticut,** where a proposed city manager charter was voted on December 3, heard Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Yonkers councilwoman, describe the working of that plan in her city. Much has been accomplished, Mrs. Welty commented.

"Our bonded debt has been reduced to almost $21,000,000, with a corresponding reduction in debt service. A $4,500,000 deficit has been entirely cleared. Contracts and price bids are truly competitive and so awarded. Operating costs were reduced by $1,500,000 a year but are now rising, with the higher costs of material and personnel.

"Our budget is honest, our tax rate—founded on actual expenditures—is being reduced each year. . . .

"Since city manager government became effective, each year has been completed with a cash surplus, part of which, through the war years and now in the period of increased living costs, has been and will be devoted to emergency compensation payments to employees, who already have been returned the paycuts suffered for so many years.

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[1] In Georgia nomination in the primary is tantamount to election.

[2] See "Colonel Effingham Whips Augusta Machine," the REVIEW, June 1946, page 310.

"Another notable benefit to employees has been a complete job reclassification with yearly increments, a system never hoped for until brought about by a city manager majority....

"It is noteworthy, too, that certain department heads have declared their immense satisfaction over the fact that they can operate their respective departments for the first time without demands or interference from elected officials."

Taxpayer Groups Watch Public Treasuries

The *1946 Accomplishments* of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman MacDonald, executive director, claims "Savings in Millions" to state taxpayers. "The many social, economic and political problems which confronted the Massachusetts legislature in 1946," says its report, "provided an opportunity to the Massachusetts federation to render exceptional service to those who must pay the bills. . . . The federation succeeded in defeating many bills calling for needless or extravagant expenditures." Then follows a summary of important spending measures on which federation recommendations were accepted by the legislature.

Accomplishments and Recommendations of the **Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association** are listed in an eight-page leaflet which makes a plea for consideration of the manager plan and other modern tools of government. Executive secretary of the organization is John J. Gaines.

The Nebraska Taxpayer, published by the **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues,** Frank G. Arnold, president, discusses a proposed state amendment to provide for the raising of "revenue from sources other than a tax on real property, in a sum of not less than $40 per year per pupil attending the common schools of this state." This would amount, says the association, to over eight million dollars and would require new forms of taxation or increases in present forms. The amendment is criticized because the method of raising the necessary money is omitted from the amendment and it is suggested that no legislature meeting every two years can predict economic conditions accurately enough to levy a tax which will produce just $40 per pupil.

Speaker on the first fall broadcast of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** was Albert F. Metz, a director of the association and member of its Committee on Education. Mr. Metz reported that the association "has engaged the service of experts to make an intensive study of the State Teachers Pension Fund." The association continues to distribute to New Jersey newspapers, in mat form, its "Know Your Government" articles, as it has been doing for over eight years. It also continues to publish its compilation of *Costs of Government in New Jersey*, with the 1946 edition now available. A Taxpayers Speakers' Bureau has recently been organized to fill the many requests received by the association from civic clubs and other groups throughout the state. Each speaker has been supplied with a kit of material to supply him necessary information. A. R. Everson is executive vice president.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, surveys school finance in a series of articles appearing in its *Wisconsin Taxpayer*. One table in a recent issue sets forth the average tax rate by counties for rural schools, state graded schools, high schools with elementary grades, and city systems; it lists also the low and the high rate for districts within the county.

The **Montana Taxpayers' Association,** Fred Bennion, executive secretary, is also interested in school costs. A recent issue of the *Montana Taxpayer* presents charts showing school receipts, per pupil expenditures, school debts, etc., with maps of various counties presenting costs for districts within them.

Rupert F. Asplund, director of the **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** discusses the "Future of County Government" in the *New Mexico Tax Bulletin.*

The *Nevada Tax Review,* published by the **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** of which Dryden Kuser is director, charts a "25-Year Increase in State Taxes" on the front cover of a recent issue. Elsewhere it lists "Comparative 1945 and 1946 Assessed Valuations and Tax Rates for State, Counties, Cities, Towns and Special Districts."

Control Your Property Tax is the title of a July report from the **Indiana Taxpayers Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary. The report predicts that Indiana property taxes are going higher but holds the situation is "not hopeless" if organized taxpayers take full advantage of their rights under the famous Indiana laws permitting ten or more taxpayers to secure state review of any local tax budget.

The **Worcester Taxpayers Association,** where John H. Mahoney is director, has issued its 1945-46 report (six pages). "Increasingly city officials welcome and ask for our assistance and advice," comments the report, "although this does not mean that we cannot and do not swing the bat if the occasion seems to make this essential. Modified militancy might perhaps best describe our present attitude as contrasted with the unrestricted militancy which was necessary during the depression as we fought with every power at our command to preserve the solvency of the city and its taxpayers."

The **California Taxpayers' Association** devotes its September issue of *The Tax Digest,* edited by Jessie K. Grant, to "Income and Expenditures of Government in California 1900 to 1945."

Lackadaisical Voters

The Connecticut Voter of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters,** edited by Mrs. Alexander Marcus, cites a recent Gallup poll showing that while 1945-46 elections in France and Italy brought out 80 per cent or more eligible voters, those in Britain 76 per cent, and those in Canada 74 per cent, the 1944 presidential elections in this country brought out only 55 per cent of the voters, the 1942 congressional elections only 33 per cent.

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Civic Groups Cooperate

Eugene Larson, president of the **Minneapolis Council of Civic Clubs,** representing 60 civic and service organizations and about 40,000 members, and Emmett Salisbury, president of the **Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association,** have announced plans for a closer working relationship between their organizations. The offices of the former have been moved to the Civic and Commerce Association's headquarters and Douglas H. Timmerman, director of its Civic Affairs Department, will serve also as secretary to the Council of Civic Clubs. There will be clearance between the two groups on points of common interest and such measures of cooperation will be developed as may be found desirable from the standpoint of both.

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New Civic Groups

A new **Civic Improvement League** has recently been organized by citizens of **Leadville, Colorado.** . . . The **Glenwood Springs Civic League** of

Colorado was organized on January 23, this year, by a small group of civic leaders who have limited their organization to 25. A broad program of civic betterment has been outlined and plans suggested to translate the program into action.

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Civic Group Almost to 5,000

The **Minneapolis Civic Council,** between January 1 and October 10, added 1300 new members to its rolls, bringing the total to 4,850, reports Paul Loudon, president of the council.

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Newspaper Surveys Voters

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* has published a series of five articles by Robert Douthat Meade, head of the history department of Randolph-Macon Women's College at Lynchburg, on the political apathy of Virginia voters. Among the cities covered are Lynchburg, Richmond and Norfolk. Mr. Meade concludes his series by setting forth a five-point program which, he believes, may arouse citizens from their lethargy. Most important recommendations are removal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting and substitution of a more satisfactory literacy test for prospective voters.

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Chambers Investigate Manager Plan

Chambers of commerce throughout the country are evincing much interest in the council-manager plan of government. The **Richmond, Virginia, chamber** is surveying members to determine whether they prefer it to their present form of government; a pamphlet, *City Government,* outlining briefly the major forms of local government, has been distributed to members. The **Emporia, Kansas, chamber** has published a six-page folder with brief excerpts from a larger report based on a study of the plan by a special committee. The **Chamber of Commerce of Steubenville, Ohio,** is interested in the plan for that city.

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Strictly Personal

At the annual meeting of its Board of Governors, the Chicago City Club elected **Paul G. Annes** as president to succeed William H. Haight. Mr. Annes, a lawyer, has been active in City Club affairs for many years.

The Massachusetts Civic League has elected **Miriam Butler** as its clerk and executive secretary. Miss Butler had previously been the league's assistant secretary. Miss **Katherine V. E. Lyford,** executive secretary for the past sixteen years, has been granted a leave of absence for travel through South America. **Paul T. Rothwell** has been chosen acting president of the league until such time as a successor to **Sydney M. Williams,** who recently resigned, is named.

Wendell A. Falsgraf has been reelected as president of the Cleveland Citizens League.

Henry Rolfes, Jr., former executive secretary of the Citizens' Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri, has accepted a position with the finance department of Eugene, Oregon.

R. A. Neill, formerly secretary of the Montana State Tax Commission, has become secretary of the Montana Taxpayers' Association. In this new capacity he succeeds **Fred Bennion,** who resigned to join the Colorado Public Expenditure Council as its executive director.

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In Memoriam

George M. Link, staff member of the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, died suddenly of a heart attack while addressing the Minneapolis Board of Estimate and Taxation.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Toledo Upholds P. R. Again

Voters Turn Down Mayor and Ward Council Plan

THE present city charter of Toledo, Ohio, providing for a nine-man proportionally representative council and a city manager, was upheld by a vote of 48,691 to 40,989 on November 5 in the fourth referendum challenge since the charter was adopted in 1934. Fifty-four per cent of those voting on the question favored the charter against the proposal to revert to a plan of a 21-member council elected by single-member districts and abandonment of the manager plan for a mayor elected directly at large.

The successful resistance against this latest of the varied and repeated attacks on the charter is of particular interest in view of the failure of those favoring the present charter to organize their campaign until October, and the fact that the proposed change was favored by the influential *Toledo Blade* up to the closing days of the campaign, when it withdrew to a non-committal stand.

These factors, together with others, such as premature discussion of 1950 taxes by the city manager, may have reduced the vote to defend the charter, which was a smaller percentage this year than last.[1]

A principal opponent of the charter has announced his intention to renew the attack.

The comparative closeness of the vote is leading friends of good government in Toledo to consider seriously the question of proper tactics to preserve what Professor O. Garfield Jones, of the University of Toledo, describes as "the best government Toledo ever had."

A. R. Hatton—Champion of Reform

In the sudden death on November 12 of Augustus R. Hatton, president of the Proportional Representation League since 1930, American proportionalists lost one of their most effective and beloved leaders and the cause of good government one of its most persuasive champions. Professor Hatton died in Austin, Texas, on the eve of the first postwar meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held as part of the National Municipal League's Conference on Government in Philadelphia.

Among Dr. Hatton's many contributions to the progress of municipal government, most notable was his drafting of the Cleveland city charter of 1921 and his service in securing its adoption, by petition and popular vote, against powerful political opposition. Those of us who worked with him to arouse civic consciousness in that campaign will never forget his unflagging enthusiasm and resourcefulness and refusal to accept defeat. We remember still more vividly his joining the young campaign workers in singing "East Side, West Side" around Murphys' piano shortly before the election and the triumphal midnight procession from headquarters to the square when the last returns were in, with Walter Millard and Doris Darmstadter (now

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[1] See "Toledo Votes to Keep P. R.," the REVIEW, December 1945. Figures given for this year's vote are unofficial.

Reed) in the line and "A. R." lifted to the pedestal of the Tom Johnson statue for an impromptu speech.

Cleveland was by far the largest city to adopt the manager plan and, up to that time, also the largest in this country to adopt P. R. It paved the way for the subsequent adoption of the same combination in Cincinnati, Toledo, Cambridge and other American cities and New York's adoption of P.R.

After Dr. Hatton, then professor of political science at Western Reserve University, had led the successful campaign for the charter's adoption, he became an independent candidate for the city council under it to demonstrate that under P. R. partisan support is not necessary. He was easily elected, with three other prominent independents, and served in the council with distinction for two terms, until he accepted a call to Northwestern University at Evanston. Though always in a minority, he was respected by all the council members and saw many of his ideas enacted by the council majority.

In the summer of 1925 he led a miraculously successful campaign against the united attempt of both major parties to repeal P. R., the only occasion when P. R. was voted on by itself in Cleveland without the manager plan being an issue in the same election.

Though P. R. was later lost in Cleveland with the manager plan in the close depression vote of 1931, it gave Cleveland better councils than it has enjoyed before or since and Cleveland's latest vote on the P. R.-manager combination was an approval of a county charter written on that basis four years later. The author of Cleveland's P. R. charter never regarded it as a failure and continued to use the experience under it with telling effect in his much sought counsel to other cities.

Among the many other charters for which Dr. Hatton was draftsman and adviser was the P. R.-manager charter of Hamilton, Ohio, which has given that formerly boss-ridden city twenty years of superior municipal service without machine control.

While Dr. Hatton was head of the political science department at Northwestern he helped with the persistent efforts to secure the same type of government for Chicago, blocked so far by the refusal of the state legislature to let the question come to a vote. When he retired from Northwestern and moved to his ranch near Austin for a lighter schedule at the University of Texas he retained his standing as one of the most trusted and inspiring leaders in the field of government right up to the time of his death at the age of 73. He will be greatly missed not only as an authority but as a person and a friend. G. H.

P. R. League Elects Trustees

At the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League in Philadelphia, November 13, the following trustees were elected: Richard S. Childs, New York City; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago; C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles; A. R. Hatton, Dripping Springs, Texas; C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania; J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia. The election occurred the day following the death of the League's president, Dr. Hatton. The vacancy must now be filled by the remaining trustees, who will also appoint other League officials.

The program of the meeting was a most interesting and inspiring one. Discussions of elections abroad by Professor James K. Pollock and Robert E. Garrigan gave an international flavor to the occasion. Speakers and their subjects are listed in this department for November, page 549.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Baton Rouge Votes for Consolidation

Other Cities, Counties Discuss Its Advantages

THE CONSTITUTIONAL amendment passed by the 1946 Louisiana legislature providing for creation of a nine-man city-parish charter commission for the parish of East Baton Rouge and all municipalities within it[1] was adopted at the November 5 general election by a large majority — 69,894 to 18,886. Adoption of the amendment constitutes the first attempt toward meeting the problems of this metropolitan area where nearly 50 per cent of the urban population lives outside incorporated areas.

Provision is made in the amendment for the appointment of all nine members of the charter body—three by the police jury (county commissioners), two by the Baton Rouge commission council, one each by the East Baton Rouge School Board, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce, the director of the State Department of Public Works, and the president of Louisiana State University.

The plan of government to be prepared by the charter commission may involve the consolidation or reorganization of all or parts of the local units within the parish, including the city of Baton Rouge. The proposed charter must be submitted to the parish police jury within twelve months.

Another amendment passed by Louisiana voters gives to the legislature authority to create a recreation and park commission for the whole of East Baton Rouge Parish, including the city of Baton Rouge. The amendment validates an act already passed by the legislature providing the personnel, defining the powers and duties of, and authorizing a bond and tax structure for such a commission.

Other cities and their counties are contemplating consolidation. Muscogee County, Georgia, and the city of Columbus are studying its advantages for their respective governments.

In an open forum discussion on "Nashville's Urgent Needs," the panel speakers and audience participants agreed that the most immediate need was consolidation of the governments of Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee. Some participants advocated consolidation of specific functions or extension of city boundaries, but the chairman of the City and County Planning Commission advocated complete unification under one local government.

State Funds Bolster County Homes in Ohio

The Ohio state legislature, in an August special session, enacted an "Aid for the Aged" program which will for the first time provide state funds for the support of county homes. Since county home inmates are ineligible for federal funds, they have been supported entirely by county funds, which in many cases have been wholly inadequate. Initial grants to the 7,000 inmates of the 83 homes will total approximately $1,500,000 the first year, of which they will pay more than $1,000,000 to the institutions for their support.

Total expenditures of the county homes have been approximately

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[1] See "Baton Rouge to Vote on City-County Proposal," the REVIEW, October 1946, page 491.

$2,000,000 annually. It is anticipated that state aid will improve the standards of the homes by transforming all or some of them into genuine nursing and rest homes for the aged and chronically ill. A similar state aid program has been in operation in Illinois for the past year.

Montgomery County, Md., Will Try Again

Defeated in their first attempt to secure a streamlined, manager plan charter for Montgomery County, Maryland,[1] citizens have once again voted to elect a charter commission to draft a new basic law for the county. The vote for the commission at the November 5 election was 13,117 to 9,983. The new body will have six months in which to draft a charter which will be submitted to the electorate at the November election in 1948.

Home Rule Advocated for Wisconsin Counties

The Wisconsin County Boards Association, in a recent issue of *Wisconsin Counties,* proposes the following 1947 legislative program for the consideration of its members:

1. Revision of the statutes relating to county boards in order to give counties more home rule powers;
2. Establishment of a state bureau and laboratory to assist county law enforcement officers through scientific detection of crime;
3. Creation of county finance officers to integrate all financial activities of county government;
4. Establishment of centralized purchasing;
5. Elimination of the numerous administrative boards and vesting their powers in committees of the county boards;
6. Consolidation of all county welfare activities into one department;
7. Transfer of all traffic enforcement functions to the office of the sheriff;
8. Abolition of the fee system as a means of compensation of county employees;
9. Limitations of various kinds on county board committees;
10. More equal representation of county residents on the county boards;
11. Increased state aid for county asylums;
12. Amendment of fire insurance law to provide that delinquent property taxes be paid by the insurance company and deducted from the payment of the claim of the insured;
13. Permission for payment of old age and blind benefits to persons in public institutions.

Texas Counties Consider Manager Plan

The North Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association at a recent meeting received a report from one of its members who had studied county government in Virginia. Regarding the manager plan he asserted that the taxpayers of that state were "so pleased they wouldn't think of going back to the old form of government administration."

Voting Machines —1947 Models

A Texas county reports that it is considering the newest creation of an aspiring 81-year-old inventor. It is a voting machine which would carry the pictures of all candidates. "The picture of the candidate voted for would light up like a coin machine." Apparently this would give the voter an opportunity to scrutinize the features of his candidate more closely to determine whether he had hit the jackpot.

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[1] See "Machine Beats County Charter," by John F. Willmott, the REVIEW, December 1944, page 583.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

November Bond Proposals Over Billion Dollars

Large State Issues for Veterans' Aid Swell Total

STATE and local voters were called on at the elections of November 5, 1946, to pass judgment on proposals to issue slightly over a billion dollars of new bonds, according to pre-election tabulations by *The Daily Bond Buyer*. Proposals to issue state bonds, mostly for veterans' aid, accounted for $837,000,000 of the total; submissions of local issues amounting to $206,345,836 were only slightly above the $191,422,395 submitted at the general election of November 6, 1945. No state proposals were on the ballot last year.

Veterans' aid bond issues accounted not only for most of the total but also for the largest individual proposals. Overshadowing other proposals were $385,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds submitted to the voters of Illinois. Second largest were $270,000,000 veterans' bonus bonds submitted in Michigan, while the third largest single issue was $100,000,000 of veterans' loan bonds submitted to California voters. A fourth state, Rhode Island, also submitted soldier bonus bonds, to the amount of $20,000,000, while in a fifth state, Texas, the legislature made a mistake in setting the date for the election. Texas citizens had to wait two days, until November 7, to pass on $25,000,000 veteran aid bonds. Three states submitted proposals to issue construction bonds—New Jersey, $35,000,000 for housing; Louisiana, $25,000,000 for highways; and Montana, $2,000,000 for a hospital.

More than half the $206,345,836 of local issues was concentrated in eleven local units submitting $5,000,000 or more each. Baltimore voters passed on $21,500,000 for various city improvements, Omaha voters on $15,878,700. In California, $12,000,000 aqueduct bonds were submitted to voters of the East Bay Municipal Water District, which provides water service for Oakland, Berkeley and other communities on the east side of San Francisco Bay. St. Paul, Minnesota, voters passed on $11,612,000 bonds for various improvements, and voters of Providence, Rhode Island, on $9,700,000. Louisville, Kentucky, submitted $8,000,000 school bonds, and $6,866,000 bonds were submitted by the San Diego School District, California. In Dade County, Florida, $6,300,000 bonds were submitted, and in Portland, Oregon, $5,500,000 building bonds were voted on. Voters of Wichita, Kansas, reviewed $5,360,200 bonds for various purposes, and Wayne County, Michigan, submitted $5,000,000 airport bonds.

Although none of the individual units submitted as much as $5,000,000, Ohio municipalities accounted for a larger volume of proposals than did the local units of any other state, $43,000,000. The second largest volume of local issues, over $22,000,000, was submitted in California, while Maryland was placed third by the large Baltimore total. In all, about 332 municipal units in 31 states were involved.

Results on the several submissions were not available in time for inclusion in this month's pages, but it is interesting to note that for the first nine months of 1946 bond authorizations approved by the voters were about four times as large as during the corresponding 1945 period. Tabulations of *The Daily Bond Buyer* show authorizations for 1946 through September at $839,112,000, compared with $208,245,000 in 1945. More than a half billion dollars of new bonds were authorized in two months this year, May and June. The May total was $231,093,000 and that for June $286,881,000.

Census Reports 1944 City Finances

The annual report on city finances for fiscal years ended in 1944 has just been released by the Bureau of the Census.[1] It provides data in comparative form on 397 cities of 25,000 population and over, and selected data on sixteen urban places also of over 25,000 population but not on the "standard" list of cities. Data on the 37 largest cities had been released earlier in pamphlet form, and in this report data for these cities, having populations of over 250,000, are in somewhat greater detail than for the other units.

The compilation continues the segregation of revenues, expenditures and debt as between general governmental and public service enterprise purposes, begun some years ago when C. E. Rightor was chief of the Governments Division of the bureau. Shortages of personnel and other conditions arising from the war and reduced appropriations have necessitated the abandonment, however, of the highly useful compilation (made for the larger cities only, however) presenting over-all revenues and expenditures inclusive of the city's proportionate share for overlapping units. The reader will also look in vain for the per capita data on revenues and expenditures which in earlier years made the Census Bureau governmental data so valuable for comparative purposes.

As in earlier volumes, emphasis is more on the economic aspects of the data than on its governmental significance, and there is still a paucity of explanatory material on individual situations where in many cases the local setup has peculiarities which render precarious comparisons with the generality of cities. Hence, readers not aware of the limitations of the data through their own familiarity with the situations in individual cities will continue likely to take liberties with the information when using it in appraising governmental finance.

City Sales Taxes Gain in California

At least 21 California cities have already enacted municipal sales or use taxes, and 30 or so others are reported to be considering their adoption. All have been adopted since the action of San Bernardino in November 1944, when a 1 per cent retail sales tax was instituted, effective January 1, 1945, to help finance postwar improvements. Santa Barbara followed soon afterwards with a retail sales tax also at 1 per cent designed to provide supplementary general fund income following adoption of a city charter amendment prohibiting the use of water revenues for other than water purposes.

The local sales taxes—all taxing retail sales and some supplemented by use taxes at identical rates—are in effect in cities ranging down in size from Los Angeles, the largest city on the west coast. The Los Angeles tax, at ½ of 1 per cent, was enacted in May 1946. Other cities having taxes of ½ of 1 per cent include San Diego, Santa Monica, Glendale, Redondo Beach, Hermosa Beach, Santa Ana, San Fernando, Upland and Ontario, in

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[1] *City Finances: 1944.* Volume 3, Statistical Compendium. Washington, D. C., Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1946. 264 pages. Price 70 cents.

Southern California, and Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, Santa Rosa, Martinez, and El Cerrito in Northern California. The San Bernardino tax was also reduced to ½ of 1 per cent after the first year. Taxes of 1 per cent are in effect in Colton and Redlands and have recently been adopted by Oxnard and Ventura.

New York Pari-mutuel Tax Lucrative

The special 5 per cent tax on pari-mutuel wagering put into effect by the 1946 legislature as part of New York City's special revenue program yielded the city $14,165,446 in the 163 racing days it was in effect, according to press reports. Nassau County, which received three-fourths of the tax from Belmont Park since only one-fourth of that racing establishment is within the New York City corporate limits, received $4,457,753, while Saratoga County with 25 racing days received $1,062,460.

In addition to the 5 per cent tax going to New York City and the two counties in which race tracks are located, betters at the race tracks paid also 10 per cent, representing the state's 6 per cent of the so-called "handle" and the track's 4 per cent. The state also receives 60 per cent of the "breakage." Altogether, New York State received $26,318,729, compared with $19,685,659 paid New York City and the two counties.

The total "handle" or amount wagered during the 1946 season was just over $407,000,000, compared with $450,600,000 in 1945.

States Provide Emergency Housing Funds

At least five states have made large appropriations this year for emergency housing. Largest amount ear-marked was by New York, which provided $35,000,000 last spring for statewide housing projects and later authorized $80,000,000 for low-rent slum clearance. California appropriated $10,000,000 for housing aid to cities, and will subsidize local programs up to 90 per cent of the costs, with the municipalities required to put up at least 10 per cent.

In Connecticut, the state appropriated $5,000,000 to be used, on a dollar for dollar matching basis, for local government housing expenditures. Five hundred thousand dollars additional was ear-marked as a revolving fund to purchase building materials for resale to the municipalities. Ohio provided $6,000,000 for housing, to be allocated to counties on a per capita basis. And in New Jersey $6,000,000 was appropriated for immediate housing operations by a special session of the legislature, which also provided for submission to the voters on November 5 of a $35,000,000 housing bond issue.

Phillipps Directs Finance Officers

Miner B. Phillipps, formerly city controller of Pasadena, California, and president of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada in 1938-39, has been selected as executive director to succeed Carl H. Chatters, who recently resigned to become comptroller of the Port of New York Authority. Mr. Phillipps had been acting executive director of the association for several months previously.

The MFOA has sent ballots to its members asking for designation of the area and time for its 1948, 1949 and 1950 conferences. The 1947 conference is scheduled for May 26-29 in New York City.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Democracy in British Local Government

Long Tradition of Civic Independence Serves Well

On November 1, elections were held in the boroughs throughout England and Wales. For several centuries before the central government came into being, local government was firmly established throughout Great Britain. This long tradition of local government has served the country well, and many would-be dictators have knocked their heads against that sturdy independence which is so characteristic of British civic life.

It cannot be denied, of course, that with the increased tempo of modern life and the new conceptions of regional planning, pure "village pump" politics cannot keep pace with requirements, and some degree of surrender to a central authority is necessary. Whatever course this compromise may take, however, the British people are unlikely to give up more control over their local affairs than the obvious necessity of the situation demands.

Since last year local elections are now fought on the full parliamentary register—that is to say, everybody who is entitled to vote in a parliamentary election has the same right to vote in a local election.[1] It might be assumed that, since the electorate is the same, local elections would inevitably reflect prevailing national political opinion, but this has seldom proved to be the case. It is true, of course, that a number of electors cast their votes in strict accordance with the political party to which they may belong, but the majority of voters still distinguish between local and central politics and cast their votes in the former according to their assessment of the needs of the locality in which they reside.

The candidates who offered themselves for election were a true cross-section of the community—professional men and women, prominent tradesmen, officials of trade unions, and so on. Some of them fought under the banner of one or other of the national political parties, while others, perhaps the majority, put themselves forward as independents or as representatives of one of the ratepayers' or residents' associations. These associations play a considerable part in local affairs as they usually contain the keener members of the community with a definite civic pride. The successful candidates will not receive any money for the considerable amount of work which they will be called upon to perform before they face the electors again in three years' time.

Electing the Mayor

The first task of the newly elected council was to elect its mayor on November 9. The choice of the mayor is left entirely to the local councillors and, unless there has been some irregularity against the law, the central authority has no say in the matter. Since the mayor is called upon to do a considerable amount of entertaining, it is customary for a council to vote a salary for his year of office.

When the mayor has been installed and, again by law, he has nominated the person whom he wishes to serve as his deputy, the council will proceed to the election of its committees. The actual method of doing this varies considerably from council to council. In some councils committees are formed by a process of selection while in others members are asked to express their various preferences, and in cases where preferences are in excess of vacancies the council decides by ballot.

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[1] See "Britain Broadens Franchise," page 593 this issue.

It is difficult to say which method is preferable except that an indication of preference does show those subjects in which a member has a particular interest and in which, therefore, he is likely to give the best service to the community. By whatever process the committees have been formed, however, the next task is the election of chairmen. In some councils this is done by the full council, in others it is left to each committee to choose its own. This done, the machinery of local government is ready to function for another year.

Work of Committees

The work which the newly constituted council will be called upon to perform provides the utmost variety. The finance committee, for instance, by now will have some idea how the year's finances are working out, and will be engaged until the budget is presented in April of next year in examining schemes brought forward by other committees for spending money. It will then have to decide to what extent, if any, the rates must be increased to meet new commitments. In this, as in the work of all other committees, members are advised by the permanent officials, but they alone are responsible for ultimate policy.

Permanent officials are unaffected by the results of any elections, as they do not, as is the case in some countries, go out of office with a new administration. This has a very stabilizing effect on the whole machinery of British local government and, since the permanent officials are not dependent upon the favors of any party for their jobs, very rarely are permanent officials involved in any kind of jobbery.

Then there are the public health, housing and town planning committees, for serving on which there is usually keen competition. The first deals with health in all its aspects, from the killing of rats to the running of a modern hospital. Housing and town planning have assumed an increasing importance today, especially in view of the fact that it is now realized that a solution to many problems is possible only through a greater degree of national action. This means that the local authorities are called upon to cooperate closely with the central government, and many of the acts passed in parliament are left to the local authorities, with their wider knowledge of local conditions, to administer. A large number of local authorities own their own water, gas and electricity undertakings, and the committees dealing with these attract members with business experience.

The education committee, with the passing of the new education act in 1944, will be particularly busy in formulating plans for the building of new schools or adapting old buildings to meet the needs of those children who will be required to stay at school until they are sixteen.

Other committees exist to meet the specific needs of an area, but the whole machine requires the devoted service of countless thousands of men and women who are prepared to sacrifice much time in the service of their respective communities. Their only reward is the satisfaction of a job well done and, maybe, re-election when they next present themselves to the electors. Such is the strength and age-long tradition of Britain's local government.

HARLEY V. USILL

London, England

British Public Housing Exceeds Private Efforts

In a housing progress report, presented to Parliament as a *White Paper* by the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland, it was announced that the position of housing was as follows on June 30, 1946: the local authorities had completed 5,063 permanent houses, while private enterprise had completed 7,945 permanent houses. Local authorities, however, had 77,705 permanent houses under construction at this time and private enterprise only 32,322. Hence, the local governments had more than twice the amount of houses built and under construction than private enterprise. This fact is significant, according to the report, as it indicates the extent to which local governmental activity is taking place in one industry; it might well be carried into other fields equally as important as socialization proceeds. Also the role of the local authorities is meaningful as they are the instrument operating the housing program and are acquiring the experience and administrative ability to carry it out.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from Page 602)

Civil Service League Urges Strict Merit System

Prompt return to the principles of the merit system in federal, state and local agencies where considerable departures occurred during the war was urged in the annual report of the National Civil Service League, adopted at the league's recent annual meeting.

"In nearly every large public jurisdiction thousands of employees were appointed for temporary or war duration service," the report comments. "Many of them could not qualify under normal peacetime standards. As public agencies more and more cease to distinguish between permanent and war duration (temporary) employees, the costlier and more difficult will be recovery from a war economy."

The report takes cognizance of "the departure of a number of outstanding public servants in the higher positions to the detriment of the public service. Failure of the public and particularly of the Congress to appreciate that executives and administrators of exceptional talent will not remain in nor be attracted to our public service at prevailing salaries is costly."

Recognizing that inadequate methods of recruiting and testing procedures and long delays in establishing eligible registers can no longer be condoned, the league recommends that "a survey be undertaken to study practical methods of recruiting and testing for higher positions in order to encourage highly qualified persons to seek careers in the government service."

As to strikes by public employees the report states that their prevalence "emphasizes the need for formulating some definite public policy thereon. In denying to public employees the right to strike against government, a policy which we deem to be justifiable, government has a corollary responsibility to provide practical means of handling disputes between public officials and public employee organizations, adjusting reasonable salary demands and redressing just grievances."

Conferences Seek Better Administrative Techniques

The first of a projected series of interdepartmental conferences to promote administrative efficiency and economy was held in Washington under the auspices of the United States Bureau of the Budget, during the first two weeks of November. Devoted to "Organization and Methods Work," the conference was attended by some 25 administrators from a dozen agencies.

Books in Review

The Government of the United States (fifth edition). By William Bennett Munro. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946. ix, 887 pp. $4.50.

American City Government and Administration (fourth edition). By Austin F. Macdonald, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946. xiii, 657 pp. $3.75.

Public Administration (second edition). By John M. Pfiffner. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1946. xii, 621 pp. $5.

Government and Politics in the United States (second edition). By Harold Zink. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946. x, 1006 pp. $4.50.

New editions of these government texts, by well known authors, are now available for classes in government as well as for citizens interested in learning more of their community, state and nation. None of the authors needs any introduction to readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Labor Unions and Municipal Employe Law. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1946. 583 pp. $10.

This book is published as an effort to supply cities with information on questions which are constantly arising between municipal governments and their employees in regard to employee organization. It reviews municipal, state and federal experience in dealing with labor unions of public employees; covers legality of union membership by such employees; instances in which cities can prohibit union membership (as in the case of police); and considers questions which arise in connection with union demands for contracts between unions and cities covering employment conditions.

Subjects are analyzed in the light of court decisions, municipal experience, constitutional and statutory law, opinions of state attorneys general and of city attorneys. Federal labor acts and the government's experience with unions of federal employees in the Tennessee Valley Authority, Inland Waterways and other government agencies are reviewed. The full text of existing agreements between unions and certain federal agencies is included in an appendix. Reference is also made to the experience of Canada and Great Britain with unions of public employees.

Manager Government in Pennsylvania Municipalities. By Charles F. LeeDecker. State College, Institute of Local Government of Pennsylvania State College, 1946. 28 pp. $1.

This is a good primer on the manager plan and a brief factual account of the achievements of the plan in Pennsylvania manager municipalities. The report notes that despite the constitutional home rule amendment of 1922, the legislature has extended the power to adopt the manager plan only to boroughs and first-class townships. The report concludes "the manager form of government has been thoroughly tested and approved in the Pennsylvania municipalities in which it operates," both small and large. This little book is a valuable addition to the lengthening shelf of scientific testimony to the success of the manager plan.

J. E. B.

Gubernatorial Elections in Pennsylvania 1922-1942. By H. F. Alderfer and Fannette H. Luhrs. State College, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service, 1946. 83 pp. $1.

This analysis of gubernatorial election

returns is a continuation of *Presidential Elections by Pennsylvania Counties, 1920 to 1940* (Pennsylvania State College Studies, No. 10, 1941). These studies make a useful contribution to the statistical exploration of electoral behavior. The present one shows shifting patterns of party voting for governor by counties, geographic sections, urban-rural division, percentage of foreign born whites, and presidential election returns. As H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government, says in the Foreword, the study will doubtless "be quite useful in predicting the behavior of counties in elections." And, as the Foreword adds, it suggests more studies, which one would like to have made.

J. E. B.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

Airport Financing and Operation. By Joseph M. Cunningham. Address before the Municipal Forum of New York. New York, 1946. 6 pp. 50 cents. (Apply John A. Keane, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Management

Conference Method Training in Management. How to Organize the Conference. How to Conduct the Conference. How to Check Conference Results. By The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1946. 14 pp.

Municipalities

Municipal Problems 1946. Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York. Albany, The Conference, 1946. 143 pp. $1.25.

For Your Information—A Guide to Oak Ridge. Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Community Relations Section, U. S. Engineering Department, 1946. 36 pp. Illus.

Planning

Planning Water and Sewerage Systems for the Small Community. By Charles L. Crangle. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1946. 37 pp.

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES

(Continued from page 575)

This is the 25th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, and chambers of commerce in all the cities to which questionnaires were sent. Of the 343 cities to which questionnaires were mailed, 330 replied in time for tabulation. For yearly comparison of the cities in Tables I through VI, 249 cities were used, these being the ones giving complete information for the years 1941, 1945 and 1946.

The assessed values listed are those set by the cities and may differ from amounts set by the county where cities and counties make separate valuations. The reader is also cautioned against multiplying the assessed value given by the total tax rate to obtain the total property tax levy for all units of government. The tax levy cannot be thus obtained because of the varied ratios of assessment and the varied tax rates that may apply to real and personal property, and the additional fact that special district rates may be levied against only part of the city.

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